

540

MEMOIRS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND.

FROM THE
Dissolution of the last Parliament of CHARLES II. until
the Sea-battle off LA HOGUE.

VOLUME II.

Consisting chiefly of
LETTERS from the French Ambassadors in England to their Court;
AND FROM
CHARLES II. JAMES II. King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY,
And the Ministers and Generals of those Princes.

Taken from the
Depôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM's private
Cabinet at KENSINGTON.
Interspersed with Historical Relations, necessary to connect the
Papers together.

By SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE, BART.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXXII.



P R E F A C E.

TH E papers contained in this collection are so very interesting, that the public has a right to know from what sources they are drawn.

HIS Majesty gave orders that I should have access to the cabinet of King William's private papers at Kensington; justly considering history to be the science of kings, and willing that the actions of other princes should be tried by that tribunal of public enquiry, which, he trusts, will do honour to his own.

AMONG many other papers in that cabinet, which throw a blaze of light upon the history of the last age, there are about two hundred letters from King James to the Prince of Orange. There is one considerable chasm in the correspondence, but this is luckily filled up by about fifty letters from the king to the prince, in the possession of doctor Morton of the Museum, who, with his usual politeness, permitted me to take copies. I believe that in these two collections there is not one letter wanting that King James ever wrote to the Prince of Orange.

THE earl of Hardwicke, from a partiality to me which I cannot be so affectedly modest as to conceal, gave me copies of several curious manuscripts from the treasures of historical knowledge in his possession.

THE earl of Dartmouth communicated to me, with other papers, a collection of letters between his gallant ancestor and King James, which, with memoirs of Bing, lord Torrington, in manuscript, that I received from lord Hardwicke, will, I believe, throw a new light upon the share which the officers of the fleet had in the revolution, and of the wise and honourable part which the commander of it acted.

MR. GRAHAM of Netherby was so obliging as to permit me to keep in my hands, for many months, five volumes of his ancestor lord Preston's dispatches.

THE reverend doctor North gave me the use of a variety of manuscript memorandums, written by his ancestor, lord keeper Guildford; one of the very few virtuous characters in public life, I am sorry to say it, that are to be found in the history of the reign of Charles the second.

LORD ROCHFORD accommodated me with orders for copies of whatever public papers I wanted. For, attached to his prince, and a friend to that liberty, the love of which is inherent in the family of Nassau, he wished to see justice done to a revolution, in the conduct of which his ancestor acted so able a part; and which, by making the people safe, gave room for loyalty to the prince to become a virtue in the subject.

I HAVE been obliged for papers to several other persons, whose names will be seen when the papers are recited.

BUT, perhaps, the person to whom I owe the greatest obligations of all, is doctor Douglas, canon of Windsor; because he made me master of the use of those materials, which others only furnished. I know that he, who sees all mens merits but his own, will impute this avowal to the partiality of a friend: and when he does, he will flatter me greatly.

NOTWITHSTANDING these advantages, I still felt an uneasiness, which only those who are intent upon a literary pursuit, can form any idea of; at not being able to discover the causes of many of the irregular movements of Charles the second and his parliaments: For which reason I fulfilled, last summer, the promise I had made two years ago to the public, and went to France, as soon as I heard monsieur Durand was returned from his ministry at Vienna, to try if I could find those causes in the dispatches of the French ambassadors who had been in England during that reign. The duc d'Aiguillon, with that liberality of sentiment which becomes the minister of an illustrious nation, and from respect to lord Rochford, who had recommended me to him, renewed the order which the duc de Choiseul had formerly honoured me with, for copies of whatever papers I wanted. Perhaps, for the sake of that philanthropy which is the first of human pleasures, I have reason to repent of my curiosity. But I will not anticipate the reader's pain; he will see too soon, in reading the following papers, the mean motives which actuated the prince, his ministers, and, at different periods, the whig, and the tory alike.

MONSIEUR DURAND will permit me to thank him in public, for treating me in all my researches at Versailles, rather with the kindness of a friend, than with the civility which associates in the cause of letters are accustomed to expect from each other.

FROM comparing the notes which I took in France, with the copies of the papers sent me from thence, I find, in some instances, a difference in

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the dates between us, owing, probably, to my oversight; but in all other respects, the copies agree with the notes.

IN the notes to the first volume, there are many papers referred to, which are in public libraries or public offices. I have not printed these, because the curious may have access to them in those places.

I AM happy to hear that there is a probability of Mr. Jernegan's soon printing the late Mr. Carte's notes, from King James's papers in the Scotch college at Paris, and that the originals of these notes are to be secured, at his death, to the university of Oxford; because they will vouch such facts in the first volume, as there are no vouchers for in this. The public cannot get a more important accession to the historical knowledge of the period to which they relate.

SOME of the following papers contradict facts contained in the first volume; the truth of which I believed on the credit of other publications. This would be a mortification, if truth, according to the best of my abilities to find it out, was not my first object. Whoever corrects the relations of history, by the private letters of those who were the actors of the times, will learn, at every step as he advances, to distrust the opinions of others and his own.

HOWEVER disagreeable this publication may be to the descendants of many of those mentioned in it, the extent of which I fully feel, because I have the honour to live in friendship with several of them; I flatter myself it will be useful to this country now, and to posterity afterwards, in the following respects:

1st, THE discoveries made in these papers will lead men in public life to reflect, that however they may hope to hide their want of public virtue, in a pretended attachment to the interests either of loyalty or of liberty, the day of reckoning will sooner or later come, when, in the historic page, their true characters, and motives of action, will appear. But men, acting in free states, cannot have too many terrors hung out to controul them; because, in such states as the virtues of men are greater than in others, so likewise are their vices.

2dly, THE papers will show that when a king of England does not give a generous credit to the affections of his subjects, and the people of

England do not put an honourable confidence in their prince, both king and people must be unhappy and inglorious. Perhaps too, this reflexion may arise from the perusal of them, that the defences which the friends of liberty do not scruple sometimes to throw around her, are more dangerous to her interests than all the assaults of her enemies.

3dly, ALTHOUGH the present exaltation of England, above all other nations, justifies a contempt of the supposition of other nations meddling at present in her domestic concerns; yet should this situation ever alter, posterity may learn, from these papers, that the prince who intrigues with foreigners against his people, does it at the peril of his crown; and that when the subjects intrigue with foreigners against their prince, they stake their liberties on the cast.

4thly, WHICH I mention with pain, this publication will show that there is no political party in this country which has a right to assume over another from the merit of their ancestors; it being too plain, from the following papers, that whigs and tories, in their turns, have been equally the enemies of their country, when their passions and their interests misled them.

AND lastly, which I mention with pleasure, these papers will prove, far better than has ever hitherto been done, that the revolution was not a work of expediency only, but of absolute necessity; and that all parties, whig, tory, churchman, and dissenter, alike united in the great and generous effort to save that blessed constitution, which by *their* dangers *we* enjoy.

PERHAPS a perusal of the following papers may be of use even to that foreign nation to whose politeness I am indebted for so many of them. There is much reason to believe, that French intrigue and French money, first fomented those religious commotions in Scotland, which, in the reign of Charles the first, were the true springs and causes of the civil war in England. The following papers will show, that by French intrigue and French money, the opposition of the whig party in parliament to Charles the second was supported. Yet the disturbances in the first of those periods, by giving liberty to England, and in the last of them, by keeping the spirit of it alive, laid the foundation of a grandeur, which has since proved so fatal to that nation which created them. France encou-

raged James the second in all his follies about arbitrary power and popery; but this gave the throne of England, and the command of one half of Europe, to her mortal enemy. After the revolution, she often tried to rouse Scotland against England; but this only taught both countries to make their interests inseparable, and their strength double, by the union. In our day, in attempting to pull down the house of Austria, she raised up a more formidable opponent to herself; in creating disturbances against England in America, she lost regions as large as one half of Europe; and in extending those disturbances to Asia, she paved the way for the enemy whom she meant to annoy, to gain a kingdom as rich, as extensive, and as populous as her own. A mischievous nation is like a mischievous man, both may make all their neighbours uneasy for a while, but both will be the dupes of their own mischief in the end. It is fortunate for the interests of human nature, and for those of the people I speak of, composed as they are, of an ingenious and industrious commonalty, and of a learned and gallant gentry, that they have at last changed their system, and do not any longer consider their own happiness to consist in making all their neighbours unhappy.

IN a country in which the passions of every individual are strong, because his spirit is high, and in which all take a side in politics, because all ought to take it, I presume that those who do not like me, or some of the following letters, will do me the honour to say that they are published with party views: if this be so, I am certainly a very unfortunate party man, and this a very unfortunate party book; because I am not sure that I shall gain either of the two great parties in this kingdom; and if they judge with less candour than I have done, I am afraid I shall lose both: yet one side will permit me to assure them, that when I found in the French dispatches lord Russel intriguing with the court of Versailles, and Algernon Sidney taking money from it, I felt very near the same shock as if I had seen a son turn his back in the day of battle.

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A P P E N D I X

T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

R E V I E W

O F

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

A

A. P. D. N. D.

Sir John D. D.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

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A P P E N D I X.

R E V I E W

OF

EVENTS AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE Papers in my possession concerning the events of Charles the Second's reign, prior to the dissolution of his last parliament, relate to three distinct periods of time. The 1st is from the downfall of lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667, to the time of the Prince of Orange's marriage in the year 1677. During this period, King Charles, the duke of York, and their ministers, formed connexions with France of the most dangerous nature to the religion and liberties of the subject. The 2d period is from the Prince of Orange's marriage until the downfall of lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679. During this period, Charles wavered between Holland and France, the duke of York continued steady in his course, and the popular party in parliament formed connexions with France against their Princes, of a tendency almost as dangerous as those which the Princes had formed against their subjects. The last is from the downfall of the earl of Danby's ministry until the dissolution of Charles the Second's last parliament. During this period, Charles renewed his connexions with France, the popular party continued theirs, and France, by a train of policy perhaps the deepest that is to be found in history, intriguing with both, triumphed upon their common disgraces. I shall therefore divide the papers into three chapters relating to these three periods. From the perusal of them an English reader may draw this instructive lesson; that the wisest thing a King of England can do is to respect the interest of his people, and the wisest thing the people of England can do is to respect that of their Prince.

C H A P. I.

First period, from the downfall of lord Clarendon's ministry in the end of the year 1667, until the marriage of the Prince of Orange in the year 1677.

CHARLES the Second, from the natural gayety of his temper, and his residence in France, had contracted a love for the people and even government of that country, and an aversion to the Dutch, which had influence upon his political conduct through almost the whole of his reign. From his father's misfortunes and his own, he had also been fatally taught to think, that he had an interest separate from that of his people; and this led him into connexions with France which he kept secret from his people, and often even from his ministers.

In the *Depot des affaires etrangeres* at Versailles, I found some of his letters to the dutchess of Orleans, which mark his personal antipathy to the Dutch. One of them, which could hardly have been expected from a royal hand, follows.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Indecent to the Dutch.

Whithall, 27 Feb. 1669.

I AM sorry that my lord Hollis has asked justice upon a point of honour that I should never have thought of: you know the old saying in England, the more a T. is stur'd the more it stinkes, and I do not care a T— for any thing a Dutch man sayes of me, and so I thinke you have enough upon this d rty subject, which nothing but a stinking Dutch man could have been the cause of, but pray thanke the King my brother and desire him not to take any kinde of notice of it, for such idle discources are not worth his anger or myne. I have been all this day at Hamptoncourt, and 'tis so long since I have been a horse back, as with this smale dayes journey I am weary enough to beg your pardon if I say no more now but that I am yours.

A paper at Versailles, entitled, "Memoire présenté au Roy par Monf. de Rouvigny, au retour d'Angleterre," of which a copy shall be

immediately subjoined, shows, that before the triple alliance, Charles had made several attempts to a league with France; and other French papers, to be printed in a different part of this appendix, will show the same thing.

Upon entering into the triple alliance, Charles wrote the following apologies to his sister and Louis the XIVth.

Charles the II^d to the Dutchess of Orleans.—Makes an apology for the triple alliance.

Whithall, 23 Jan. 1668.

I BELEEVE you will be a little surpris'd at the treaty I have concluded ^{In the Depot at Versailles.} with the States, the effect of it is to bring Spaine to consent to the peace upon the terms the King of France hath avoued he will be content with, so as I have done nothing to prejudice France in this agreement, and they cannot wonder that I provide for my selfe against any mischifes this warre may produce, and finding my propositions to France receave so cold an answer which in effect was as good as a refusall, I thought I had no other way but this to secure my selfe. If I finde by the letters that my Ld. St. Albans is come away, I do intend to send sombody else into France to incline the King to accept of this peace: I give you a thousand thanks for the care you take before hand of James, * I will answer for him that he will be very obedient in all your commands, and your kindness to him obliges me as much as 'tis possible, for I do confesse I love him very well, he was I beleeve with you before your last letter came to my hands. You were misinformed in your intelligence concerning the D^{esse} of Richmond, if you were as well acquainted with a little fantastical gentleman calld Cupide as I am, you would nether wonder nor take ill any sudden changes which do happen in the affaires of his conducting, but in this matter there is nothing done in it. I do not answer Monsieurs letter by this post, because I have not yett spoken with M. de St. Laurens to whom the letter refers me, so I shall only desire you to remember me very kindly to him, and be assured that I am interly yours.

* Monmouth.

Copie d'une Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Roi, du 3 fevrier, 1668.

*In the Depot
at Versailles.*

MONSIEUR mon frere. La conjoncture presente des affaires ne me permettant pas de deliberer plus longtems à prendre parti, j'ai choisi celui que je croyois plus conforme à ce que je dois au repos de la Chrétienté, en me joignant avec les Etats généraux des Provinces unies pour faire la paix entre vous et le Roi Catholique monsieur mon frere, en quoi je ne dois croire vous avoir fait une chose désagréable, puisque nous nous sommes convenus de vous proposer la dite Paix sur des conditions que vous aviés plusieurs fois témoigné de vouloir accepter, et plus expressément dans votre dernière lettre du 27^{me} du mois passé, dans laquelle (ayant eu la bonté de me faire part de la marche que vous alliés faire dans la Franche Comté) vous vous déclarés que quelqu'en puisse être le succès, vous ne laisserés pas d'accepter les conditions susdittes; sacrifiant ainsi vos interêts particuliers à la tranquillité publique, qui est un sentiment fort généreux et digne de vous. J'ai chargé le Chevalier Trevor, Gentilhomme de ma chambre privée, que je dépêche en France en qualité de mon envoyé extraordinaire, de vous expliquer plus au long mieux là dessus, et le desir que j'ai d'exécuter le traité que j'ai fait avec tous les égards possibles à votre satisfaction, en quoi vous lui donnerés, s'il vous plait, entière créance, et plus particulièrement quand il vous entretiendra de l'inviolable amitié laquelle je desire de vous continuer en toutes occasions, comme

Monsieur, mon frere,

votre bon frere,

(Signé) CHARLES.

Translation of a Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, dated the 3d February, 1668.—To the same purpose.

SIR, My Brother,

THE present posture of affairs not permitting me to deliberate a long time what part to take, I have chosen that which I thought most conformable to what I owe to the repose of Christendom, and have joined the States General of the United Provinces to bring about a peace between

you and the Catholick King my brother, in which I believe I have not done a disagreeable thing to you, as we have agreed to propose the said peace upon the conditions that you have often expressed yourself willing to accept, and more expressly in your last letter of the 27th past, in which (after having been so good as to communicate to me your intended march into the Franche Comté) you declare, that whatever the success may be, you still were willing to accept the beforementioned conditions; thus sacrificing your private interests to the public good. A most generous sentiment and worthy of you. I have ordered the Chevalier Trevor, *a gentleman of my bed-chamber*, whom I have sent to France in quality of my envoy extraordinary, to explain matters to you more at large, and the desire I have to execute the treaty I have made, with every possible regard for your satisfaction; to whom, if you please, you will give entire confidence, and more particularly when he assures you of the inviolable friendship which on all occasions I wish to preserve as,

Sir, my brother,

your good brother,

(Signed) CHARLES.

Charles the Second to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Sir John Trevor ſent to Paris about the triple alliance.—The King's kindneſs for his ſiſter.

Whithall, 4 Feb. 1668.

I Have diſpatched this bearer Sir John Trevor into france as my envoyé ^{In the Depot at Verſailles.} extraordinary with power to negotiate the peace betweene the two crownes according to the treaty I lately made with the ſtates of the united provinces, I have given him orders to communicate all things with that freedome to you as I ought to do haveing that kindneſſe for you which I cannot in words ſufficiently expreſſe, I hope he will not finde his worke difficulte, ſince I preſſe nothing but the conditions of peace which the King of france offered to agree with Spain upon, Monſr. de S. Laurens will part from hence in two or three dayes, by him I will write more to you, and ſo I am intierly yours.

The triple alliance against France was signed on the 23d Jan. 1668, and on the 24th day thereafter, the dutchess of Orleans and the duke of Buckingham entered into an intrigue for a secret treaty with France. On this head there is the following letter to her in the duke's hand-writing at Versailles.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—The beginning of the intrigue of the ſecret treaty with France in the year 1669.

De Londres ce 17me de fevrier, 1668.

In the Depot
at Versailles.

VOUS devés excuſer ce porteur ſ' il a demeuré ici trop long tems, puis- que ce n'a pas été ſa faute. J'avois ſouhaité de vous envoyer avec lui un homme capable de traiter notre affaire, mais il m'a été impoſſible, et je vous avoue que je prévois affés de difficultés à trouver une perſonne qui fait la langue, qui a été verſé dans les affaires et en qui je m'oſe con- fier : néammoins je ferai tout mon mieux pour en venir à bout, et ferai très fâché ſi n'oſant vous envoyer Leighton, et ne pouvant trouver un autre, je ſerai réduit à la néceſſité d'entrer en matiere ici avec Mr. l'Ambaſſadeur, puisqu' aſſurément par ce moyen l'affaire tirera plus de longue. J' ai été chez lui, comme vous me l'avés ordonne, et lui ai dit que vous m'avies commandé de lui communiquer toutes choſes, mais que je ne l'oſois faire ſans la permiſſion du Roi mon maitre, et que pour cette raiſon, je lui priois de vous en demander pardon de ma part. J' ai auſſi brûlé votre petit billet, et vous ſupplie de croire que je n' ai d'attachement au monde que celui de vous obéir.

Pour l'amour de Dieu ne vous impatientés point et conſiderés, que dans les lieux où il y a des meſures à prendre pour gagner la bonne volonté du peuple, on ne peut pas agir avec tant de promptitude que l'on voudroit.

Translation.

London, 17 Feb. 1668.

YOU muſt excuſe the bearer if he has ſtaid here too long, becauſe it has not been his fault. I was deſirous to have ſent along with him a man capable of treating upon our affair, but that was impoſſible, and I own to you that I foreſee difficulties enough in finding a perſon who knows the language, and that is verſed in buſineſs, in whom I can confide :

nevertheless I will do every thing in my power to accomplish it, and shall be very sorry, if not daring to send Leighton to you, nor capable to find another, I must be reduced to the necessity of entering into the matter with the Ambassador here, as it will greatly lengthen the affair.—I have been with him as you ordered me, and told him that you commanded me to communicate every thing to him, but that I did not dare to do it without the King my master's leave, and for this reason I desired him to ask your pardon on my part. I have also burnt your note, and beg you will believe that the strongest desire I have in this world is to obey you.

For the love of God don't be impatient; and consider that in a place where every measure must be taken to gain the good will of the people, one cannot act with so much dispatch as might be wished.

It is observable of this letter that Buckingham avoids an intercourse with the French Ambassador, which had probably been thought expedient by the dutchess, and this is frequently repeated in the French correspondence on this head. The reason was, he wanted to reserve all the honour of the treaty to the dutchess and himself.

In the summer of the year 1668, Charles frequently renewed the attempt to a treaty with France. But France seems to have stood off, distrusting his sincerity. On this subject there is at Versailles the following letter and the following memorial from Monsieur Rouvigny.

Lettre de Monfr. de Rouvigny au Roi, du 21 Mai, 1668.

Sire,

LE Roi d'Angleterre et Monfr. le Duc d'York continuent à me témoigner qu'ils feroient bien aise de faire une liaison très étroite avec votre Majesté. Le premier m'entretint hier assez long tems sur ce sujet, et après m'avoir parlé de votre Majesté avec admiration, il me dit qu'il voudroit bien faire un traité avec elle de gentilhomme à gentilhomme, et qu'il préféreroit votre parole à toutes les parchemins du monde. Je lui répondis qu'il ne pouvoit pas douter de l'estime et de l'affection que votre Majesté avoit pour lui et pour ses intérêts, après tant de témoignages qu'il en avoit reçus depuis que j'étois près de sa personne; que de son côté

In the Depot.

on y avoit si peu répondu, que je savois bien que cette conduite vous avoit donné quelque défiance; mais que je ne doutois pas que s'il vouloit me déclarer ses sentimens pour vous en informer, que votre Majesté n'y fut très sensible. Il y a apparence que ceci ira plus avant; c'est pourquoi je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de m'envoyer ses instructions là dessus, et de me faire savoir si elle trouvera bon que j'aille la trouver lorsque je le jugerai à-propos pour son service, sans attendre une autre permission pour faire ce voyage; car peut être que l'on pourra me faire ici une grande confidence.

Le Roi d'Angleterre voit fort souvent et avec soin Mad. le Duchesse de Richemont, laquelle est fort incommodée d'un de ses yeux, qui a été blessé de la petite verole. Cette Majesté ne laisse pas de voir tous les jours Mad. de Castelmeine, qui n'est plus qu'une bonne amie, laquelle s'applique à faire valoir son bien, et à meubler une maison que son maitre lui a donnée.

(Signé) ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

*A Letter from Monsr. de Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, dated May 21, 1668.
—Charles and the Duke of York make advances to France.*

Sire,

THE King of England and his Highness the Duke of York continue to assure me that they will be extremely glad to enter into the strictest union with your Majesty. The first discoursed me yesterday a long time upon the subject, and after having spoke of your Majesty with admiration, he told me that he would willingly make a treaty with you as between gentleman and gentleman, and that he preferred your word to all the parchment in the world. I answer'd him, that he could not doubt of the esteem and affection your Majesty had for him and his interests, after so many proofs as he had received since I had been near his person: that on his part he had so little answered thereto, that I knew very well this conduct had given you some mistrust; but that I did not doubt, if he would declare his sentiments to me, in order that I might inform you of them, your Majesty would be very sensible of them. In all appearance this will

go farther; for which reason, I most humbly beg your Majesty to send me instructions thereupon, and inform me if you approve of my waiting upon you whenever I may judge it necessary for your service, without waiting any other permission to make the journey, for perhaps they may put a great deal of confidence in me here.

The King of England often sees, and even seeks occasion to see the Dutchess of Richmond, who is extremely ill of one of her eyes, which was hurt by the small-pox. His Majesty does not let a day pass without seeing Madam Castlemaine, who is no more than a common friend, wholly employed in encreasing her fortune, and furnishing a house that her master has given her. (Signed) ROUVIGNY.

Mémoire présenté au Roy par Mr. de Rouvigny, au retour d'Angleterre.—Mr. de Rouvigny étoit arrivé en France le 3 Juillet, 1668.

DANS tous les derniers entretiens que j'ai eus avec le Roi d'Angleterre, *In the Depot.* je ne l'ai jamais vu persister dans les mêmes sentimens; il m'a toujours témoigné qu'il avoit une forte passion de se lier étroitement avec le Roi, connoissant qu'il n'y avoit rien qui lui fût plus avantageux, ni plus nécessaire pour le bien de ses affaires; mais il a souvent changé de pensée pour les manieres. Quelque tems devant que la paix se fit, il m'a dit par plusieurs fois qu'il avoit un grand desir de faire une forte union avec la France, mais qu'il falloit l'aider, parcequ'il y avoit beaucoup de gens près de lui qui n'étoient pas de cet avis. Que pour lui il n'avoit jamais été sans cette inclination, que je le savois mieux que personne, et que je n'en pouvois pas doubter, après les choses qu'il m'avoit dites lorsque je pris congé de lui au dernier voyage que j'ai fait en Angleterre. Et sur ce que je lui repondis, que le Roi n'avoit pas moins d'envie que lui pour faire cette union. Il me dit qu'il étoit nécessaire que le Roi fit des avances, que c'étoit à lui à parler le premier, et que sans cela il ne pourroit jamais persuader les personnes qui n'étoient pas de son opinion. Sur quoi je lui répartis, que je ne savois aucune raison qui pût obliger le Roi à parler le premier, si ce n'est l'affection et l'estime qu'il avoit pour lui, que par cette raison il l'avoit fait assez souvent depuis que j'étois en Angleterre; mais qu'on y avoit si mal répondu, et qu'il s'en étoit si mal trouvé, ayant vu imprimées dans un livre de Lifola des propositions qu'il m'avoit fait

faire pour la gloire et pour l'avantage de l'Angleterre, que je ne croyois pas qu'il voulût cy après se commettre à de pareils accidens ; que sans cela j'étois assuré que le Roi ne balanceroit pas à parler encore le premier là dessus comme il avoit déjà fait, n'ayant rien diminué de l'affection qu'il a de s'unir d'intérêt avec lui, ne voulant par s'amuser à des façons qui étoient fort éloignées de son humeur, et qui souvent par la perte du tems ruinoient les affaires. Après ces discours réitérés par plusieurs fois, le dit Roi m'a dit assez souvent ; laissés-moi faire, je vous parlerai au premier jour. Depuis la paix faite il m'a recommencé les mêmes discours, sur quoi je lui ai repeté les mêmes choses. Et nos entretiens ne finissoient qu'avec une esperance qu'il me donnoit de me dire quelque chose en confiance, dont je serois content. Le duc de York souhaite fort cette union, le duc de *Boug* de même ; ils ne font point les fins, et disent qu'il n'y a que cela de bon pour rétablir les affaires de cette cour. Ils en ont souvent parlé au Roi d'Angleterre, mais il en est détourné par M. *B. C.* qui, étant conseillé par *Lisola*, lui a dit de tems en tems qu'il y alloit de son honneur s'il entroit le premier en matiere, et que ce seroit le moyen de ne rien faire. Il n'oseroit pas dire à son maitre qu'il ne faut pas faire cette liaison ; au contraire il avoue qu'elle est bonne, mais il lui dit que le Roi ne la veut pas ; et que s'il la vouloit, il ne feroit jamais la difficulté de faire la premiere proposition, qui en ce cas là ne manqueroit point d'avoir un bon succès : il tombe d'accord du fond, mais il le détruit par la forme. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a fait toutes ces repliques : enfin, après d'autres conversations, il s'est moqué de ce point d'honneur, et il m'a fait connoître qu'il feroit bien fâché si on le croyoit capable d'une si grande foiblesse ; qu'il avoit toujours la même passion de se lier avec le Roi, et la même connoissance que son amitié lui étoit bien utile ; que ce n'étoit pas ce point d'honneur qui l'empêchoit de parler le premier, ce que seroit une pensée bien chimérique, mais seulement le grand préjudice qu'il recevrait dans son état, vû sa présente constitution, si le Roi ne prenoit pas bien ses propositions ; que les ayant faites, on pourroit aussitôt les faire savoir aux Hollandois, et même s'en servir pour l'avantage des intérêts de la France au prejudice des siens. Sur quoi je lui ai répondu, que ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de me dire en confiance ne tiroit a nulle consequence, parceque n'étant pas son sujet, et ne m'ayant donné aucune lettre de créance, il pourroit me desavouer toutes les fois qu'il lui plairoit, en cas qu'il vît qu'on en abusoit ; et que je le

pouvois assurer, ce qu'il savoit bien aussi, que le Roi mon maitre n'étoit pas capable d'abuser de sa confiance, et d'employer de pareils moyens, qui étoient indignes de sa générosité, et fort contraires à son humeur. Il me dit là dessus, qu'il ne savoit pas defavouer une chose qu'il auroit dite. Et il me demanda en suite, si l'on n'avoit pas proposé à Vanbuning de partager les Pays bas en cas de la mort du Roi d'Espagne. Je lui dis que je n'en faurois rien quand cela seroit véritable, qu'il n'étoit pas difficile de voir que cette nouvelle sortoit de la boutique de Lisola ; mais qu'elle ne pouvoit être vraie par beaucoup de raisons, dont je ne lui en dirois qu'une seule, qui étoit, que j'avois souvent ouï dire au dit Vanbuning, que ses maitres aimeroient mieux que tous les Pays bas Catholiques fussent entre les mains du Roy d'Espagne, que d'en avoir fait le partage avec sa Majesté, dont ils craignoient terriblement le voisinage. Après cela le dit Roy m'a encore demandé si le roi étoit libre, et en état de faire une ligue offensive et défensive ; que si cela étoit ainsi, et que sa Majesté eût dessein de conclure un bon traité, il pouvoit me répondre de l'événement et d'un succès tel qu'il plairoit au Roi. En fin, après le dernier entretien que j'ai eû avec le Roi d'Angleterre, il m'a dit, qu'il m'avoit si souvent assuré de la passion qu'il avoit de se lier étroitement d'amitié et d'intérêt avec le Roi, qu'il n'étoit plus nécessaire de m'en parler ; mais qu'il lui restoit pour marque de sa franchise de me dire une chose, qui étoit, que le soupçon et la défiance ayant empêché jusqu'ici cette liaison, et pouvant encore faire la même chose à l'avenir, il croyoit qu'il falloit commencer par les détruire ; que pour cet effet, après y avoir pensé, il n'avoit pas trouvé un meilleur moyen que celui ci, à savoir, que les deux Rois s'engageassent réciproquement de ne rien faire cy après sans la participation, ni sans le consentement l'un de l'autre ; que ce seroit poser un bon fondement sur lequel on pourroit travailler avec loisir et avec fureté à une bonne alliance, laquelle ne pourra être trop forte à son gré, étant en état, et n'y ayant rien qui puisse l'empêcher de faire une ligue offensive et défensive avec la France, envers tous et contre tous. Que si le Roi vouloit agir avec le même esprit que lui, il répondroit toujours du secret et d'un bon succès, que c'étoit la pensée de Mr. le duc d'York et de toutes les personnes qui composent son conseil, lesquelles n'avoient point d'autres sentimens que les siens, qu'il me prioit d'en assurer le Roi, et de lui dire de sa part, que s'il vouloit

s'engager de son côté, comme il étoit prêt de s'engager du sien, de ne rien entreprendre ni de faire à l'avenir aucune négociation ni aucun traité l'un sans l'autre, que sans doute on pourroit conclurre bientôt après et fort facilement une union, qui jusqu'ici n'avoit été empêchée que par la défiance.

Le lendemain après cet entretien, j'en fis la relation au duc de Bouguingham, de laquelle il me témoigne recevoir une grande satisfaction; mais 24 heures après il me dit que la chose étoit changée, et que le Roi son maître étoit revenu sur la difficulté de parler le premier; ce qui m'obligea de mettre par écrit tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit dit le 18 Juin, afin de lui faire lire, et de savoir de lui si ce n'étoient par les mêmes choses qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur de me dire. Cette Majesté me dit que je n'avois rien changé à son discours, mais qu'il desiroit que je ne dise pas au Roi ces choses là de sa part, mais seulement qu'il me les avoit dites, et qu'il consentoit que je les dise à sa Majesté comme m'ayant été confié, et n'étant pas fâché de m'expliquer ses pensées. Sur quoi je lui demandai s'il en étoit encore sur le point d'honneur; il me répondit que non; mais qu'il craignoit que les Hollandois ne fussent bientôt avertis de cette proposition, si je la faisois de sa part. Je l'ai vû trois fois depuis, étant toujours dans ce même sentiment, et la dernière fois que j'ai pris congé, il me recommanda fort de dire que ces dernières paroles étoient les pensées de son cœur, qu'elles m'avoient été dites en grande confiance.

M. B. C. lui a dit, que le Roi prétendoit à la monarchie universelle, et qu'il falloit couper les ailes aux gens qui vouloient voler trop haut.

Translation.

Memorial presented to the King by Mons. de Rouvigny at his return from England.

Mons. Rouvigny arrived in France July 3, 1668.—Charles had solicited a treaty with France before the triple alliance, and pressed for it immediately after.

IN all the last conversations I have had with the King of England, I have never found him continue in the same way of thinking. He has always expressed to me a strong desire to unite himself more strictly with the King, well knowing that nothing can be more advantageous, nor more

necessary for the benefit of his affairs; but he has as often changed his thoughts with regard to the manner. Some time before the peace was made, he often told me that he had a great desire to enter into a strict alliance with France, but it was necessary he should be assisted, because there were a great many people about him of a different way of thinking. That as to himself, he had always had this inclination; that I knew it better than any body, and that I could not have the least doubt of it, after the things he had told me when I took leave of him the last time I was in England. Upon which I answered, that the King had not a less desire than him to compleat this union. He told me it was necessary the King should make the advances; that it was his part to speak first, without which it would never be in his power to persuade those persons who differed with him in opinion. On this I reply'd, that I knew no other motive that could oblige the King to speak first, but the affection and esteem he had for him, and for this reason he had already done it often enough since I was in England; but they had answered it so badly there, and he had been so ill used, having seen printed in a book of Lisolas some proposals which he had made through me for the glory and advantage of England, that I did not believe he would hereafter expose himself to such accidents; that without this, I was assured the King would not hesitate still to speak first as he had already done, seeing the desire he had to unite interests with him was nothing diminished, and that he was unwilling to amuse himself with ceremonies which were so widely different from his humour, and which often by the loss of time were the ruin of affairs. After these reiterated discourses, the said King has often enough said to me, Leave it to me, I will speak to you the first opportunity. Since the peace he has renewed the same discourse to me, and I have repeated the same things. Our conversations always finished with his giving me hopes that he would say something to me in confidence, with which I should be satisfied. The Duke of York very much wishes for this union, as does the Duke of *Boug* (i. e. Buckingham); they put on no hypocrisy, and say there is no other good method to re-establish the affairs of this court. They have often spoke to the King of England upon it, but he is hindered by M. B. C. who, being advised by Lisola, tells him from time to time that his honour is concerned if he enters first into the affair, and that it will be the means of nothing being done. He

dares not tell his master that he should not make this alliance; on the contrary, he owns it to be a good one, but he says the King (i. e. of France) is not for it; and that if he was, he would have no difficulty in making the first proposal, in which case it would not fail of having a good success. He agrees upon the whole, but destroys it through form. The King of England gave me all these answers: in short, after some other conversations, he laughed at this point of honour, and gave me to understand, that he should be very sorry if he was believed capable of so great a weakness; that he had always the same desire to unite himself with the King, and the same knowledge that his friendship would be very useful to him; that it was not this point of honour that hindered him from speaking first, that was a very chimerical thought, but only the great prejudice he should receive in his state, considering its present constitution, if the King should not take his proposals well; that having made them, they might be also made known to the Hollanders, and even used to the advantage of the interests of France, and the prejudice of his own. On which I reply'd, that what he did me the honour to say to me in confidence led to no consequence, because I not being his subject, and not having any credential letter from him, he might at any time be pleased to disown me, if he saw me abuse it; and that I could assure him, what he also well knew, that the King my master was not capable of abusing his confidence, nor of employing such like means, which were unworthy his generosity, and very contrary to his humour: He thereupon told me, that he was not able to disown a thing he had once said. Afterwards he asked me, if it had not been proposed to Vanbuning to divide the Low Countries in case of the King of Spain's death. I told him I knew nothing of it, though it should be true; but it was not difficult to see that this news came from Lifola's shop; that it could not be true for many reasons, of which I would only mention one, which was, that I had often heard it said by Vanbuning, that his masters would rather wish the whole Catholick Low Countries were in the hands of the King of Spain, than to have them divided with his Majesty, whose neighbourhood they terribly feared. After which the same King asked me, if the King was at liberty, and in a condition of making an offensive and defensive league; that if it was so, and his Majesty had a design to conclude a good treaty, he could answer to me for the event, and such a

success as would please the King. In short, after the last conversation I had with the King of England, he told me, that he had so often assured me of his ardent desire to unite himself strictly in friendship and interest with the King, that it was unnecessary to speak any more upon it; but that it remained for him as a mark of his freedom to tell me one thing, which was, that suspicion and diffidence having till now hindered this union, and the same things being liable to happen again, he believed the best way to begin was by destroying them; that to this end, after having thought of it, he could find no better means than this; to wit, that the two Kings should reciprocally engage to do nothing for the time to come without the participation and consent of each other: that this would be laying a good foundation on which they might work with leisure and safety to form a good alliance, which, according to his inclinations, could not be too strong, considering his condition, and that there was nothing to hinder him to make an offensive and defensive league with France, towards all and against all. That if the King would act with the same spirit as himself, he would always answer for secrecy, and for a good success. That the Duke of York and all who composed his council were of the same way of thinking, and had no other sentiments than his. That he desired me to assure the King of it, and to tell him that if he would engage on his part, as he was ready to do on his, not to undertake or make, for the time to come, any negotiation or treaty, one without the other, it was beyond a doubt they might soon after very easily conclude an union, that hitherto had been only prevented through diffidence.

The day after this conversation, I communicated it to the Duke of Buckingham, who expressed great satisfaction; but 24 hours after he told me the thing was changed, and that the King his master had returned to the difficulty of speaking first, which obliged me to put in writing all that the King of England had said to me on the 18th of June, to the end he might read it, and I know from himself whether it did not contain the same things he had done me the honour to mention to me. His Majesty told me, that I had changed none of his discourse, but he desired I would not relate these things as from him to the King; but only that he had said them to me, and that he consented I should tell them to his Majesty

as matters trusted to me, and which he was not displeased I should explain as his thoughts. Upon which, I ask'd him if he still harp'd upon the point of honour; he answered no; but that he fear'd the Dutch would be soon after informed of this proposal, if I made it on his part. I have seen him three times since, and still found him in the same way of thinking. The last time I took leave of him, he recommended it strongly to me to say that the last words were the thoughts of his heart, and that he had said them to me in great confidence.

M. B C has told him that the King pretends to universal monarchy, and that it is necessary to clip the wings of those who would soar too high.

From the above memorial and letter it appears, that, instead of France drawing Charles into the secret alliance to defeat the triple alliance, as has been commonly thought, Charles drew France into it.

It appears also from the memorial, that Buckingham misrepresented his master's sentiments, to prevent the treaty from going into the French Ambassador's hands.

These letters about the triple league do also great honour to the memory of Sir William Temple, who formed it in five days, and who was not ignorant that there was a French interest at work with his master. Vide Sir William Temple's letters in Jan. 7, 1668.

When the French court came to listen seriously to Charles's proposals for a secret treaty, Buckingham was dropped, and the correspondence passed through the hands of the Dutches of Orleans, who had infinite beauty and talents, and whom it was known to the French court Charles loved to extravagance, as appears from many letters in the *Depot* at Versailles to the French court from their ambassadors in England. In one of these letters Colbert says, that her influence over him was remarked by all, that he had wept often when he parted with her, and that whatever favour she asked for any one was granted.

There are the following letters on the subject of an alliance with France from King Charles to her in the *Depot* at Versailles.

Charles the IIId to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—Impatient with the delays of France about the treaty.

Whithall, 19 Jan. 1669.

I HAVE received yours of the 20, and you have reason to wonder that In the Depar.
you have been ſo long without hearing from me, but I have had nothing to ſay, and it has been ſo colde heere as it did not invite one to write nothing, and I did not write to you by Bonneford becauſe I thought he would be long upon the way with his horſes. I ſhall not ſay much to you becauſe Rouvigny will be diſpatched in two or three days, and by him you will heare at large from me, only I cannot chuſe but obſerve to you now, that I ſee that Monſr. Comminges does not all good offices there, by foretelling my intentions in as ill a ſence as he uſes to doe, and my Ld. Hollis writes ſomething to me about giving commiſſions to the city of Bremen, which the K. my brother ſayes he will be ſatiſfied in, before he goes on with our treaty, which is ſo great a dreame to me, as I know not from whence this fancy proceeds, except it be from Monſr. de Comminge, who I am confident you will finde in the end, hath done me as many ill offices, as hath layne in his power to do, and I do wonder that after the advances I made by C. Barckly I ſhould find the treaty go on ſlower than it did, my Ld. Hollis haveing receaved not yett an answer to his laſt paper, which is now almoſt two monthes agoe. After all this when Rouvigny returns you ſhall find my minde not changed, but that I will be as ſincere in that matter as I promiſed you to be; and if there be any thing altered in my condition ſince we firſt talked of this matter it is for the better; and ſo good night, for 'tis late.

Charles the IIId to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—He has wrote to Louis the XIVth; enjoins ſecrecy; is undetermined what to agree upon.

Whithall, 20 Jan. 1669.

YOU will ſee by the letter which I have written to the King my In the Depar.
brother, the deſire I have to enter into a perſonall frienſhip with him, and to unite our intereſts ſo for the future as there may never be any

jealousys betweene us. The only thing which can give any impediment to what we both desire, is the matter of the sea, which is so essential a point to us heere, as an union upon any other security can never be lasting, nor can I be answerable to my kingdomes if I should enter into an alliance wherein their present and future security were not fully provided for: I am now thinking of the way how to proceede in this whole matter which must be carried on with all secrecy imaginable, till the particulars are farther agreed upon: I must confesse I was not very glad to heare you were with childe, because I had a thought by your making a journey hether, all things might have been adjusted without any suspicion, and as I shall be very just to the King my brother in never mentioning what has past betweene us, in case this negociation does not succcede as I desire, so I expect the same justice and generosity from him, that no advances which I make out of the desire I have to obtaine a true frendship betweene us, may ever turne to my prejudice. I send you heere inclosed my letter to the King my brother, desiring that this matter might passe through your handes as the person in the world I have most confidence in, and I am very glad to finde that Monfr. de Turene is so much your frinde, who I esteeme very much, and assure my selfe will be very useful in this negociation. I had written thus farr when I received yours by the Italian, whose name and capacity you do not know, and he deliverd your letter to me in a passage where it was so dark as I do not know his face againe if I see him, so as the man is likely to succcede when his recommendation and reception are so suitable to one another. But to returne to the businesse of the letter, I assure you that there is no league entered into as yett with the Empereur: the only league I am in is the garanty I am ingaged in with the Hollanders upon the peace at Aix, which is equally bindeing towards both the crowns: I think Mr. de Lorene deserves to be punished for his unquiet humour, but I wish the King my brother do not proceede too farr in that matter, least he gives a jealousy to his neighbours that he intends a farther progresse than what he declared at first, which might be very prejudiciall to what you and I wish and endeavour to compasse, and you shall not want upon all occasions full informations necessary; but we must have a great care what we write by the post, least it fall into hands which may hinder our designe, for I must again conjure

you that the whole matter be an absolute secrett, otherwise we shall never compasse the end we aime at. I have not yet absolutly contrived how to proceede in this businesse, because there must be all possible precautions used, that it may not eclat before all things be agreed upon, and pray do you thinke of all the wayes you can to the same end, and communicate them to me. I send you heere a cypher wich is very easy and secure, the first side is the single cypher, and within such names I could thinke of necessary to our purpose. I have no more to add but that I am entierly yours. K.

Charles the IIId to the Dutcheffs of Orleans.—Has made the first advances, and waits for an answer.

Whithall, 9 Feb. 1669.

I MUST in the first place aske your pardon for having mist so many In the Depot. posts: the truth of it is, what between busines and the little masca- rades we have had, and besides the little businesse I had to write, with the helpe of the cold wether, I did not thinke it worth your trouble and my owne to freeze my fingers for nothing, haveing said all to Rouvigny that was upon my harte, and I am very glad to finde by yours that you are so well satisfied with what he brings; it lies wholly on your parts now to answer the advances I have made, and if all be not as you wish, the faulte is not on my side. I was this morning at the Parliament House to passe the Bill for the five and twenty hundred thousand pounds, and the commissioners are going into their severall countryes for the rayfing it according to the act. We are using all possible diligence in the setting out the fleete for spring. My lord Sandwich sett saile two days since with 18 good ships, to seeke out a squadron of the Duch fleete which we heare was seen upon the north coast of England; and if he has the good fortune to meete with them, I hope he will give a good accounte of them. I am very glad to hear that your indisposition of health is turned into a great belly: I hope you will have better lucke with it than the ducheffe here had, who was brought to bed Monday last of a girle; one part I shall wish you to have, which is,

that you may have as easy a labour, for she dispatched her business in little more than an houer. I am afraide your shape is not so advantageously made for that convenience as hers is: however a boy will recompence two grunts more, and so good night for feare I should fall into natural philosophy before I thinke of it. I am yours.

Charles the II^d to the Dutcheſs of Orleans.—The Duke of York has come into the project on the ſcore of religion—Bids her not write to Buckingham.

Whithall, 22 March, 1669.

In the Depot.

I CAME from Newmarket the day before yesterday, where we had as fine wether as we could wiſh, which added much both to the horſes matches as well as to hunting. L'Abbé Pregnani was there moſt part of the time, and I beleeve will give you ſome account of it; but not that he loſt his mony upon confidence that the ſtarrs could tell which horſe could win, for he had the ill luck to foretell three times wrong together, and James (i. e. Monmouth) beleeved him ſo much as he loſt his mony upon the ſame ſcore. I had not my cipher at Newmarket when I received yours of the 16, ſo as I could ſay nothing to you in answer to it till now, and before this comes to your hands, you will cleerly ſee upon what ſcore ^Y 363. (York) is come upon the buſineſſe, and for what reaſon I deſired you not to write to any body upon the buſineſſe of ^F 271. (France). ^B 341. (Buckingham) knowes nothing of ^K 360. (King Charles) intentions towards ^C 290. ^R 319. (Catholick Religion) nor of the perſon ^A 334. (Arundel) ſends ^R to 100. (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) and you need not feare that ^B 341. (Buckingham) will take it ill that 103. does not write to him, for I have tould him that I have forbid 129. to do it for feare of intercepting the letters, nor indeed is there much uſe of our writing much upon this ſubject, becauſe letters may miſcarry, and you are before this time ſo fully acquainted with all, as there is nothing to be added till my meſſenger comes back.

You have counselled Monsieur very well in the matter of Mr. de Rohan. I never heard of a more impertinent carriage then his. I had not time to write to you by father Paterique (Tallbot) for he took the resolution of going to France, but the night before I left this place, but now I desire you to be kind to the poore man, for he is as honest a man as lives, and pray direct your Phefician to have a care of him, for I should really be troubled if he should not do well. What you sent by Mercer is lost, for there are letters come that informs of his setting saile from Havre in an open shalloupe with intention to come to Portsmouth, and we have never heard of him since, so as he is undoubtedly drown'd. I hear Mam. sent me a present by him, wich I beleeeve brought him the ill lucke, so as she ought in conscience to be at the charges of praying for his soule, for tis her fortune has made the man miscarry : and so my dearest sister, I am yours with all the kindnesse and tenderneffe imaginable.

*Charles the IIId to the Dutcheffs of Orleans.—He is fortifying himself at home.—
Is not to touch church lands.—Buckingham afterwards to be brought in.—
The King's resentment against the Dutch.*

Whithall, 6 June, 1669.

THE oportunity of this bearer going into France, gives me a good In the Depot.
occasion to answer your letters by my lord Alington, and in the first place to tell you that I am secureing all the principall postes of this country, not only fortifying them as they ought to be, but likewise the keeping them in such handes as I am sure will be faithfull to me upon all occasions, and this will secure the fleete ; because the cheefe places where the ships lye are Chattam and Portsmouth, the first of which is fortifying with all speede, and will be finished this yeare ; the other is in good condition already, but not so good as I desire, for it will cost some mony and time to make the place as I have designed it ; and I will not have lesse care both in Scotland and Ireland. As for that which concerns those who have church lands, there will be easy wayes found out to secure them and put them out of all apprehension. There is all the reason in the worlde to joyne profitt with honour when it may be done honestly, and

^R 126. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIV) will find ^K 360. (King Charles) as

forward to do ^{Holland} 299. a good turne as he can desire, and they will I dout not agree very well in the point, for he has used them both very scurvily. I

^K am sure 334. (King Charles) will never be satisfied till he has had his revenge, and is very willing to enter into an agreement upon that matter

^R whensoever 152. (le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) please, and I will answer

^A for 346. (Arlington) that he will be as forward in that matter as I am, and farther assurance you cannot expect from an honest man in his post, nor ought you to trust him if he should make any other professions than to be for what his master is for. I say this to you because I undertooke to answer that part of the letter you writ to him upon this subject, and I hope this will be full satisfaction as to him in the future that there may be no doubt, since I do answer for him. I had writ thus far when I received yours by Elyas, by which I perceave the inclination there still is of trusting 112. (Commingé) with the maine businesse, which I must confesse for many reasons I am very unwilling to, and if there were no other reason than his understanding, which to tell you the truth, I have not so great an esteeme for, as to be willing to trust him with that which is of so much

^{Mon.} concerne. There will be a time when both he and 342. (Monsieur, i. e. the Duke of Orleans) may have a share in part of the matter, but for the great secrett if it be not kept so till all things be ready to begin, we shall never go through with it, and destroy the whole businesse. I have

^B seene your letter to 341. (Buckingham) and what you write to him is as it ought to be, he shall be brought into all the businesse before he can

^R suspect any thing, except that which concernes 263. (Religion) which he must not be trusted with: you will do well to write but seldome to him, for feare something may slip from your penn which may make him jealous that there is something more then what he knowes of. I do long to hear

^{L. A.} from 340. (Lord Arundel) or to see him heere, for till I see the paper

^{France} you mention which comes from 113. I cannot say more than I have done. And now I shall only add one word of this bearer Mr. de la Hiliere, who I have found by my acquaintance with him since his being heere to have

both witt and judgement, and a very honest man, and pray let him know that I am very much his frind, and if at any time you can give him a good word to the King of France I shall be very glad of it; I will end this with desiring you to beleve that I have nothing so much at my hart as to be able to acknowledge the kindnesse you have for me: if I thought that makeing many compliments upon that matter would persuade you more of the sincerity of my kindnesse to you, you should not want whole sheetes of paper with nothing but that; but I hope you have that justice as to beleve me more then I can expresse entierly yours.

Charles the IIId to the Dutcheffs of Orleans.—Enjoins secrecy.—Impatient for Lord Arundel's return.

Whithall, 7 June, 1669.

I WRITT to you yesterday by Mr. de la Hiliere upon that important In the *Depot*.

point, whether ^C112. (Comminge) ought to be acquainted with our secrett, and the more I think of it, the more I am perplexed: reflecting upon his insufficiency, I cannot thinke him fitt for it, and therefore could wish some other fitter man in his station, but because the attempting of that might disoblige ^B137. (Buckingham) I can by no means advise it: upon the whole matter I see no kinde of necessity of telling ^C112. (Comminge) of the secrett now, nor indeede till ^E270. (England) is in a better redinesse to make use of ^F297. (France) towards the great businesse: mee-thinks it will be enough that ^R164. be made acquainted with ^R100. (Le Roy, i. e. Louis the XIVth) security in ^K360. (King Charles) friendship without knowing the reason of it: To conclude, remember how much the secrett in this matter importes ^K386. (King Charles) and take care that no new body be acquainted with it till I see what ^{L. A.}340. (Lord Arundel) brings ^K334. (King Charles) in answer to his propositions, and till you have my consent that ^R164. or any body else have there share in this matter. I

D

A P P E N D I X.

would faine know (which I cannot do but by ^{L. A.} 366.) (Lord Arundel) how
^{France} ready 323. is to breake with ^{Holland} 299. that is the game that would as I con-
 ceave most accommodate the interests both of ^{England} 270. and ^{France} 297. As for ^{Spain} 324.
 he is sufficiently undoing himselfe to neede any helpe from ^{France} 271. Nay I am
 perswaded the medling with him would unite and make his counsell stronger:
^{L. A.} the sooner you dispatch 340. (Lord Arundel) the more cleerely we shall be
 able to judge of the whole matter. One caution more I had like to have for-
^R gotten, that when it shall be fit to acquainte 138. with 152. (le Roy)
^K security in 386. (King Charles) frindship, he must not say any thing of it
^{England} in 270. and pray lett the ministers in ^{France} 297. speak less confidently of ^K 360.
 (King Charles) frindship then I heare they do, for it will infinitely dis-
^{Parlement} compose 269. when he meets with ^K 334. (King Charles) to beleve that
^K 386. (King Charles) is tied so fast with ^{France} 271. and make ^{Parlement} 321. have a
 thousand jealousies upon it. I have no more to add but to tell you that
 my wife after all our hopes has miscarried againe without any visible acci-
 dent; the phesicians are divided whether it were a false conception or a
 good one, and so good night for 'tis very late; I am intierly yours.

*Charles the IIId to the Dutcheffs of Orleans.—Impatient for an answer from
 the French court about the treaty.*

Whithall, 24 Oct. 1669.

In the Depot. I WRITT to you yestarday by the Comte de Grammont, but I
 beleve this letter will come sooner to your handes, for he goes by the
 way of Diep with his wife and family: and now that I have named her,
 I cannot chuse but againe desire you to be kinde to her; for besides
 the meritt her family has on both sides, she is as good a creature as ever
 lived. I beleve she will passe for a handsome woman in France, though
 she has not yett, since her lying in, recovered that good shape she had
 before, and I am affraide never will. You will heare by this post of the

demel  that was betweene my Ld. St. Albans and de Chapel, wich is now made up : all I shall say of it is, that de Chapel was as much in the wrong as a man could well be to his superiour officer. Poore Oneale died this afternoon of an ulser in his gutts ; he was as honest a man as ever lived : I am sure I have lost a very good servant by it. I have nothing to say more to you upon our publique businesse till I have an answer from you of my last letter by the post, only that I expect with impatiency to know your mindes there, and then you shall finde me as forward to a strict friendship with the King my brother as you can wish. You will have heard of our takeing of New Amsterdame wich lies just by New England. 'Tis a place of great importance to trade, and very good towne ; it did belong to England heretofore, but the Duch by degrees drove our people out of it, and built a very good towne, but we have got the better of it, and 'tis now called New Yorke : he that took it, and is now there, is Nicols, my brothers servant who you know very well.

I am yours.

In the *Depot*, at Versailles, there is a letter from Sir Ellis Lighton to the dutchess of Orleans, dated 18 Jan. 1669, in which he tells her, that Buckingham had refused to treat with Mons. Colbert, the French ambassador, on account, as he said, that he was afraid of a discovery.

On the 12 August, 1669, there is a letter from Mons. Colbert, then ambassador in England, to Mons. de Lyonne, the French King's secretary of state, that Buckingham had offered to go over to France to make a treaty there between France and England, but that he, Colbert, had prevented him ; and there are other letters to the same purpose. In the mean time the treaty was going on unknown to Buckingham by the intervention of the dutchess of Orleans.

On the 2d of September, 1669, King Charles writes thus to his sister

Charles the II^d to the Dutchess of Orleans.—The triple alliance had been made against his inclinations.

2d September, 1669.

In the *Depot*. **Y**OU judge very well, when you conclude that I am satisfied with Monf. Colbert, and I wish with all my heart that France had been as forward in their intentions towards us when Rouvigny was here, as I see they are now; I should not have been so embarrassed with the ties I am now under, if the offers I then made had been accepted.—I have upon all occasions let Monf. Colbert know the kindness I have for you, and that if I had no other inclination to France but your being there, it would be a sufficient matter to make me desire passionately a strict union with them.

This letter shows that the triple alliance against France was against King Charles's inclinations.

In the *Depot* are the two following letters, between Louis the XIVth and King Charles, about the treaty.

Lettre du Roi au Roi d'Angleterre, du 10 Septembre, 1669.

MONSIEUR mon frere. Comme vous avés jugé que par ma réponse j'ai entierement payé la confiance que vous avés eüe en moi, j'avoue que par votre réplique vous avez repris la même avantage, n'y ayant pü rien trouver à desirer, ni dans les choses mêmes, ni dans la maniere de les exprimer. Je me flatte aussi que le mémoire dont j'accompagne cette lettre vous donnera la même satisfaction; et il ne reste ce me semble qu' à mettre promptement la main à l'œuvre, pour établir les fondemens de ce que nous souhaitons l'un et l'autre avec tant de passion: sur quoi j'attendrai de vos nouvelles avec autant d'impatience que ma sœur même, pour qui nous avons tant d'amitié, et qui se rencontre si heureusement la médiatrice de cette négociation, comme elle est même un lien si naturel de nôtre union.

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to the King of England.—Happy in the Dutcheſs of Orleans being mediatrix between them.—Strong expreſſions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my brother,

10 Sep. 1669.

AS you judged by my answer that I had entirely paid the confidence you placed in me, I own that by your reply you have regained the same advantage, not being able to find any thing more to wish, neither as to the things themselves, nor in the manner of expressing them. I flatter myself also that the memorial which accompanies this letter will give you the same satisfaction: and it appears to me there is nothing wanting but speedily to put a hand to the work, for establishing the foundations of what we both so ardently wish for: on this I expect to hear from you with as much impatience as my sister, for whom we have so much friendship, and who so happily is the mediatrix of this negociation, being as she is so natural a tie to our union.

Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Roi, au 30 Septembre, 1669.

MONSIEUR mon frere. Le porteur de la présente vous étant bien connu, il n'aura pas besoin d'une recommandation fort ample pour être crû auprès de vous dans les discours qu'il vous exposera de ma part. Ma sœur vous rendra au même tems de son arrivée le papier que j'ai fait faire pour l'accompagner, dans lequel vous verrez les sentimens les plus intérieurs de mon ame sur le sujet du dit discours. Le quel papier je vous adresse par les mains de ma sœur, pour vous confirmer dans la confiance mutuelle que nous avons dans sa discretion et zele à nous unir plus étroitement. J'ai chargé le porteur de vous dire l'entiere satisfaction que j'ai de votre procédé honnête et obligeant à mon égard, et la véritable amitié avec laquelle je suis.

Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth.—Strong expressions of mutual confidence.

Sir, my brother,

30 September, 1669.

THE bearer is so well known to you, there needs no farther recommendation for his being believed in the discourse he will hold to you on my part. My sister will at the time of his arrival deliver to you a paper which I thought proper should accompany him, in which you will see the most secret sentiments of my soul on the subject of the said discourse. I address the said paper to you by the hands of my sister, to confirm you in that mutual confidence we both have in her discretion and zeal to unite us more strongly. I have charged the bearer to assure you of the entire satisfaction I have in your just and obliging proceeding with regard to myself, and of the real friendship with which I am.

It appears from Colbert's dispatches, in the *Depot*, that King Charles, some time before this, had sent over lord Arundel to Paris to treat with France, and had appointed him, lord Clifford, Sir Richard Bealling, and lord Arlington, his commissioners to manage it. The three first of these persons were declared Roman Catholicks. Lord Arlington was a concealed one, and on his death-bed declared his faith publicly, as appears from a subsequent part of the French dispatches in the *Depot*. What the views of King Charles and the French were in entering into a treaty, will be seen from a conversation between King Charles and Colbert, related in the following letter, in the *Depot*, from Monf. Colbert to his own court, who was sent over to England in place of Monf. de Comminge, to be ready to manage the treaty there.

Lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 13 Novembre, 1669.—Has got Lord Arundel's propositions and his own instructions.—His conversation with Charles the II^d, about the secret treaty.—Charles trusts to a military force.—Inclines to declare himself Catholick, in order to satisfy his conscience, and strengthen his authority, before he declares war against the Dutch.—Colbert urges him rather to begin with the war, in order that he may have the greater force of his own and French troops ready to support his authority when he declares himself Catholick.

SIRE,

LE courrier que votre Majesté m'a dépêché arriva ici dimanche au ^{In the Depot.} matin dixième de ce mois, & après m'avoir rendu la lettre de Mr. Colbert, qui m'ordonne de la part de votre Majesté de chiffrer et déchiffrer moi même toutes les lettres que je recevrai ou que j'écrirai touchant l'importante affaire, qu'elle me fait l'honneur de me confier, il me remit en main le paquet contenant le mémoire de votre Majesté pour me servir d'instruction, toutes les propositions faites par Mr. le Comte d'Arendel avec les réponses, la lettre de votre Majesté pour le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, le pouvoir qu'elle me donne écrit et signé de sa main et celui en parchemin. J'employay tout le reste du jour à déchiffrer, lire, et examiner tout ce que contiennent ces dépêches; et comme le Roi d'Angleterre fût occupé tout le lundi tant à sa Chapelle qu'aux affaires du parlement, je n'eus audience particuliere qu'hier au soir, où après qu'il eût lû la lettre de votre Majesté, il voulût bien me dire que la conduite que j'avois tenue jusqu'à présent, lui avoit été si agréable, qu'il n'avoit aucune répugnance à me confier le secret le plus important de sa vie; et qu'outre la bonne opinion qu'il avoit de moi, il y étoit encore confirmé par la lettre de votre Majesté, et par celle de madame, qui le prioit de n'avoir aucune réserve pour moi. Je lui dis, comme je le pense aussi, que j'étois si sensiblement touché de la confiance que votre Majesté et lui vouloient bien avoir en moi dans une affaire d'une si grande conséquence, et pour leur royaumes et même pour toute la chrétienté, que je croyois que quand j'employerois et ma vie et tout ce que j'ai de bien pour la faire réussir, je ne satisferois pas encore à ma reconnois-

sance ; que n' y ayant plus de difference entre ses interêts et ceux de votre Majesté, je le servirois aussi avec le même zele et la même fidélité ; et pour le secret je l'informai de l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné, et l'assurai que j'apporterois toute la diligence, et toutes les précautions possibles pour ne donner lieu à personne d'en rien soupçonner. Il me demanda ensuite si j'avois vu les propositions, qu'il a faites à votre Majesté. Je lui dis, qu'elle m'avoit fait envoyer les copies de tout ce qui avoit été écrit de part et d'autre sur ce sujet ; que ses sentimens m'avoient paru très généreux et veritablement dignes d'un grand Roi ; qu' aussi votre Majesté en étoit parfaitement satisfaite, et principalement de la confiance qu'il lui avoit témoignée, en lui communiquant son dessein ; que je ne pouvois pas aussi lui exprimer l'obligation que votre Majesté lui a, de la disposition où il est de se joindre à elle, pour lui faciliter l'acquisition des droits nouveaux qui pourroient lui échoir sur les Etats de la Monarchie d'Espagne ; que comme c'est l'interêt le plus capital qu'elle puisse jamais avoir, elle reconnoit fort bien de quelle importante utilité lui sera cette jonction, si l'occasion en arrivoit par la mort du Roi Catholique, et quels avantages elle produiroit en faveur de votre Majesté dans la poursuite de son droit, et à l'Angleterre aussi comme elle le trouve juste. Il me dit ensuite, qu'il croyoit qu'en lisant tous ces écrits, j'avois estimé que lui et ceux aux quels il avoit confié la conduite de cette affaire étoient fous de prétendre retablir en Angleterre la Religion Catholique ; qu' effectivement toute personne instruite des affaires de son royaume, et de l'humeur de ses peuples, devoit avoir cette pensée là ; mais qu' après tout il esperoit qu' avec l'appuy de votre Majesté, cette grand entreprise auroit un heureux succès ; que les Presbyteriens et toutes les autres sectes avoient encore plus d'averfion pour l'Eglise Anglicane que pour les Catholiques ; que tous ces sectaires ne respiroient qu' après la liberté de l'exercice de leur religion, que pourvu qu'ils l'obtiennent, comme c'est son dessein de leur accorder, ils ne s'opposeroient point à son changement de religion ; que d'ailleurs, il a de bonnes troupes qui lui sont bien affectionnées, et que si le feu Roi son pere en avoit eu autant, il auroit étouffé dans leur naissance les troubles qui ont causé sa perte ; qu'il augmenteroit encore autant qu'il lui seroit possible ses regimens et compagnies sous les pretextes les plus spécieux qu'il pourroit trouver ; que tous les magasins d'armes sont à sa

disposition, et tous bien remplis. Qu'il étoit assuré des principales places d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse; que le gouverneur de Hulle étoit Catholique; que ceux de Portsmouth, Plymouth, et de plusieurs autres places qu'il me nomma, et entr' autres Windsor, ne se départiroient jamais de l'obéissance qu'ils lui doivent: que pour les troupes d'Irlande, il espere que le Duc d'Ormond, qui y a conservé un grand crédit, lui sera toujours fidele; et que quand même ce Duc n'approuvant pas ce changement de religion, manqueroit à ce qu'il lui doit, my lord Oorey qui est Catholique dans l'ame, et qui a encore plus de pouvoir dans cette armée, la meneroit par tout où il lui commanderoit: que l'amitié de votre Majesté, dont il avoit des preuves les plus obligeantes du monde par les reponses qu'elle a faites à ses propositions, et dont il me témoigné être parfaitement content, feroit aussi pour lui d'un grand secours; et en fin il me dit qu'il étoit pressé et par sa conscience et par la confusion qu'il voyoit augmenter de jour en jour dans son royaume à la diminution de son autorité, de se déclarer Catholique, et qu' outre l'avantage qu'il en retireroit pour le spirituel, il croyoit aussi que c' étoit le seul moyen de retablir la Monarchie. Je lui dis que le dessein étoit grand et généreux, et que j' espérois qu' en prenant bien son tems, il réussiroit; que comme votre Majesté se remet tout à sa prudence pour le choix de ce tems, j' en avois rien à en dire, à moins qu'il ne voulût écouter les raisons que me suggeroit le seul zele que j'ai pour son service, et les connoissances que m'a données le séjour que j'ai fait à sa cour; et comme il m' eût dit qu'il seroit bien aisé de prendre mes conseils dans toute la suite de cette affaire, je lui dis que je ne doutois point de ce qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur de me dire, que si le Roi son pere eût eû autant de troupes que lui, il n' eût facilement abattu la rébellion des sa naissance, parcequ'elle n' avoit commencé que par de petits troubles exciter par des intrigues de cour, aux quelles les peuples n'avoient presque point de part, et qui n'ont pris force et vigueur que par l' impunité dans laquelle l'autorité Royale, n' étant appuyée d'aucunes troupes, a été contrainte de les laisser; mais que ceux que l'on devoit craindre que sa déclaration ne causât, seroient bien d'une autre nature; que peut-être de dix parts de son royaume les neuf y auroient intérêt; que si les Presbyteriens et sectaires haïssoient plus à présent l'Eglise Anglicane que la Catholique, c'est parceque celle-ci est à présent dans le der-

nier abattement, et plus digne de pitié que d'envie; mais que quand ils la verroient relevée par la déclaration du Prince, et qu'ils feroient réflexion sur le décréditement dans le quel leur secte pourroit tomber dans la suite du tems, ils s'uniroient apparemment avec les Protestans pour s'opposer à ce changement: que l'expérience n'a que trop montré, que le motif de la religion est un feu de soufre et de salpêtre, qui enflâme en un instant toute l'entendue de sa matière, et n'est jamais plus furieux ni plus violent que dans son commencement; qu'il il falloit s'attendre à des séditions dans toutes les parties du royaume; et dans Londres qu'il ne manque jamais de chef dans des rebellions de cette nature; que j'apprenois même, qu'il y avoit plus de vingt mille hommes tant dans Londres qu'aux environs, qui avoient porté les armes pendant l'usurpation de Cromwel, et qui étoient au désespoir de se voir sans emploi; qu'il y avoit sujet de croire que dans une occasion comme cette là, ils feroient tous prêts de reprendre les armes pour appuyer la rébellion; que quand pas une des troupes qu'il entretient, ni aucun de ses bons sujets sur lesquels il compte, ne lui manqueroient au besoin, ils feroient peut être accablés par la multitude des rebelles, avant même qu'il eût pu faire venir les troupes que votre Majesté seroit convenue de lui donner; que la tour de Londres, où est son principal magasin d'armes, n'est d'aucune défense, et ne tiendrait peut-être pas un jour si elle étoit attaquée; qu'il ne falloit pas espérer que les Hollandois, qui craindroient avec raison la suite de cette déclaration, se tiendroient dans un plein repos, et ne prendroient aucune part dans ce qui se passeroit; qu'ils employeroient au contraire et leurs trésors, et tout leur crédit pour former des obstacles à l'exécution d'un dessein si fatal à leur état; qu'en fin il y avoit selon mon sens un très grand danger et pour la couronne et pour tous ses bons serviteurs dans une déclaration prématurée; au lieu que dans le parti que votre Majesté propose de commencer par une déclaration de guerre contre la Hollande, j'y voyois toute sûreté, et l'on pouvoit répondre d'un heureux succès: Car premièrement, je ne pouvois pas douter que faisant connoître à son Parlement, que sa plus forte passion est de rendre la commerce et la navigation des Anglois beaucoup plus florissans qu'ils n'ont jamais été, et que comme il n'y trouve point de plus grand obstacle que les Hollandois, qui s'étant emparés par des manières tyranniques de commerce de tout le monde, en

forte qui à peine 16000 vaisseaux qu'ils ont déjà peuvent suffire à leur navigation, ne veulent aujourd'hui lui donner aucune satisfaction sur les justes demandes qu'il leur a faites, tant pour la liberté du commerce dans les Indes Orientales, que sur d'autres chefs qui regardent l'avantage de ses sujets, il a résolu de leur faire la guerre pour les mettre à la raison ; et qu'il a pris pour cet effet de si bonnes mesures avec votre Majesté, qu'il répond du succès, pourvu que son Parlement lui accorde seulement les deux tiers ou la moitié des assistances qu'il lui a données par le passé pour ce même sujet, j' étois, dis je, persuadé, qu'il obtiendrait un assez grand secours pour, étant joint à ses revenus ordinaires et aux assistances que votre Majesté lui donneroit et des troupes et d'argent, mettre fin à cette guerre en une seule campagne, et y acquérir toute la gloire et tous les avantages qu'il pourroit desirer ; y ayant beaucoup d'apparence que la plupart des Princes d'Allemagne, qui sont ou amis de votre Majesté ou des siens, se joindroient contre les Hollandois, ou au moins demeureroient neutres ; ce que l'on ne devoit pas espérer des Rois et Princes Protestans, si cette guerre étoit précédée d'une déclaration de Catholicité, qui donneroit lieu aux Hollandois de leur faire croire que ce seroit une affaire de religion. Que les Etats étant attaqués, et du côté de l'Evêque de Munster et d'autre part aussi par les troupes de votre Majesté et les siennes, ne seroient pas en pouvoir d'armer une flotte considérable, ni de résister longtems ; et que quand même votre Majesté et lui jugeroient à propos pour leur commun avantage de continuer cette guerre, il pourroit à la fin de la campagne, laisser seulement dans les places qui seroient de son partage, les troupes aux quelles il n'auroit pas sujet de se fier pour la déclaration de sa Catholicité, et faire revenir celles qui lui seroient le plus dévouées, pour, avec toutes les recrues et nouvelles levées qu'il feroit faire pendant le cours de la campagne, sous le prétexte de la continuation de cette guerre, pouvoir appuyer son changement de religion : que pour lors il n'y auroit pas lieu d'appréhender que ses sujets le voyant bien armé, et par terre et par mer, et en pouvoir de disposer de toutes les forces de votre Majesté contre tous ses ennemis, soit domestiques, soit étrangers, et étant d'ailleurs satisfaits des avantages qu'il leur auroit procurés par un heureux commencement de guerre, et de la liberté de conscience, qu'il leur accorderoit, voulussent ou osassent faire la moindre résistance à ses volontés : qu' au contraire, assen-

blant son Parlement dans cette conjoncture il en tireroit apparemment tels secours pour la continuation de cette guerre, et tels actes en faveur de sa religion qu'il pourroit desirer : que les Hollandois étant déclarés ennemis de l'état, et par conséquent ceux qui traiteroient avec eux sans ses ordres, punis comme traitres au Roi et à la patrie, ils n'auroient pas à beaucoup près tant de facilité à former, appuyer, et maintenir une rebellion que lorsque sous l'apparence d'amis, eux et leurs emissaires auront liberté d'intriguer et de tout entreprendre. Enfin, Sire, après m'être servi le mieux qu'il m'a été possible de toutes les autres raisons énoncées au mémoire de votre Majesté, ce Prince m'a répondu qu'il ne s'étoit pas encore tout à fait déterminé sur le tems de sa déclaration; que peut-être feroit-il bon que votre Majesté commençât à faire la guerre aux Hollandois, pour lui fournir par là un prétexte de s'armer, et qu' aussitôt après il pourroit sans risque déclarer et sa Catholicité et la guerre aux Hollandois; et le premier réussissant, comme il y auroit de l'apparence, joindre après un mois ou deux ses forces à celles de votre Majesté contre leurs ennemis communs. Il me dit aussi qu' aussitôt que le projet auquel ses commissaires travailloient feroit achevé, il me le communiqueroit, et qu'il avoit bien de l'impatience que cette grande affaire fût bientôt conclu à votre commune satisfaction; et après m'avoir encore donné des assurances de son estime les plus obligeantes que je pouvois desirer, il m'a congédié. Je me suis aussi acquitté envers mylord Arlington de l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné; et il m'a témoigné une forte passion de se conserver l'estime de votre Majesté; il m'a aussi promis qu'il agiroit dorénavant avec moi avec une entière ouverture de cœur, et sans aucune reserve. J'y ai répondu de ma part avec d'autant plus de sincérité, que la connoissance que votre Majesté m'a donnée de l'affection et zele de ce ministre pour le service du Roi son maître avoit changé le peu de satisfaction que sa froideur passée m'avoit donnée en une forte inclination à l'honorer comme un sage et fidele ministre; et comme j'ai tout sujet d'être content de lui, il m'a paru aussi qu'il l'étoit des protestations sinceres que lui ai faites. Pour ce qui regarde l'affaire qui nous est confiée, notre entretien ayant été presque en toutes choses semblable à celui que j'ai eû avec le Roi, je n'en rendrai point compte à votre Majesté, pour ne pas user d'une redite ennuyeuse: il m'a dit que les affaires du parlement l'avoient tellement

occupé, qu'il n'avoit pu travailler au projet de traité, mais qu'il alloit s'y employer avec toute la diligence que le sujet mérite; il m'a dit aussi que pour ne point donner lieu de soupçon par des visites plus fréquentes que nous n'avons coutume de nous rendre, il falloit s'écrire réciproquement; et que pour le faire plus sûrement, il disposeroit le Roi et Mr. le duc d'York à trouver bon que nous remissions entre leurs mains propres les lettres que nous nous écrivions sans que personne autre s'en pût appercevoir: qu'il étoit aussi nécessaire que je donnasse au plutôt mes répliques sur le traité de commerce, à fin que cette affaire nous fournît un prétexte de nous voir souvent; qu'il trouvoit aussi à propos de faire courir le bruit adroitement que le Roi son maître sollicite votre Majesté de remettre à son arbitrage la différence qu'elle a avec l'Espagne sur l'exécution du traité d'Aix, à fin de faire d'autant plus valoir aux Anglois cette complaisance de votre Majesté, et leur ôter tout sujet de craindre qu'elle veuille recommencer la guerre avec l'Espagne.

J'ai vu aussi Mr. le duc d'York, qui m'a dit en substance presque les mêmes choses dont le Roi et mylord Arlington m'avoient parlé. Aussitôt qu'on m'aura remis entre les mains le projet de traité, je ne manquerai pas de dépêcher un courrier pour le porter sûrement et en diligence à Mr. de Lyonne, et je tacherai de mériter la continuation de la confiance dont votre Majesté m'a honoré par une entière et fidele application à l'exécution de ses ordres, étant avec un profond respect et toute la soumission que je dois,

SIRE, de votre Majesté

Le très humble, très obeissant, très fidele,

Et très obligé serviteur à sujet,

(Signé) COLBERT.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth.

SIRE,

13 Nov. 1669.

THE messenger your Majesty dispatched to me arrived here on Sunday morning the 10th instant, and after having given me the letter from Mr. Colbert, which orders me, on the part of your

Majesty, to cypher and decypher myself all the letters I shall receive or write concerning the important affair which you have done me the honour to confide to me: he delivered to me the paquet containining your Majesty's memorial to serve me by way of instruction; all the propositions made by the earl of Arundel, with the answers; your Majesty's letter to the King of Great Britain; and the power delegated to me written and signed with your hand, and that on parchment. I employed the rest of the day in decyphering, reading, and examining the contents of the dispatches; and as the King of England was engaged all Monday at chapel and with parliamentary affairs, I had not my private audience till yesterday evening, when after having read your Majesty's letter, he was pleased to tell me, that the conduct I had held till now, had been so agreeable to him, that he had not the least diffidence to trust me with the most important secret of his life; and that besides the good opinion he had of me, it was confirmed to him by your Majesty's letter and that of madame, who desired he would shew no reserve to me. I told him, as I really thought, that I was so sensibly touched with the confidence your Majesty and himself had placed in me in an affair of so great consequence to both your kingdoms, and even to all Christendom, if I employed my whole life, and all I was worth, to procure success, it would not be sufficient to testify my gratitude: that there being no longer any difference between his interests and those of your Majesty, I would serve him also with the same zeal and the same fidelity; and as to keeping the secret, I informed him of your Majesty's order, and assured him that I would use all diligence, and take every possible precaution to avoid giving the least suspicion to any body. He afterwards asked me if I had seen the proposals he had made to your Majesty. I told him you had sent me copies of all that had been written on both sides upon the subject; that his sentiments appeared to me very generous, and truly worthy of a great King: that your Majesty was perfectly well satisfied with them, and principally with the confidence he had shewn to you in communicating his design; that moreover I could not sufficiently express to him the obligation your Majesty was under for his disposition to join himself with you, in order to facilitate the acquisition of the new claims you might have upon the Spanish monarchy; that as it was the most capital interest you could ever

have, you acknowledged of what important service this junction would be, if the occasion presented itself by the death of the Catholic King; and what advantages it would produce in favour of your Majesty in the pursuit of your right, and to England also, as he justly saw. He told me afterwards he believed, that in reading all the writings, I must have thought that he and those to whom he had entrusted the conduct of this affair, were all fools to pretend to re-establish the Catholic religion in England; that, in effect, every person versed in the affairs of his kingdom, and the humour of his people, ought to have the same thought; but that, after all, he hoped that, with your Majesty's support, this great undertaking would have a happy success: that the Presbyterians, and all the other sects, had a greater aversion to the English church than to the Catholics: That all the sectaries desired only the free exercise of their religion, and provided they could obtain it, as it was his design they should, they would not oppose his intended change of religion: that besides, he has some good troops strongly attached to him, and if the deceased King his father had had as many, he would have stifled in their birth those troubles that caused his ruin: that he would still augment as much as possible his regiments and companies under the most specious pretexts he could devise: that all the magazines of arms are at his disposal, and all well filled. That he was sure of the principal places in England and Scotland: that the governor of Hull was a Catholic; that those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and many other places he named, among the rest Windsor, would never depart from the duty they owed him: that as to the troops in Ireland, he hoped the duke of Ormond, who had very great credit there, would be always faithful to him; and that though the duke, not approving this change of religion, should fail in his duty, my lord Orrery, who was a Catholic in his heart, and who had still a greater power in that army, would lead it wherever he should command him: That your Majesty's friendship, of which he had the most obliging proofs in the world by the answers given to his proposals, and with which he assured me he was entirely satisfied, would also be of great service to him: and in short, he told me that he was pressed both by his conscience, and by the confusion which he saw encreasing from day to day in his kingdom, to the diminution of his authority, to declare himself a Catholic; and besides the spiritual advantage he should

draw from it, he believed it to be the only means of re-establishing the monarchy. I said to him, that the design was great and generous, and that I hoped by timing it well it would succeed: that as your Majesty trusted to his prudence for the choice of the time, I had nothing to say to it, unless he would hearken to the reasons that my zeal alone for his service suggested, and the knowledge I had acquired during my stay at his court; and as he had told me he should be glad to take my counsel in the whole of this affair, I did not doubt of what he had done me the honour to tell me, to wit, that if the late King, his father, had had as many troops as himself, he would easily have quashed the rebellion in its birth, as it originally began by trifling troubles excited by the intrigues of the court, in which the people had hardly any share, and which had gained force and vigor, through the impunity alone in which the royal authority, not being supported by any troops, was constrained to leave them; but that the troubles which it was to be feared his declaration would cause, would be of quite another nature; that perhaps nine parts in ten of his kingdom would take an interest in it; that if the Presbyterians and sectaries hated the English more than the Catholic church, it was because the last was at present at the lowest ebb, and more worthy of pity than envy; but when they saw it restored by the Prince's declaration, and reflected upon the discredit into which their sect might fall in the course of time, they would probably unite with the Protestants to oppose this change: That experience had too much demonstrated, that religious motives were a fire of sulphur and saltpetre, which in an instant sets in a flame the whole extent of its matter, and is never more furious nor more violent than in the beginning. That seditions must be expected in every part of the kingdom; and that in London there never were wanting persons to head rebellions of this kind: That I had even learnt there were more than 20,000 men in London and its environs, who had borne arms during Comwell's usurpation, and were driven to despair to find themselves without employment: that there was reason therefore to believe that on an occasion like this, they would all be ready to take up arms to support rebellion; that though none of the troops he kept in pay, or of those faithful subjects he depended on, should fail him in the time of need, yet they might perhaps be overcome by the multitude of rebels, even

before the troops your Majesty has agreed to furnish could possibly arrive : That the Tower of London, which is his principal magazine of arms, is of no defence, and would not probably hold out a day if attacked : that it is not to be hoped the Hollanders, who with reason will fear the consequence of this declaration, will keep themselves entirely quiet, and not take part in what may happen : that on the contrary, they would employ both their treasure and their credit to form obstacles to the execution of a design so fatal to their state : and in short, in my opinion, his crown, as well as all his trusty servants, are in great danger from a premature declaration : that on the contrary, I saw every kind of safety in the part your Majesty proposed him to take of beginning by declaring war against Holland, and its happy success might be answered for : for, first, I could not doubt that when he acquainted his parliament his strongest desire was to render the English navigation still more flourishing than it had ever been, and that the greatest obstacle thereto were the Dutch, who having, by very tyrannical means, engrossed the commerce of the whole world, (so that 16000 vessels are hardly sufficient for their trade) and refused him any satisfaction to the just demands he had made, as well for the liberty of trade to the East Indies, as upon other heads which regard the interests of his subjects, he had resolved to declare war against them in order to bring them to reason, and that to this end he had taken such prudent measures with your Majesty that he could insure the success, provided his parliament would grant him only two thirds or one half of the assistance they before gave him on the like occasion, I was, I said, fully persuaded that he would obtain a sufficient succour, which joined to his ordinary revenue, and to the helps which your Majesty will afford him in troops and money, would put an end to the war in one campaign, and thereby he would acquire as much glory and as many advantages as could be desired ; there being the greatest appearance that the major part of the German Princes, who are either in friendship with your Majesty or with him, will join against the Dutch, or at least remain neuter ; which is not to be expected from the Protestant Kings and Princes, if this war were preceded by his declaring himself a Catholick, which would give the Dutch room to make them believe that it was a religious quarrel. That the States being attacked on the side of the bishoprick of Munster, and on

other parts by the troops of your Majesty and his, it would not be in their power to fit out a considerable fleet, nor to make a long resistance; and should even your Majesty and he think proper for your common interest to continue the war, he might at the end of the campaign leave only such troops in the places which fell to his share, as he had the least reason to trust with regard to his declaring himself a Catholick, and order those only home who were more devoted to his interest; and with these, in conjunction with the recruits and levies which he might raise during the campaign, under pretence of continuing the war, he might support his change of religion: that then there would not be the least apprehension that his subjects seeing him well armed by sea and land, and that it was in his power to dispose of all your Majesty's forces against his enemies, whether foreign or domestic, and besides satisfied of the advantages he would procure them by a successful commencement of the war, and a free liberty of conscience which he was to grant, would, or indeed durst make the least resistance to his will; on the contrary, by assembling his parliament in this conjuncture, he would evidently draw such supplies for the continuation of the war, and such acts in favour of his religion as he could desire. That the Dutch being declared enemies to the state, and consequently those who held correspondence with them, without his permission, liable to be punished as traitors to their King and country, they would not find it near so easy to form, support, and maintain a rebellion, as when, under the appearance of friends, they and their emissaries could have the liberty of intriguing and undertaking every thing. In fine, Sire, after having made the best use I possibly could of all the other reasons contained in your Majesty's memorial, this Prince gave for answer, that he was not yet quite determined upon the time of making his declaration; that it might perhaps be best for your Majesty to begin the war with Holland, and thereby furnish him with a pretence to arm; and soon after he might without risque declare his being a Catholick, and war against Holland; and the first succeeding, as it probably would, he might in a month or two join his forces to those of your Majesty against the common enemy. He told me also, that as soon as the project which his commissioners were at work upon was finished, he would communicate it to me, and that he was very impatient to have this great affair speedily

concluded to your mutual satisfaction; and after having given me the most obliging assurances of his esteem that I could desire, he dismissed me. I have also executed your Majesty's orders to my lord Arlington; he testified to me the strongest desire to preserve your Majesty's esteem. He also promised me that for the time to come he would act with me with an entire openness of heart, and without any reserve. I answered him with so much the more sincerity, as the knowledge your Majesty gave me of the affection and zeal of this Minister for the King his master's service, had changed the little dissatisfaction his past coldness had given me into a strong inclination to honor him as a wise and faithful minister; and as I have every reason to be satisfied with him, he also appeared to be so with the sincere protestations that I made him. With regard to the affair that is entrusted to us, our conversation being in almost every thing the same with that I had with the King, I will not trouble your Majesty with it, to avoid a tiresome repetition. He told me, he had been so much taken up with parliamentary affairs, that he could not give any attention to the project of the treaty; but that he would now employ himself with all the diligence the subject merited; and to avoid giving the least suspicion by more frequently visiting than we had been used to do, he thought it best to write to each other reciprocally; and to make it more sure, he would dispose the King and the Duke of York to allow that what letters we wrote should be put into their hands, without any other person knowing any thing of it; that it was equally necessary I should as soon as possible give my answers upon the treaty of commerce, to the end that this affair might furnish us with a pretence to see each other oftener; and he thought it adviseable a report should be spread that the King his master had solicited your Majesty to submit to his arbitration the difference he had with Spain concerning the execution of the treaty of Aix, in order to enhance your Majesty's complaisance to the English, and remove every cause of fear that you intend to recommence the Spanish war.

I have also seen the Duke of York, who in substance said nearly the same things to me that the King and Lord Arlington had. As soon as they put into my hands the project of the treaty, I shall not fail to dispatch a messenger who will carry it safely and without loss of time to

Mr. De Lyonne, and I shall endeavour to merit the continuation of the confidence with which your Majesty has honoured me by an entire and faithful application to the execution of your orders, being with the most profound respect and submission, Sire, your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, most faithful and most obliged servant and subject,

COLBERT.

In the *Depot* at Versailles there is the following draught of the secret treaty drawn by Sir Richard Bealling, and presented to the French court.

Copie du Mémoire remis par Mr. Belin à Mr. Colbert, le 18 Decembre, 1669.

Projet d'un Traité secret de Ligue et Confédération perpétuelle entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et le Roi très Chrétien.

IL a été traité, convenu et conclu, qu'il y aura à toute perpétuité bonne, sûre, et ferme paix, union, vraie confraternité, confédération, amitié, alliance et bonne correspondance entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, ses hoirs et successeurs d'une part, et le Roi très Chrétien de l'autre; et entre tous et aucuns de leurs royaumes, etats et territoires, entre leurs sujets et vassaux qu'ils ont et possèdent à présent, ou pourront avoir à l'avenir et posséder cy après, tant par mer et eaux douces que par terre; et pour témoigner que cette paix doit être inviolable, sans que rien au monde la puisse à jamais troubler, il s'ensuit des articles d'une confiance grande, et d'ailleurs si avantageux aux dits seigneurs Rois, qu'à peine trouvera t'on que dans aucun siècle on en ait arrêté et conclu de plus importants. Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étant convaincu de la vérité de la religion catholique, et résolu de se déclarer Catholique, et de se réconcilier avec l'église de Rome, croit que pour faciliter l'exécution de dessein, l'assistance du Roi très Chrétien lui pourra être nécessaire: il est donc arrêté et conclu que sa Majesté très Chrétienne fournira au Roi d'Angleterre avant la dite déclaration la somme de deux cent mille livres sterlings; la moitié de la dite somme sera payée trois mois après la ratification de part et d'autre de ce présent traité, et l'autre moitié trois mois après ce tems;

et de plus le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien assistera sa Majesté Britannique de troupes et d'argent, selon qu'il sera de besoin, en cas que les sujets du dit seigneur Roi n'acquiescent pas à la dite déclaration, et se rebellent contre sa dite Majesté Britannique, (ce qu'on ne croit pas) et à fin que la dite déclaration ait le succès qu'on en espere, et soit exécutée avec le plus de sûreté, il est aussi arrêté que le jour de l'exécution du dessein sera entièrement au choix du Roy d'Angleterre.

2. Item a été convenu entre le Roi très Chrétien et sa Majesté Britannique, que le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien ne rompra ni n'enfreindra jamais la paix qu'il a faite avec l'Espagne; et ne contreviendra en chose quelconque à ce qu'il a promis par le traité d'Aix la Chapelle; et par conséquent il sera permis au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de maintenir le dit traité conformément aux conditions de la triple alliance et des engagements qui en dépendent.

3. Que s'il échoit au Roi très Chrétien cy après de nouveaux titres et droits sur la Monarchie d'Espagne, a été convenu entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et le Roi très Chrétien, que le dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne assistera le dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien de toutes ses forces tant par mer que par terre, pour faciliter l'acquisition des dits droits, le tout aux frais de sa Majesté très Chrétien; et à fin d'obvier à toutes disputes qui pourroient arriver sur l'ajustement du compte des dites troupes, a été arrêté et convenu entre les dites seigneurs Rois que la levée et transport de toutes les troupes de terre dont le Roi très Chrétien aura besoin, ou pourra requirer, se feront aux frais du dit seigneur Roi très Chrétien; et ce présent traité conclu, on arrêtera par après des articles particuliers tant concernant la paye et subsistance des dites troupes de terre, que pour régler la maniere et les conditions aux quelles elles auront à servir; mais d'autant qu'on ne peut pas si bien faire le calcul des frais d'une armée navale, sujette à tant d'accidens, et composée de tant de pièces, et pourtant qu'il est nécessaire de reduire le tout à un chef, a été arrêté que les forces navales qui seront employées, comme dit est, au service du Roi très Chrétien, seront payées par sa dite Majesté très Chrétien à raison de 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterlings 16 schelings par tête chacun mois, y comprenant la paye de tous

officiers, commandans, mariniers, les victuailles, munitions de guerre, appareils, radoubemens et perte de vaisseaux durant la guerre, et cela depuis le tems que les dites troupes seront levées jusqu' a celui auquel on les congédiera, à compter 28 jours mois ; et à ces conditions on fournira tel nombre de vaisseaux de la force que sa Majesté très Chrétien jugera nécessaire pour son service, dans le tems qu'il sera marqué pour cela. Et d'autant qu'il se pourra faire qu'on demandera cette assistance pour remettre à l'obéissance de sa Majesté très Chrétien quelques provinces et places éloignées vers la mer méditerranée, qui sont à présent sous l'obéissance des Espagnols ; et qu'il sera incommode, même impossible aux flottes de sa Majesté Brittanique de tenir la mer, sans avoir quelques ports et havres en propre où elles puissent se retirer de tems en tems pour se radouer, prendre les munitions de bouche et de guerre nécessaire, et avoir des magasins et lieux propres pour se refaire, a été convenu entre les dits seigneurs Rois, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne aura à lui, ses hoirs et successeurs, à jamais l'île de Minorque ; comme aussi pour plus grande commodité de ses forces de terre et de mer aura à lui, ses hoirs et successeurs, le port et la ville d'Ostende dans les Pays bas, avec la contrée d'alentour qui sera jugée capable de payer assez de contributions pour faire subsister la garnison qu'on jugera nécessaire d' y entretenir ; et pour prendre les dites places et les mettre en mains de sa Majesté Brittanique, le Roi très Chrétien fera les mêmes efforts et emploiera autant de troupes qu'il emploie pour prendre les places, dont la possession lui doit demeurer. De plus sa Majesté très Chrétien promet et s'engage tant en son nom qu'en celui de la Reine très chrétienne, ses heritiers, successeurs, et ayans cause (les dits droits sur la Monarchie d'Espagne lui étant échus) d'assister le Roi de la Grande Bretagne à se rendre maître des contrées et places en Amerique qui sont à présent sous l'obéissance des Epagnols, et de faire tout son possible pour obliger les peuples qui habitent ces pays et places de l'Amerique de se soumettre au gouvernement du dit seigneur Roi d'Angleterre, ses hoirs et successeurs ; et s'étant soumis, ou étant réduits à se soumettre, les dits peuples seront toujours réputés sujets du dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et de ses hoirs et successeurs. A été conclu et arrêté qu' aucun des dits seigneurs Rois ne pourra faire la paix, sans le consentement et approbation de l'autre, avec quelque Prince ou Etat que ce soit qui se feroient opposés aux droits et justes titres dévolus au Roi très Chrétien, ainsi que dit est auparavant.

4. Item il est arrêté entre les deux susdits seigneurs Rois, qu'on fera la guerre avec toutes leurs forces de terre et de mer aux états généraux des Provinces Unies des Pays bas ; et que les dits seigneurs Rois déclareront tous traités précédens avec les dits Etats nuls, excepté celui déjà mentionné de la Triple Alliance fait ensuite du traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle, et aucun des dits seigneurs Rois ne fera la paix avec eux sans l'avis et consentement de l'autre. Tout commerce entre les sujets des dits seigneurs Rois et des dits Etats sera défendu, et si les sujets d'aucuns des dits seigneurs Rois trafiquent avec les sujets des dits Etats, les navires et biens de tels sujets ainsi trafiquans pourront être saisis par les sujets de l'autre seigneur Roi, et seront réputés de juste prise. Que si après la déclaration de la guerre on prend prisonniers les sujets d'aucun des dits seigneurs Rois qui se trouveront enrôlés au service des dits Etats, ils seront exécutés à mort par le seigneur Roi dont les sujets les auront pris. Et d'autant que le sénat et république de Hambourg sont liés d'intérêts avec les Etats Généraux, et que l'expérience fait voir que la dite république assistera toujours sous main les dits Etats, a été de plus arrêté et conclu, que la guerre sera déclarée en même tems aussi par les dits seigneurs Rois contre le dit sénat et république. Et comme les préparations de mer pour terminer heureusement la guerre seront nécessairement excessifs, et que ce fardeau beaucoup plus pelant que celui d'une armée de terre, tombera principalement sur sa Majesté Britannique, le Roi très Chrétien s'engage de payer tous les ans au dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne tant que la guerre durera, la somme de 800 mille livres sterlings par voie de subside, pour défrayer une partie de la très grande dépense qui sera nécessaire au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de faire en équipant toutes ses forces navales ; ainsi qu'il se propose et s'oblige de faire tous les ans durant le cours de cette guerre. La moitié de la dite somme de 800 mille livres sterlings sera fournie et avancée au dit seigneur Roi de la Grande Bretagne trois mois avant la déclaration de la dite guerre, et l'autre moitié six mois après la dite déclaration ; et ainsi annuellement, aussi longtems que cette guerre durera, la moitié au commencement de chaque année, et l'autre moitié six mois après. Outre la dite flotte sa Majesté Britannique entretiendra toujours sur pied un corps de 6000 fantassins, qu'il transportera à ses frais. Et de toute la conquête qui se fera sur les Etats Généraux, le Roi de la Grande Bretagne

se contentera des places qui s'ensuivant, favo'r, l'Isle de Walkren, l'Ecluse, avec l'isle de Cassante. Et la maniere d'attaquer, et de continuer la guerre sera ajustée par un règlement qui sera cy après concerté. Et d'autant que la dissolution du gouvernement des Etats Généraux, qui est la fin principale qu'on se propose dans cette guerre, apportera nécessairement de grands préjudices au Prince d'Orange, neveu du Roi d'Angleterre, et même qu'il se trouve des places, villes, et gouvernemens qui luy appartiennent dans le partage qu'on se propose de faire du pays, il a été arrêté et conclu que les dits seigneurs Rois feront leur possible à ce que le dit Prince trouve ses avantages dans la continuation et la fin de cette guerre, ainsi qu'il sera cy après stipulé dans des articles à part, puisqu'il est à presumer que le crédit que l'on donnera par là au dit Prince et à ses adhérens, contribuera beaucoup au bon succes de cette guerre; au moins jettera telles semences de jalousies et de divisions parmi les Hollandois, que la conquête du pays en sera bien plus aisée.

5. Item a été arrêté qu' avant la déclaration de cette guerre, les dits seigneurs Rois feront tous leurs efforts conjointement ou en particulier, selon que l'occasion le pourra requérir, pour persuader aux Rois de Suede et Denmarck, ou à l'un d'eux, d'entrer en cette guerre contre les Etats Généraux, au moins de les obliger à se tenir neutres; et l'on tâchera de même d'attirer dans ce parti les Electeurs de Cologne et de Brandebourg, la maison de Brunswick, le Duc de Neubourg, et l'Evêque de Munster. Les dits seigneurs Rois feront aussi leur possible pour persuader même à l'Empereur et à la couronne d'Espagne, de ne s'opposer pas à la conquête du dit pays.

6. Ces fondemens étant posés, et le Roi de la Grande Bretagne après s'être déclaré Catholique, étant en paix chez lui, laissé au Roi très Chrétien la liberté de nommer le tems, auquel on aura à faire la guerre avec leurs forces unies contre les Etats Généraux; et ainsi a été arrêté et conclu que le Roi très Chrétien nommera le tems qui lui semblera le plus opportun pour la déclaration de la dite guerre; le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étant assuré que sa Majesté très Chrétien en nommant le dit tems, aura égard aux intérêts des deux couronnes, qui après la conclusion de ce traité seront communs et inséparables.

7. Si à l'occasion de cet accord l'un ou l'autre des dites seigneurs Rois se trouve cy après engagé dans des guerres étrangères ou domestiques, celui des deux seigneurs Rois qui ne sera point attaqué assistera l'autre de toutes ses forces, jusqu' à ce que l'étranger ou la rebellion puisse être apaisée.

8. Si dans aucun traité précédent fait par l'un ou l'autre des dits seigneurs Rois avec quelque Prince ou Etat que ce soit, il se trouve des clauses contraires à celles qui sont spécifiées dans cette Ligue, les dites clauses seront nulles, et celles qui sont contenues dans ce présent traité demeureront en leur force et vigueur.

Copy of a memorial remitted by Mr. Belin to Mr. Colbert, 18 Dec. 1666.—Charles is to get £.200,000 for declaring himself Catholic.—France is to assist him with troops if his subjects rebel.—If the King of Spain dies without issue, Spain is to be divided; England to get Minorca, Ostend and Spanish America; and France to get the rest of the Spanish dominions.—Holland to be divided between France and England, and provision to be made for the young Prince of Orange.—King Charles to have 800,000 pounds a year during the Dutch war.—War to be declared against Hamburgh.

Project of a secret treaty of perpetual league and confederacy between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King.

IT hath been treated, agreed and concluded that there shall be for ever a good, sure, and firm peace, union, true brothership, confederacy, friendship, alliance, and good correspondence between the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors of the one part, and the most Christian King of the other part; and between all and every of their kingdoms, states and territories; between their subjects and vassals that they now have and possess, or that they may hereafter have and possess as well by sea and fresh waters as by land. And as a testimony that this peace shall remain inviolable, and beyond the power of any thing in the world to disturb it, there follow articles of so great confidence, and otherwise so advantageous to the said sovereign Lords, that it is hardly possible to find in any age more import-

ant ones agreed and concluded upon. The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his most Christian Majesty necessary to facilitate his design: It is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his most Christian Majesty shall furnish to the King of England, before the said declaration, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling; the one half of the said sum shall be paid three months after the reciprocal ratification of the present treaty; and the other half three months after the expiration of that time: and farther, that the said Lord the most Christian King, shall assist his Britannick Majesty with troops and money as often as there shall be need, in case the subjects of the said Lord the King shall not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel against his said Britannick Majesty (which cannot be believed.) And to the end that the said declaration may have the wished for success, and be executed with the greater safety, it is likewise agreed that the day for executing the design shall be entirely in the option of the King of England.

2. It is also agreed between the most Christian King and his Britannick Majesty, that the said Lord the most Christian King shall not break nor ever infringe the peace he hath made with Spain; and that he will not controvert in any manner what he hath promised by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and consequently the King of Great Britain shall be allowed to maintain the said treaty conformable to the conditions of the triple alliance and the engagements that depend thereon.

3. That if there should fall hereafter to the most Christian King any new rights and titles on the Spanish monarchy, it is agreed between the King of Great Britain and the most Christian King, that the said King of Great Britain shall assist the said most Christian King with all his forces, as well by sea as land, to facilitate the acquisition of the said rights; the whole at the expence of the most Christian King. And in order to obviate all disputes that may happen about adjusting the accounts of the said troops, it is concluded and agreed between the said Lords the Kings, that the levying and transporting all the land forces which the most Chris-

tian King shall have occasion for, or may require, shall be at the expence of the said most Christian King; and the present treaty being concluded, particular articles shall hereafter be adjusted, as well touching the pay and subsistence of the said land forces, as to regulate the manner and conditions upon which they are to serve: But as a calculation cannot well be made of the expences of a naval armament, subject to such a variety of accidents, and composed of so many parts, it is necessary to reduce the whole to one head; it is therefore agreed that the naval forces which shall be employed, as abovementioned, in the service of the most Christian King, shall be paid by his said most Christian Majesty at the rate of 3 *l.* 16*s.* a man per month, including the pay of all officers, and sailors, the provision, ammunition, rigging, wear, and loss of ships during the war; and that from the time the said troops shall be raised till they are discharged, computing 28 days to a month; and on these conditions such a number of ships shall be furnished, and of such force as his most Christian Majesty shall judge necessary for his service, and at such time as he shall think proper; and as it may happen that this assistance will be demanded to bring under his most Christian Majesty's obedience some distant provinces and places towards the Mediterranean, which at present are under subjection to the Spaniards, and that it may be inconvenient, nay, impossible for his Britannick Majesty's fleets to keep the sea, without having some ports and havens where they may from time to time put in to careen, get provisions and ammunition, and have magazines and proper places to refit, it is agreed between the said sovereign Lords, that the King of Great Britain shall have for ever for himself, his heirs and successors, the island of Minorca; as also for the greater convenience of his land and sea forces, shall have to himself, his heirs and successors, the port and town of Ostend in the Low Countries, with as much of the country round about, as shall be judged capable of paying as much contribution as will subsist such a garrison as it shall be judged necessary to keep there; and in order to take the said places and put his Britannick Majesty in possession of them, the most Christian King will use the same efforts, and employ as many troops as he shall to take the places the possession of which are to remain with him. And farther, his most Christian Majesty promises and engages, as well in his own name as that of the most

Christian queen, their heirs and successors, and having cause (the before-named claims on the Spanish monarchy being fallen to him) to assist the King of Great Britain to make himself master of the countries and places in America, which at present are under the Spanish domination, and to do all in his power to oblige the people who inhabit those countries and places in America, to submit themselves to the government of the said Lord the King of England, his heirs and successors; and having submitted themselves or being reduced to submission, the said people shall always be accounted subjects of the said Lord the King of Great Britain, and of his heirs and successors. It is also agreed and concluded, that neither of the said sovereigns shall make a peace, without the consent and approbation of the other, with any Prince or State whatever, who shall oppose the just rights and titles devolved to the most Christian King as is beforementioned.

4. It is covenanted between the said two Sovereigns, that they shall make war against the States General of the united Provinces with all their forces by land and sea; and the said Sovereigns shall declare all treaties heretofore made with the said States null, except that already mentioned of the triple alliance made in consequence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and neither of the said Kings shall make peace with the said States without the consent of the other. All commerce between the subjects of the said Kings and of the said States shall be prohibited; and if the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns traffic with the subjects of the said States, the ships and goods of such subjects so trading shall be seized by the subjects of the other, and deemed lawful prizes; and if after the declaration of war the subjects of either of the said Sovereigns shall be enrolled in the service of the said States and taken prisoners, they shall be punished with death by the Sovereign whose subjects shall take them. And forasmuch as the senate and republick of Hambourg are united in interests with the States General, and experience having shewn that the said republick will always assist the said States under hand, it is farther agreed and concluded upon that war shall be declared at the same time by the said Sovereigns against the said senate and republick: and as the preparations by sea, in order to bring the war to a happy issue, will necessarily be excessive, and that the burthen (much more heavy than that of an army at land) will

principally fall upon his Britannick Majesty, the most Christian King engages to pay to the King of Great Britain, so long as the war shall continue, the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling by way of subsidy to defray a part of the very great expence which the King of Great Britain must necessarily be at in fitting out all his naval force; which he proposes and obliges himself to do every year during the course of this war. The half of the said sum of 800,000*l.* sterling shall be furnished and advanced to the said King of Great Britain three months before the declaration of the said war, and the other half six months after the said declaration; and thus annually, as long as the war shall last, the half in the beginning of each year, and the other half six months after. Besides the said fleet, his Britannick Majesty will always keep on foot a body of 6000 infantry, which he will transport at his own expence; and of all the conquests that shall be made upon the States General, the King of Great Britain will be satisfied with the following places, to wit, the island of Walkeron, l'Ecluse, and the island of Cassante. The manner of attack, and continuing the war shall be settled by a regulation hereafter to be concerted. And as the dissolution of the government of the States General, which is the principal end proposed by this war, will necessarily cause great prejudice to the Prince of Orange, nephew to the King of England, and as many places, towns and governments belonging to him will be found in the division it is proposed to make of the country, it hath been agreed and concluded that the said Sovereigns will do all in their power that the said Prince may find his advantages in the continuation and end of this war, as shall be hereafter stipulated in separate articles, since it is to be presumed that the credit they will thereby give to the said Prince and his adherents, will contribute much to the good success of the war; at least will sow such seeds of jealousy and divisions among the Dutch, that the conquest of the country will be render'd much more easy.

5. It is also agreed, that before the declaration of war, the two Sovereigns shall use all their efforts jointly or separately, as occasion may require, to persuade the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or one of the two, to enter into this war against the States General; or at least to oblige themselves to remain neuter; and they shall also endeavour to draw into

this party the Electors of Cologne and Brandenburg, the house of Brunswick, the Duke of Newbourg and the Bishop of Munster. The said Sovereigns shall also do all in their power to persuade the Emperor and the Crown of Spain not to oppose the conquest of the said country.

6. These fundamentals being settled, and the King of Great Britain after having declared himself a Catholick, and being in peace at home, leaves to the most Christian King the liberty to name the time when they shall make war with their united forces against the States General; it has also been agreed and concluded that the most Christian King shall name the time which shall appear to him most proper for the declaration of the said war; the King of Great Britain being assured that his most Christian Majesty in naming the said time, will have regard to the interests of both Crowns, which after the conclusion of this treaty are to be common and inseparable.

7. If upon account of this agreement the one or the other of the said Sovereigns shall find himself hereafter engaged in foreign or domestick wars, the one who is not attacked shall assist the other with all his forces till the foreign war or rebellion shall be ended.

8. If in any preceding treaty made by the one or the other of the said Sovereigns with any Prince or State whatsoever, there should be found any clauses contrary to those which are specified in this league, the said clauses shall be void, and those contained in this present treaty shall remain in their full force and vigor.

From the dispatches in the *Depot* it appears, that in the course of the treaty France refused to agree to the war against Hamburgh, agreed to give two millions of livres, which was at that time about 150,000*l.* for the King's conversion, with a subsidy of three millions for the Dutch war, and softened the expressions about the money for the King's conversion in the following words :

Projet de la fin de l'article deuxieme.

Le Roi de la Grande Bretagne étant convaincu de la vérité de la religion catholique, est résolu de se réconcilier avec l'Eglise Romaine, aussitôt que le bien des affaires de son royaume lui pourra permettre; et quoi qu'il ait tout sujet d'espérer et de se promettre de l'affection et de la fidélité de tous ses sujets, que ceux mêmes sur qui dieu n'aura pas encore répandu ses graces assez abondamment pour les disposer par un exemple si auguste à se convertir, ne manqueront pas à l'obéissance inviolable que tous les peuples doivent à leurs souverains, même de religion contraire; neanmoins comme il se trouve souvent dans les grande etats des esprits brouillons et inquiets qui s'efforcent de troubler le repos public, principalement quand ils en ont des pretextes aussi plausibles que celui de la religion, sa Majesté Britannique qui n'a rien plus à cœur, après avoir donné le repos à sa conscience, que d'affirmer celui que la douceur de son gouvernement a procuré à ses sujets, a crû que le meilleur moyen pour empêcher qu'il ne fût altéré, seroit d'être assuré, en cas de trouble, des assistances de sa Majesté très Chrétien; laquelle voulant en cette occasion donner au dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne des preuves effectives de son amitié, et du desir qu'elle a de contribuer au bon succès d'un dessein si avantageux à sa Majesté Britannique, et même à toute la religion catholique, a promis et promet de fournir au dit Roi de la Grande Bretagne la somme de, &c.

Translation.

Project of the end of the second Article.—French variation upon the wording of the article of two millions of livres for the King's conversion.

The King of Great Britain being convinced of the truth of the catholic religion, is resolved to reconcile himself to the church of Rome, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom will permit him; and though he has every reason to hope and promise himself from the affection and fidelity of all his subjects, even those to whom the Almighty has not as yet sufficiently spread his grace to dispose them after such an august example to become converts, that they will not fail in that inviolable obedience which all people, even of a different religion, owe their Sovereigns; nevertheless there are often found in large states turbulent and inquiet minds who

study to disturb the public peace, particularly when they have so plausible a pretext as that of religion, his Britannick Majesty, who hath nothing more at heart, after having given peace to his own conscience, than to confirm that which the mildness of his government hath procured to his subjects, believes the best means to prevent its being altered, would be the certainty, in case of trouble, of his most Christian Majesty's assistance; who being willing on this occasion to give the said King of Great Britain effective proofs of his friendship, and the desire he hath to contribute to the good success of a design so advantageous to his Britannick Majesty and the whole catholick religion, hath promised and doth hereby promise to furnish to the said King of Great Britain the sum of, &c.

In making this treaty King Charles knew well how disagreeable his connexion with France would be to his people. Colbert repeats what Charles said to him on this head as follows :

Letter Monsr. Colbert to Monsr. de Lyonne.—Charles told him he was the almost only man in his kingdom in the interest of France.

20 Aug. 1663.

IL me disoit, qu'il se trouvoit quasi le seul dans son royaume qui ait des inclinations pour la France ; que toutes ses sujets étoient beaucoup plus portés pour l'Espagne, et qu'il avoit bien des mesures à garder.

Translation.

HE (that is King Charles) told me, that he found himself as it were the only person in his kingdom who had inclinations for France ; that all his subjects were more carried in favour of Spain ; and that therefore he had many measures to preserve.

From the French dispatches at Versailles it appears, that the almost only difference between the two courts about the secret treaty was, that Charles insisted to begin with the declaration of his popery ; whereas Louis the XIVth was eager that he should begin with declaring war in

conjunction with him against Holland. It is probable that the view of the Dutchess of Orleans' journey to Dover to meet her brother, was to prevail with him to yield this point to France. Part of a letter from Colbert at Dover to Louis the XIVth is as follows :

Part of a Letter from Monsr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth.—The Dutchess of Orleans tries to persuade her brother to make the Dutch war precede the declaration of his popery.

Dover, 30 May, 1670.

MADAME m'a dit, qu' elle avoit ebranlé l'esprit du roy son frere, *In the Depot.*
et qu' elle le voyoit presque disposé à declarer la guerre aux Hollandois avant toutes choses.

Translation.

MADAME told me, that she had shaken her brother's mind, and that she saw him almost disposed to declare war against the Dutch before every other thing.

The same letter adds, that Charles was desirous Marshal Turenne should come over to Dover to fix the plan of the war, but that he, Colbert, had dissuaded King Charles from it, as a thing which would make too much noise.

A few days however after this, it appears from the dispatches in the *Depot*, that the treaty was concluded upon its original plan by the four popish commissioners, and unknown to the King's protestant ministers. The treaty itself is not in the *Depot*; but there is the following private ratification of it by Louis the XIVth.

Lettre du Roi au Roi d'Angleterre du 10 Juin, 1670.

Monsieur mon frere,

J' Ai vû et examiné les articles du traité, qui a été conclu et signé à *In the Depot.*
Douvre le ^{22 Mai} 1 Juin par le seigneur Colbert mon Ambassadeur, et par les mylords Arlington et Arundel de Warder, et les seigneurs Chevaliers Clifford et Berlings vos commissaires; et quoique j'aye fait expédier ce jourd' hui mes lettres de ratification en la meilleure forme qu'il a été possible, et suivant ce qui a été convenu entre les dits seigneurs ambassa-

H

deur et commissaires ; neanmoins comme ils ont trouvé à propos pour tenir ce traité d'autant plus secret jusqu' à ce qu'il soit tems de le mettre à execution, que nos lettres de ratification ne soyent point scellées de nos grands sceaux, mais seulement de ceux de notre secret ; j'ai crû devoir encore assurer votre Majesté par ces ligues de ma propre main, que j'approuve et ratifie tout le contenu au dit traité, et que je promet en foi et parole de Roi, de l'observer et de l'entretenir inviolablement en tous ses points, sans jamais y contre venir en quelque maniere que ce puisse être. J'espère que Dieu bénira nôtre étroite union d'amitié et d'intérêts de tout le bon succès que nous en souhaitons, et pour sa gloire et pour la bonheur commun de nos sujets. Je suis, &c.

Translation.

Letter Louis the XIVth to the King of England, dated 10 June, 1670.

Sir, my Brother,

I HAVE seen and examined the articles of the treaty that was concluded and signed at Dover the ^{22 May} _{1 June} by Mr. Colbert my ambassador, and the Lords Arlington and Arundel of Wardour, and the Chevaliers Clifford and Beling, your commissioners ; and tho' I have this day caused my letters of ratification to be expedited in the best form possible, and agreeable to what had been agreed between the said ambassador and commissioners ; nevertheless as they have thought proper, in order to keep this treaty a greater secret till it be time to put it in execution, that our letters of ratification should not be sealed with our great seals, but only with our privy ones, I thought it necessary to assure your Majesty by these lines written with my own hand, that I approve and ratify all the contents of the said treaty, and I promise on the faith and word of a King to observe and keep them inviolably in all points, without ever acting contrary thereto in any manner whatsoever. I hope God will bless our strict union of friendship and interests with all the good success we can wish from it, as well for his own glory as the common good of our subjects. I am, &c.

A letter from Colbert in the *Depot* of the 16 Oct. 1670, mentions Charles's ratification to have been ' la signature du roy avec son sceau et une lettre de sa main.' ' The King's signature and seal, and a letter by his hand.'

There is some reason to believe, that whilst King Charles was finishing the treaty which reserved to him a power of making the declaration of his popery precede the declaration of the war against Holland, he gave the French reason to hope that his inclinations were to begin with the latter. In the *Depot* there is the following letter from Monfr. Colbert.

Lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 6 Juin, 1670.—Charles intends by driving the Dissenters to extremities, to get a pretence for strenghtening his military force.—Delays to begin the Dutch war till he sees the effect of that intention.

Sire,

LE Foi d'Angleterre, le duc d'York, et mylord Arlington ont très bien reçu les compliments que votre Majesté m'a ordonné de leur faire de sa part. Et je les ai trouvés tous bien disposés à ne point perdre de tems à l'exécution des choses qui ont été promises ; il n'y en a pas néanmoins encore de déterminé pour le principal point, et on ne prétend pas même le fixer qu'on ne soit de retour à Londres, et qu'on n'ait vu quelles suites pourra avoir la sévérité avec laquelle le Roi a dessein de faire observer le dernier acte du parlement contre les assemblées des sectaires ; et il espere que leur désobéissance lui facilitera les moyens de fortifier ses troupes, et de parvenir bientôt au but qu'il se propose : il a cependant approuvé les raisons qu' a eu votre Majesté de ne pas consentir au passage de Mr. de Turenne en ce pays. Il m'a témoigné aussi se rendre à celles qui obligent votre Majesté de donner part à Mr. l'Electeur de Cologne et à l'Evêque de Munster de votre union contre la Hollande : mais madame m'a dit depuis qu'il avoit encore pris du tems pour en délibérer et donner une réponse précise. J'espere qu'elle la reportera telle que votre Majesté la souhaite ; Mylord Arlington m'ayant dit ce matin qu'il estimoit qu'on ne devoit pas différer de faire cette confidence à ces Princes, en leur faisant promettre de ne communiquer ce secret à personne.

Pour ce qui regarde la négociation de Vanbeuning, elle est bien en garde contre lui, d'empêcher qu'il ne fasse rien qui puisse apporter quelque retardement à ce qui a été conclu, et de le congédier le plutôt qu'on pourra, sans lui donner aucune satisfaction.

Voila, Sire, tout ce que j'ose me donner l'honneur d'écrire à votre Majesté sur ces affaires par la voie de l'ordinaire.

Madame fait état de partir Jeudi prochain, et je crois qu'un plus long séjour à Douvres deviendrait fort ennuyeux, et porteroit préjudice aux affaires du Roi son frere, dont la présence semble bien nécessaire à Londres à présent.

Je suis, &c.

(Signé) COLBERT.

Translation.

Mr. Colbert's Letter to Louis the XIVth.

Sire,

Dover, 6 June, 1670.

THE King of England, the duke of York, and my lord Arlington have received extremely well the compliments that your Majesty ordered me to make them on your part. I found them all well disposed not to lose any time in the execution of the things that have been promised. There is nothing however yet determined for the principal point, and they dont even pretend to fix it till they return to London, and see what may follow from the severity with which the King designs to make the last act of parliament against the meetings of the sectaries be observed; and he hopes that their disobedience will give him the easier means of encreasing the force of his troops, and coming speedily to the end he proposes: he hath approved of your Majesty's reasons for not consenting to M. de Turenne's journey into this country. He seemed also to acquiesce with those which obliged your Majesty to communicate your union against Holland, to the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster: but madame has told me since, that he had again taken time to deliberate on it and give a precise answer. I hope it will be such as your Majesty wishes; my lord Arlington having this morning told me that he thought they should not defer placing this confidence in those Princes, on their promising not to communicate the secret to any body.

As to what regards Vanbeuning's negociation, his Majesty takes a great deal of care to hinder him from doing any thing that might cause a hin-

drance to what has been concluded, and to dismiss him the earliest that can be without giving him any satisfaction.

This, Sire, is all I dare do myself the honour of writing to your Majesty upon these affairs by the post.

Madame thinks of leaving this place next Thursday, and I believe a longer stay at Dover would be very troublesome, and do prejudice to the affairs of the King her brother, whose presence seems to be extremely necessary in London.

I am, &c.

(Signed) COLBERT.

Charles not having received any of the money stipulated for his conversion, still delayed preparing for the Dutch war, under pretence that he was first to declare his conversion. Colbert having received orders from Louis the XIVth, on the 17 September 1670, to urge him on this head; writes the following account of the arguments which he used with King Charles.

Recit de ce qui a été dit au Roi d'Angleterre par l'ambassadeur de France, dans la conference du 28 Septembre, 1670.

COMME il y aura bientôt trois mois que les ratifications du traité ont été échangées, le Roi mon maitre croit que votre Majesté trouvera à propos de prendre sans delai sa dernière resolution sur l'exécution de ce qui y est contenu, à fin que vous puissiez prendre ensemble des mesures certaines; car votre Majesté voit combien le tems presse déjà, et que pour pouvoir faire quelque chose de bon contre les Hollandois, et achever promptement l'affaire, il faut commencer à entrer en action, s'il est humainement possible, dès le commencement du printems prochain; d'autant plus que si on ne le fait pas, on s'exposera à l'inconvenient qui est fort grand, de ne pouvoir engager dans le parti un bon nombre de Princes de l'Empire, les quels le Roi mon maitre voit clair à les faire entrer dès à présent, et votre Majesté fait combien leur jonction, et une diversion

In the Depot.

considérable de ce côté là, peut contribuer au bon et prompt succès du dessein, et à sa sûreté infailible.

Votre Majesté fera encore réflexion, s'il lui plaît, sur le besoin indispensable qu'a le Roi mon maître de faire de bonne heure, et dans cette année même, des magasins de toute sorte de guerre et de bouche dans les états de l'Electeur de Cologne, et de l'Evêque de Munster; au lieu que si votre Majesté ne se détermine pas promptement, il sera plus facile aux Hollandois, dès qu'ils auront pris plus vivement l'allarme qu'ils ont déjà, de détourner ces Princes de l'engagement où vous les voulés jetter, en y sacrifiant de grandes sommes d'argent, comme il ne faut pas douter qu'ils ne fassent avec profusion, pour les faire demeurer neutres, et même pour former aussi de ce côté là quelque parti pour leur défense.

Il est vrai, Sire, qu'il semble^a que selon les termes du traité, votre Majesté doit premierement faire sa déclaration de Catholicité, et je puis bien lui dire aussi avec vérité, que le Roi mon maître le souhaite avec la dernière passion, tant pour l'avantage de la religion, que pour ses propres intérêts politiques; mais comme vous trouvé, à propos, et qu'il est juste aussi et même absolument nécessaire, d'obtenir auparavant du pape les conditions qui peuvent faire agréer à vos sujets votre conversion; et que cette affaire, quelque diligence que l'on fasse, ne se terminera pas peut être si promptement que le Roi mon maître et votre Majesté le desiront; il vous prie de faire encore réflexion sur toutes les raisons qui le persuadent, que pour parvenir plus facilement et plus sûrement aux deux principales fins que vous êtes proposées, il seroit nécessaire que la guerre de Hollande précédât, ou au moins accompagnât la déclaration de la Catholicité; et sur cela je dois informer votre Majesté d'une particularité dont le Roi mon maître m'écrit, qui est de grande conséquence. Vous savés combien il importe pour la sûreté et le bon succès de votre dessein contre les Hollandois, que l'Electeur de Brandebourg soit de la partie, sans quoi les autres Princes ne s'engageroient avec vous qu'en tremblant. Or sur le sujet, &c. de même qu'en la lettre du Roi du 17me. Votre Majesté peut tirer de là une conséquence fort juste combien, &c. idem jusques à avant que la chose éclatte.

On pourra dire à votre Majesté sur tout ceci, que si avant la déclaration de sa catholicité elle n'a rien fait qui puisse faire craindre ou soupçonner aux Hollandois qu'elle ait pris des liaisons contre eux avec le Roi mon maitre, ils se tiendront dans une plein repos, et ne prendront aucune part à l'affaire, et même qu'ils n'oseroient le faire par la vive appréhension qui leur resteroit toujours, que votre Majesté ne leur en témoignât aussitôt son ressentiment en s'unissant contr' eux avec la France. Le Roi mon maitre a déjà fait remarquer à votre Majesté par ses réponses, et il m'ordonne encore de vous remettre en mémoire le peu de solidité de cette espérance. Si on fait réflexion que votre Majesté se voulant conduire avec toutes les circonspections requises dans une si grande affaire, il lui sera d'une indispensable nécessité pour mieux contenir vos peuples dans le devoir, qu' avant l'acte de votre déclaration ou tout au moins en le faisant, vous leur donniés à connoître que vous avés fait une très étroite liaison avec le Roi mon maitre, par le moyen de la quelle, si vous le voulés, vous pourrés disposer de toutes les forces de la France contre vos ennemis, soit domestiques, soit étrangers : et de là votre Majesté peut juger si la connoissance de cette union étant de cette sorte devenu publique, les Hollandois s'abstiendront de prendre part à l'affaire par la crainte de promouvoir entre les deux Rois une liaison qu'ils verroient déjà toute formée, et sans autre remede à leur égard que celui de tâcher à susciter des embarras à votre Majesté dans ses propres etats ; mais le Roi mon maitre juge que ce ne seroit pas encore là le seul motif de l'interêt qu'ils y prendroient, car ils reconnoitroient d'ailleurs qu'un Roi d'Angleterre Catholique étroitement lié d'amitié et d'interêts avec le Roi mon maitre, et l'un et l'autre piqués et offensés de leur conduite passée par tant de différentes injures qu'ils en ont reçues, ne les laisseroient pas jouir longtems aussi paisiblement qu'ils font aujourd'hui des principaux avantages du commerce de tout le monde ; et des là on doit croire que les Hollandois ne garderoient plus aucunes mesures pour parer ce coup de leur ruine, jettant leurs trésors à pleines mains, et épuisant même, s'il étoit nécessaire leur crédit, pour former, appuyer et maintenir contre votre Majesté un grand parti dans votre royaume, qui ne manque jamais de mécontents et de brouillons, lors même qu'ils en ont bien moins de sujet que n'en fourneroit le prétexte du changement de religion du Souverain, que votre Majesté fait n'être toujours que trop plausible dans une populace ;

vosre Majesté par commencé attaquer les Hollandois conjointement avec la France, le Roi mon maître est persuadé que cette attaque produiroit d'abord tant de confusion et de désordre dans leurs provinces, qu' outre qu'elles ne seroient plus en état de troubler l'Angleterre, il arriveroit encore que le parti du royaume qui leur est le plus affectionné, ne voyant point de ressource à leurs affaires, se tiendroit toujours attaché au plus fort qui seroit celui de vosre Majesté; au lieu que si vous faites précéder la déclaration de la catholicité à l'attaque, les Hollandois voyant évidemment par le changement de religion de vosre Majesté, tout le mal inevitable qui leur en arriveroit dans la suite, prendroient des l'instant même toutes les mesures et résolutions nécessaires pour former contre vous des factions et des revoltes dans vos propres états, à quoi ils trouveroient de très grand faciliter pour les raisons que je viens de dire. En fin, Sire, ce que le Roi mon maître propose n'apportera pas de retardement à l'exécution de vosre dessein; au contraire il en produira l'entiere sûreté et abrégera notablement le tems au quel vosre Majesté pourra faire sa déclaration; car le Roi mon maître n'est pas persuadé que pour en venir à cet acte vous soyés obligé d'attendre la fin de la guerre de Hollande, mais après qu'elle vous aura fourni les prétextes de vous armer, il croit que le tems le plus propre pour vosre déclaration seroit au milieu d'une guerre heureuse, quand vous pourriés faire toucher au doigt à vos sujets, que vous êtes sur le point de leur procurer le grand avantage des principaux profits du commerce du monde, dont les Hollandois les frustroient par leur puissance et par l'application qu'ils donnoient à les attirer tous à leurs états avec une avidité insatiable. De sorte que les marchands étant satisfaits par cette raison de commerce, tout ce qu'il y a de braves officiers et soldats dans vosre royaume occupés à la guerre d'Hollande, les Presbyteriens et sectaires contents de libre exercice que vous leur aurés accordé, et les principaux de vosre conseil engagés dans cette guerre par la part que vous leur allés donner au traité, et obligés d'ailleurs par leur honneur et la fidélité qu'ils vous doivent, non seulement à faire leur devoir, mais aussi à y porter tous ceux du parlement sur qu'ils ont du crédit, il ne restera aucun sujet de craindre, que vosre déclaration étant faite dans cette conjoncture, puisse exciter le moindre trouble dans vos états: Vosre majesté suppléera par ses lumieres et par la parfaite connoissance de l'état de son royaume, et de celui de ses voisins,

à toutes les autres raisons que j'obmets pour ne pas être trop ennuyeux ; et après qu'elle y aura fait toute la réflexion que l'importance de la matiere mérite, il lui plaira me faire savoir ses dernieres résolutions, à fin que j'en informe le Roi mon maitre.

Translation.

Relation of what was said to the King of England by the French Ambassador in the Conference of the 28 Sept. 1670.

He presses Charles to begin with the Dutch war before declaring himself a Catholic.

AS there are very near three months gone since the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged, the King my master believes your Majesty will find it proper to take without delay your last resolution upon the contents of it, to the end that you may pursue together some steady measures ; for your Majesty sees how much the time presses already, and that to be able to do any thing to purpose against the Dutch, and speedily finish the affair, it will be necessary to enter into action, if it is humanly possible, in the beginning of the next spring ; and the more so, as, if it is not done, you will be exposed to the very great inconvenience of not being able to engage in the party a good number of the Princes of the Empire, whom the King my master is clear for engaging now, and your Majesty knows how much their junction, and a considerable diversion on that side, might contribute to the happy and speedy success of the design, and your own infallible safety.

Your Majesty will also, if you please, reflect on the indispensable necessity the King my master is under to make in good time, and even this year, magazines of provisions and all sorts of warlike stores in the states of the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster ; instead of which, if your Majesty does not speedily determine, it will be much more easy for the Dutch, upon taking the alarm more strongly than they have as yet done, to detach those Princes from the engagement you wish them to enter into, by throwing large sums of money amongst them, as there is no doubt the Dutch will with great profusion do, in order to induce them to remain neuter, and even to form on that side also some party for their defence.

It is true, Sire, it appears, according to the terms of the treaty, that your Majesty ought first to declare yourself a Catholick, and I may with great truth say, that the King my master ardently wishes for it, as well for the advantage of religion as for his own proper political interests: but as you judge it proper, and it is also just, nay absolutely necessary, first to obtain from the Pope the conditions that may render your conversion agreeable to your subjects; and as this affair, whatever diligence is used in it, may not be perhaps so soon terminated as the King my master and your Majesty desire; he begs you will again reflect upon all the reasons which persuade him, that to accomplish more easily and more surely the two principal ends you have proposed, it is necessary the war with Holland should precede, or at least accompany your declaring yourself a Catholick. And upon this I am to inform your Majesty of a particular which the King my master has wrote me of the greatest consequence. You know how important it is for the safety and good success of your design against the Dutch, that the Elector of Brandenburg should be concerned, without which the other Princes would tremble to engage themselves with you. Now on the subject, &c. the same as in the King's letter of the 17th.—Your Majesty may gather from thence one very just consequence how much, &c. idem, till 'such time as the affair breaks out.'

Perhaps your Majesty may be told upon all this, that if before the declaration of religion, you do nothing which can cause a fear or suspicion in the Dutch that you have entered into alliance with the King my master against them, they will keep themselves entirely quiet, and take no part in the affair, and the rather that they will not dare to do it from the lively apprehensions which will always remain with them that your Majesty would shew your resentment by uniting yourself with France against them. The King my master has already remarked to your Majesty in his answers, and now orders me to remind you of the little solidity of such hopes. If people reflect, they will see, that if your Majesty desires to proceed with the circumspection necessary in so great an affair, it will be indispensably necessary for you, in order to keep your people in their duty, that before the act of your declaration is made, or at the farthest in making it, you should give them to understand you have made a very strict union with the King my master, by means of which, if you desire it, you can dispose

of all the force of France against all your enemies, whether domestick, or foreign: and from thence your Majesty may judge, if the knowledge of this union being in this manner become publick, the Dutch will refrain from taking part in the affair through fear of promoting between the two Kings an alliance which they see already quite formed, and without any other remedy with regard to them, than that of endeavouring to excite embarrassments in your Majesty's own states; but the King my master judges that this would not be the only motive for interesting themselves in such an event, for they would recollect that a Catholick King of England strictly bound in friendship and interests with the King my master, and both Princes piqued and offended at their past conduct on account of so many different injuries received from them, would not let them enjoy long so peaceably as they do now the principal advantages of the trade of the whole world; and from thence it cannot be doubted, that the Dutch would stick at no measures to ward off this stroke tending to their ruin, but would throw their treasures by handfuls, and even exhaust if it were necessary their credit, to form, support and maintain against your Majesty a strong party in your kingdom, which seldom wants discontented and turbulent people, even though they had a much less subject than the change of the Sovereign's religion would furnish them with, which your Majesty knows is always too plausible a one with the populace; on the contrary, if your Majesty begins by attacking the Dutch jointly with France, the King my master is persuaded that this attack will immediately produce so much confusion and disorder in their provinces, that besides their not being in a condition to trouble England, that part of the kingdom which is the most affectionate to them, not seeing any resource to their affairs, would keep themselves attached to the strongest side, which would be that of your Majesty; instead of which, if you cause the declaration of religion to precede the attack, the Dutch evidently seeing from your Majesty's change of religion the inevitable evil that must happen to them in the end, would from that instant take all the necessary measures and resolutions to form against you factions and revolts in your kingdom, which they would find not very difficult, for the reasons I have just mentioned. In fine, Sire, what the King my master proposes will occasion no delay in the execution of your design; on the contrary, it will make it entirely sure, and abridge considerably the time for your Majesty's making the declaration; for the

King my master is not of opinion that to accomplish this act you need be obliged to wait the end of the war with Holland, but after you are furnished with the pretences for arming, he thinks the most proper time for your declaration would be in the midst of a successful war, when you could make your subjects feel that you were on the point of procuring them the great advantage of the principal profits of the trade of the world, of which the Dutch would frustrate them by their power and their close application to draw all to themselves with an insatiable greediness. The consequence of which would be, that the merchants being satisfied with this commercial reason, all your brave officers and soldiers occupied in the war with Holland, the Presbyterians and sectaries content with the free exercise of religion which you will grant them, and the principal persons of your council engaged in this war by the part you are about to give them in the treaty, and otherwise obliged by the honour and faith they owe you, not only to do their duty, but also to keep all those to it in parliament with whom they have credit, there will not remain the least ground to fear, that your declaration being made in this conjuncture, can excite the smallest troubles in your kingdoms. Your Majesty's penetration, and perfect knowledge of the state of your own kingdom, and that of your neighbours, will suggest to you all the other reasons, which I omit, to avoid being tiresome; and after you have made all the reflection that the importance of the matter merits, your Majesty will please to let me know your ultimate resolutions, to the end I may communicate them to the King my master."

Probably Charles's hesitation arose from his consciousness, that in his secret treaty with France, he was supported by none but his popish ministers; for which reason it appears, from the French dispatches in the *Depot*, that he carried on the following very extraordinary intrigue to lay the burden of part of the articles of that treaty upon his protestant ministers.

In the *Depot*. A letter from Colbert to Louis the XIVth, dated 14 July, 1670, bears, that upon the death of the dutchess of Orleans, Buckingham proposed to go to France with an embassy of condolence, and to try to bring about an alliance between the French and English courts; that the King, the

duke of York, and lord Arlington were pleased to hear it; that he, Colbert, had encouraged him to it; that Buckingham had proposed it to Lauderdale and Ashley Cooper (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) that Lauderdale agreed to it, but Ashley Cooper asked time to consider.

On the 28th July, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that King *In the Depot.* Charles was to send Buckingham ambassador to France, with a view that Louis the XIVth might gain him to bring about a treaty between the two Princes against the Dutch, concealing from him the treaty already made; and several letters bear Charles's permission to the French King to flatter Buckingham with the command of the English troops which were to be employed against the Dutch; that Buckingham had the direction of Ashley Cooper, who had been raised by him; and that the King himself could answer for Lauderdale from the personal attachment which Lauderdale had to him.

In consequence of this, Buckingham went ambassador to France.

On the 25th of August, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth an *In the Depot.* account of King Charles's joy upon Louis's having gained Buckingham: that Charles said Buckingham had been always a friend both to the Dutch war and to popery, but that he could not keep a secret: and that Charles had proposed there should be what he called *une traité simulé*, which should be a repetition of the former one in all things except the article relative to the King's declaring himself Roman Catholic; and that the protestant ministers, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, and Lauderdale, should be brought to be parties to it.

On the 8th of September, 1670, Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth.

Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 8 Sept. 1670.—King Charles makes a tool of Buckingham in the second secret treaty.

LE Roy d'Angleterre et mylord Arlington m'ont dit, qu'on avoit écrit *In the Depot.* au duc de Bouquingham qu'il pourroit revenir quand il lui plairoit, et qu'a son retour ici on tacheroit d'achever ce qu'il avoit si bien commencé; et qu'en y procedant pas a pas, et ne faisant rien qu'en sa presence, on l'engageroit encore plus.

Translation.

THE King of England and my lord Arlington have told me, that they had written to the Duke of Buckingham that he might return when he pleased, and that upon his return they would endeavour to finish what he had so well begun; and that by proceeding step by step, and doing nothing but in his presence, they would lead him still further.

In the Depot. Buckingham soon after came over to England; and it appears from Colbert's dispatches that Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashley Cooper, and the duke of York, were appointed commissioners by King Charles for conducting the treaty with Mons. Colbert. In order to deceive Buckingham still better, and to irritate his keeness by opposition, lord Arlington and Colbert pretended to throw obstructions in the way of the treaty. On the 29th September Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham was pressing for the treaty, and complained of lord Arlington's backwardness; and that King Charles had desired the article relating to money for his religion, might be sunk in the *traité simulé*, and the sum due to him on that account thrown into his subsidy for the Dutch war, in order to hide his intention to become Catholick from his protestant ministers.

In the Depot. On the 2d of October, 1670, Colbert writes Louis the XIVth, that Buckingham is grown keener and keener, the King having agreed to give him the command of 6000 English troops to be used against Holland; that the new commissioners are working at the new treaty, not knowing of the old one. The King having given the commissioners the line, the differences between it and the former treaty are trifling.

But the impatience of Buckingham is not half so well painted in Colbert's letters, as in the three following letters written in his own hand.

Copie de la lettre de Mr. de Bouquingham au Roi, avant la lettre de Mr. Colbert, du 13 Octobre, 1670.

In the Depot. IL est très important pour le bien de cette affaire, qu'elle soit conclu devant l'assemblée de notre parlement; c'est pourquoi je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de nous vouloir envoyer au plus vite ses

dernieres résolutions sur chaque article de ce traité, à fin que nous puissions travailler d'être en état de la servir au commencement du printems prochain. Vanbuning m'a offert depuis mon retour une somme assez considerable pour changer de parti; il n'y a pas trouvé son compte; mais j'apprehende qu'il le pourra trouver ailleurs, si la chose traîne en longueur; et pour cette raison je suis furieusement en peine jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit finie. Pour l'amour de Dieu, Sire, croyés que jamais homme n'a été attaché à personne du monde avec tant de passion, de respect et de reconnoissance, comme je le ferai toute ma vie à votre Majesté.

Letter from the duke of Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, bound up before the letter from Mr. Colbert of the 13 October, 1670.—Impatient for the secret treaty.

IT is very important to the good success of this affair, that it should be concluded before the meeting of parliament; for which reason I most humbly beg your Majesty will send us with the utmost dispatch your final resolutions upon every article of this treaty, to the end that we may endeavour to be in a capacity of serving you in the beginning of the spring. Vanbuning since my return has offered me a very considerable sum to change sides, though he did not find his account in it; but I apprehend he may with others, if the affair is drawn into length; and for this reason I am in a furious pain till it be finished. For the love of God, Sire, believe that no man in the world can be attached with greater passion, respect and acknowledgement, than I shall be to your Majesty all my life.

Lettre du duc de Bouquingham au Roi, du 19 Novembre, 1670.

Sire,

JE serois au desespoir si votre Majesté pouvoit douter de mon zele et de ma In the *Depos.* fidélité: je lui dois tout par reconnoissance, mais je me sens encore plus fortement attaché à son service par les qualités, que j'ai trouvées dans sa personne qui la rendent aussi estimable et au dessus du commun, comme elle l'est par son caractere. Ce sont elles qui m'ont obligé pour jamais d'être plus à votre Majesté, que tout ce qu'il y a dans le monde, et qui me feront toujours sans reserve lui déclarer nettement mes pensées sur toutes choses, avec cette assurance, comme je me soumettrai toujours à son jugement, aussi qu'elle ne jugera par mal de moi pour l'emportement que j'aurai pour tout ce qui lui regarde. En fin, Sire, je ne me puis empêcher

plus longtems de dire à votre Majesté que jamais chose ne m'a tant troublé l'esprit, que la conduite de ce traité depuis notre retour de Newmarket. Le Roi mon maitre y étoit tombé d'accord avec votre Majesté de tout ; il ne manquoit plus rien que de dresser les articles, que nous devons signer dans deux jours, et qui, je suis assuré, pouvoient être écrits en moins d'un. Mylord d'Arlington les devoit achever par concert avec Mr. l'Ambassadeur, mais depuis ce tems là nous n'avons eû que des retardemens. Le premier acroc fût sur les Isles de Gorée et de Worne, que Mr. l'Ambassadeur a accordé depuis ; mais cela ne devoit point retarder la chose, car le Roi mon maitre se résolut de signer le traité, laissant une place vuide pour les dites isles, sur les assurances que je lui avois données de l'affection de votre Majesté, et que fans doute elle les y mettroit elle même, après les raisons qu'on lui pourroit donner là dessus. Dabord je le dis à Mr. l'Ambassadeur, croyant de mon côté avoir fait des merveilles ; mais le lendemain, au lieu de conclurre, nous eûmes une autre dispute sur le préambule, et l'article touchant le Prince d'Orange. Le Roi mon maitre dabord consentit encore à tout ce qu'il demandoit ; mais cela ne nous profita de rien, car il trouva toujours de nouvelles difficultés, refusant de signer jusq' au retour de son courrier. Présentement nous sommes sur la dispute d'une de ces deux millions de livres qui devoient être payés sur le signement du traité. Durant ce delai, on avoit souvent prédit au Roi mon maitre qu'il auroit bientôt une marque infailible des intentions de votre Majesté, car si elle avoit changé de sentiment, elle hésiteroit sur le payement de ces deux millions. Cette prédiction tombant si vite avec ce qui ensuivit, acheve de me confirmer dans un soupçon, qui depuis quelque tems m'a donne beaucoup de peine ; et je ne doute plus nullement que les deux messieurs qui devoient préparer toutes choses pour la conclusion du traité n'ayent concerté de la rompre ; et que pendant que l'une met des scrupules dans la tête du Roi mon maitre, l'autre en fait autant auprès de votre Majesté. Si je me trompe, excusés une foiblesse qui est un défaut de mon naturel. Je ne puis être désintéressé pour les personnes que j'honore. Je considere cette affaire comme la seule qui peut aggrandir la renommée de votre Majesté. Si nous entrons ici dans des liaisons qui nous sont offertes tous les jours avec empressement, votre Majesté perdra la plus belle occasion du monde pour exercer les talens que Dieu lui a donnés, et qui sont capables de lui faire égalier du moins tous ceux qui l'ont précédé dans les histoires.

Sire, je parle comme je pense. Si je fais mal, pardonnés le moi; et que votre Majesté se resouviene, s'il lui plait, que dès l'instant que je l'ai connu, j'eus le cœur si rempli d'admiration pour elle, qu'il me sera impossible à jamais d'avoir de l'attachement pour aucune autre chose, ou pour être en repos, devant que j'ai trouvé quelque occasion de lui rendre service, et de faire connoître à votre Majesté, à quel point je lui suis redevable pour toutes les obligations que j'ai recues d'elle en tant de diverses façons. Je suis du profond de mon cœur, Sire, de votre Majesté, &c.

(Signé) B O U C K I N G H A M.

Je supplie très humblement votre Majesté de me ménager un peu sur la franchise de cette lettre.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of Buckingham to the French King, Nov. 19, 1670.

—More and more impatient for the treaty.—A mean flattering letter.

SIRE,

I SHOULD be in despair if your Majesty could doubt my zeal and fidelity: I owe you every thing through gratitude, but I am still more attached to your service by your personal qualities, which render you as much more estimable and above the rest of mankind, as you are by your rank. It is these that for ever oblige me to be more devoted to your Majesty than to every thing else in the world, and will always make me declare my thoughts plainly to you without reserve, being certain that as I shall always submit myself to your judgment, you will not think ill of me for the ardour I shall always have for every thing that regards you: in short, Sire, I cannot hinder myself any longer from telling your Majesty that nothing ever troubled my mind so much, as the conduct of this treaty since our return from Newmarket. The King my master agreed there in every thing with your Majesty; there was nothing wanting but to draw the articles up which we ought to have signed in two days, and which, I am assured, might have been written in less than one. My Lord Arlington should have finished them in concert with the Ambassador, but since then we have had nothing but delays. The first stumbling-block was the

islands of Goree and Worne, which the Ambassador has since agreed to; but that should not have retarded the affair, for the King my master was resolved to sign the treaty, leaving a blank place for the said islands, upon the assurances I gave him of your Majesty's affection, and that without doubt you would insert them yourself, after the reasons that might be given you for it. I immediately told the Ambassador of it, believing on my part that I had done wonders; but the next day, instead of concluding, we had another dispute about the preamble, and the article relating to the Prince of Orange. The King my master consented directly to every thing he asked; but this availed us nothing, for the ambassador always found new difficulties, and refused to sign till the return of his messenger. At present we are disputing about one of the two millions of livres that is to be paid on signing the treaty. During this delay, it was often foretold to the King my master, that he would very soon have an infallible mark of your Majesty's intentions, for if you had changed your sentiments, you would hesitate upon the payment of these two millions. This prediction fulfilled so soon, together with what followed, served to confirm me in a suspicion, which for some time has given me a great deal of uneasiness; and I no longer doubt but the two persons who ought to have prepared every thing for the conclusion of the treaty have agreed to break it off; and that whilst one fills the King my master's head with scruples, the other does as much to your Majesty; if I am mistaken, excuse a weakness that is a fault of my nature. I cannot be indifferent in the cause of those whom I honour. I consider this affair as the only one that can aggrandize your Majesty's renown. If we enter here into the alliances which are every day offered us with eagerness, your Majesty will lose the finest occasion in the world to exert those talents God has given you, and which are capable of making you at least equal to all those who have preceded you in history.

Sire, I speak as I think. If I do wrong, pardon me. Your Majesty, if you please, may remember that from the moment I knew you, my heart was so filled with admiration, that it will be impossible for me ever to have an attachment to any other thing, or to be at rest till I find some occasion to render you service, and to show your Majesty to what a degree I am accountable to you for all the obligations that I have

received in so many different ways. I am, from the bottom of my heart,
Sire, your Majesty's, &c. (Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I most humbly beg your Majesty to spare me a little for the freedom
of this letter.

Lettre de Mr. Bouquingham, du 19 Novembre, 1670, au Ministre.

Monsieur,

DEPUIS la lettre que vous me fîtes l'honneur de m'envoyer, j'ai été *In the Depot.*
fort malade, qui est la raison pourquoi je ne vous ai point écrit
plûtôt; presentement je me trouve obligé de vous envoyer ce courrier,
notre affaire étant sur le point d'être rompue par les lenteurs de Mr.
l'Ambassadeur. Je ne croirai jamais que vous ayés changé de sentiment de
l'autre côté de la mer; c'est pourquoi je mets la faute toute entiere sur
votre homme ici, et sur un des nôtres, de qui les alliances domestiques ne
semblent pas convenir tout à fait avec celle que nous avons tâché d'accom-
plir pour le public. Il y a un mois que nous étions d'accord en tout, et
qu'il ne falloit qu'écrire une feuille de papier, que Mr. d'Arlington et Mr.
l'Ambassadeur devoient ajuster en semble; cependant nous voici plus
éloignés de venir à une conclusion que jamais. Quelque raisons que vous
ayés de differer la déclaration de la guerre, quelles pouvés vous avoir pour
ne point signer promptement le traité? Chaque jour ici fait naitre mille
obstacles; le parlement est sur le point de faire des déclarations qui gâte-
roient tout ce que nous pourrions faire après; et cependant, étant incertains
de ce que vous êtes résolu de faire, nous n'osons prendre les seuls moyens
capables de nous en garantir. Pour l'amour de Dieu, si vous êtes encore
intentionné de faire quelque chose avec nous, conclués le promptement,
et sachez que je ne puis rendre un service plus considerable au Roi de
France, qu'en l'en avertissant de bonne heure. En fin, il y a de certaines
gens ici fort changées depuis peu. Je ne fais d'où cela vient, mais je
soupçonne fort que les offres d'argent n'ont pas été par tout si mal reçues,
comme chez

Monsieur, votre &c.

(Signé) BOUQUINGHAM.

Je ne serois bien aise que tout le monde vit cette lettre.

Translation.

Letter from the duke of Buckingham to Mons. de Lyonne, 19th November, 1670.—To the same purpose.—Insinuations against Lord Arlington.

Sir,

SINCE the letter you did me the honour to send me, I have been very ill, which is the reason I have not written to you sooner; at present I find myself obliged to send you this messenger, our affair being on the point to be broken off through the slowness of the ambassador. I will never believe that you have changed sentiments on the other side of the water; for which reason I throw the fault entirely upon your man here, and one of ours, whose domestic alliances do not seem quite to agree with those we have endeavoured to accomplish for the public. It is now a month since every thing was agreed upon, and nothing wanted but a sheet of paper to be written, which my lord Arlington and the ambassador should have adjusted together; yet we are now farther from coming to a conclusion than ever. Whatever reasons you may have to defer the declaration of war, what can you have for not immediately signing the treaty? Every day here creates a thousand obstacles; the parliament is on the point of making some declarations that will spoil all we may hereafter do, and in the mean time, being uncertain of what you are resolved upon, we dare not take the only means capable to prevent them. For the love of God, if you have still the intention to do any thing with us, conclude it speedily, and know that I cannot render a more considerable service to the King of France, than in putting him on his guard in good time. In short, there are certain people here very much altered within this little while. I don't know from whence it comes, but I suspect very much that the offers of money have not been every where so badly received as by,

Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) BUCKINGHAM.

I should not wish that every one saw this letter.

From Colbert's dispatches it appears, that the articles of the new treaty, or what is called in those dispatches the *traité simulé*, was signed by King

Charles on the 2d of February 1671, and by the new commissioners on the 3d of June thereafter. I did not find a formal copy of the treaty in the volumes, but the letters show that the articles agreed upon were the same with those of the former treaty in all things, except that the money given for the King's popery was thrown into the first year's subsidy for the Dutch war, and Charles was to get a million of livres in hand; and that in the division of Holland, England was to have an addition of the island of Worne and Goree. From all the dispatches I saw, there is not the least reason to believe that the protestant commissioners knew any thing of the former treaty made by the popish ones.

When the new treaty was near finished, the French court insisted to have a secret article, declaring that nothing in it should derogate from the article of the former treaty relative to the King's popery. The dispatches show that Charles struggled hard to avoid it, but at last consented. The secret article offered by Charles, and afterwards accepted by France, with Monsieur Colbert's letter relative to it, run as follows.

Projet de l'acte offert par le Roi d'Angleterre, Charles, &c. avant la lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 3 Novembre, 1670.

COMME par le traité signé à Douvres le _____ et ratifié _____ In the Depot.
il est accordé que nous recevrons deux millions de livres tournoises, pour nous assister à nous déclarer Catholique, et trois millions chacune année pour la dépense d'une guerre contre les Hollandois; et que nous avons par un traité signé aujourd'hui stipulé, que le Roi très Chrétien nous donnera cinq millions de livres pour la dépense de la première année d'une guerre contre la Hollande; nous déclarons par ces présentes, que dans les cinq millions dont il est fait mention dans ce dernier traité pour la guerre d'Hollande, sont compris aussi les deux millions dont il est fait mention dans le premier traité de Catholicité; et nous déclarons en outre, et promettons, qu'ayant reçu les dits deux premiers millions, nous en baillerons quittance comme pour Catholicité; et de plus, que c'est notre intention et dessein qu'il n'y ait rien dans ce traité qui puisse changer le dit traité de Douvres dans les articles et clauses y contenus, mais plutôt les confirmer et corroborer. En foi de quoi, &c.

Translation.

*Draught of the instrument offered by the King of England, Charles, &c. bound up before Mr. Colbert's letter to the King, of the 3 November, 1670.—
Second treaty not to derogate from first as to King's popery.*

AS by the treaty signed at Dover the and ratified it is agreed, that we shall receive two millions of livres tournois, to assist us in declaring ourself a Catholic, and three millions each year for the expence of a war against Holland; and as we have stipulated by a treaty signed this day, that the most Christian King shall give us five millions of livres for the first year's expences of a war against Holland; we declare by these presents, that in the five millions mentioned in this last treaty for the Dutch war, are comprehended also the two millions which are mentioned in the first treaty for our declaring ourself Catholic; and we declare besides, and promise, that having received the said two first millions, we will give an acquittance as relative to the article of our being Catholic; and further, that it is our intention there be nothing in this treaty that may change the articles and clauses contained in the said treaty of Dover, but rather confirm and corroborate them. In faith of which, &c.

Part of a Letter from Monfr. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 2 July, 1671.

CEPENDANT j' ai crû lui (that is Louis the XIVth) devoir depecher ce courier par lui porter la ratification du roy d'Angleterre du traité, et des articles secrets, avec sa declaration que j' ai mis dans un paquet secret, portant confirmation du traité du Douvres.

Translation.—Secret Article of the second Treaty confirming the first Treaty.

NEVERTHELESS I thought myself obliged to dispatch this courier to deliver to your Majesty the King of England's ratification of the treaty, and of the secret articles, with his declaration, (which I have put in a secret paquet,) bearing a confirmation of the treaty of Dover.

While the secret treaty was going on, the young Prince of Orange had come upon a visit to see his uncles in England.

Colbert, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, of date 23d October, 1670, *In the Depot.* says, that Charles had proposed to him to detain the Prince of Orange in England, and to tempt him with the sovereignty of Holland; but that he, Colbert, had demurred to the proposal.

A letter from Colbert to Louis of 13 Nov. 1670, shews, that the *In the Depot.* French court approved of his conduct in not consenting to King Charles's proposal about the Prince of Orange.

Those who reflect that they owe their present liberty and religion to King William, will read with pleasure the following character which King Charles gave Colbert of him at this visit.

Part of Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, 4 Dec. 1670.—Charles's character of the young Prince of Orange.

LE Roy d'Angleterre est fort satisfait de l'esprit du Prince d'Orange. Mais il le trouve si passionné Hollandois et Protestant, que quand même votre Majesté ne desaprouveroit qu'il lui confioit quelque parti du secret, ces deux raisons l'empêcheroient.

Translation.

THE King of England is much satisfied with the parts of the Prince of Orange. But he finds him so passionate a Dutchman and Protestant, that even although your Majesty had not disapproved of his trusting him with any part of the secret, those two reasons would have hindered him.

The treaty being finished, there appears in the dispatches the first strokes of that arbitrary disposition, and contempt of parliaments, in the Duke of York, which afterwards drew ruin upon him. For after the treaty, a dispute having arisen in King Charles's councils, whether to assemble parliament in order to get money, in which Buckingham was much against it, Monsieur Colbert represents the Duke of York's sentiments in the following words.

Part of Monsf. Colbert's letter to Louis the XIVth, July 14, 1671.—The Duke of York's aversion to Parliaments.—His arbitrary views.

In the Depot.

J'ai trouvé aussi Mr. de York dans les mêmes sentimens que le Duc de Buckingham touchant l'assemblée du parlement, m'ayant dit de lui même, et sans que j'aye fait tomber l'entretien sur ce sujet, que si son avis étoit suivi, on se garderoit bien de l'assembler ; et ajoutant en confiance, que les affaires sont à présent icy dans une état à faire croire qu'un Roy et un parlement ne peuvent plus subsister ensemble : Qu'il ne falloit plus songer qu' à faire seulement la guerre aux Hollandois, comme des seuls moyens qu'on en a sans le recours du parlement, au quel on ne devoit plus avoir recours qu' après un heureux succès de la guerre et de la Catholicité, et lorsqu'on seroit en état d'obtenir par la force, ce qu'on ne pourroit avoir par la douceur.

Translation.

I FOUND the Duke of York in the same sentiments with the Duke of Buckingham with regard to the meeting of the parliament, having told me of himself, without my entering upon the subject, that if his advice was followed, they would be very cautious of assembling it ; adding, in confidence, that affairs are at present here in such a situation as to make him believe that a King and a parliament can exist no longer together : That nothing should be any longer thought of than to make war upon Holland, as the only means left without having recourse to parliament, to which they ought no longer to have recourse till the war and the Catholic faith had come to an happy issue, and when they should be in a condition to obtain by force, what they could not obtain by mildness."

In the Depot. In this correspondence, the first strokes of Lord Sunderland's character are also to be seen. From Colbert's letter to Monsieur de Lyonne of 24 Dec. 1671, it appears, that Lord Sunderland was sent ambassador to Spain to persuade the Spanish court to join in the war against Holland. From a previous letter from Colbert to Louis of 30 Nov. that year, it appears, that he had instructions to take France in his way. This last letter contains these words.

Part of a Letter Monsf. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 30 Nov. 1671.—

Character of Lord Sunderland.

CES Messieurs m'ont assurés que le Comte de Sunderland partira sans In the *Depot.* faute demain pour se rendre auprès de votre Majesté. C'est un jeune gentilhomme de très grand naissance, qui a beaucoup d'honnêteté, de courage, d'esprit et de lecture, qui est aussi très bien intentionné, et qui a d'ailleurs une grande disposition de se faire Catholique.

Translation.

THEY assured me that the Earl of Sunderland should without fail depart tomorrow to wait upon your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family, has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts and learning, is also extremely well intentioned, and has besides a great disposition to make himself a Roman Catholic.

Both of the above treaties were helped on by money from France given to the King's ministers, and for the most part with his knowledge.

On the 25th August, 1670, Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth, that In the *Depot.* he had offered a pension of 10,000 crowns to Lord Arlington, whose answer was, that he could neither take or refuse it now, but that in case of necessity he would ask the protection of Louis.

On the 28th August, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that In the *Depot.* Lord Arlington had proposed the French court should give a pension to Lady Shrewsbury, in order to fix Buckingham the better.

On the 2d October, 1670, Colbert writes, that Buckingham had told In the *Depot.* him the Spaniards had offered him 200,000 *l.* to bring King Charles to their side. Colbert adds: 'Je crois qu'il n'en est rien; mais je crains que l'appetit des ces nouveaux commissaires ne soit grand.—I do not believe any thing of it; but I am afraid that the appetite of these new commissioners is great.'

On the 16th October and 3d November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he In the *Depot.* had given the presents to the commissioners of the first treaty, and that

King Charles had ordered them to take them. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was.

In the Depot. On the 1st Jan. 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given Lady Shrewsbury 10,000 livres.

In the Depot. On the 2d April, 1671, Colbert writes, that he had given a present to Lauderdale, that he is soon to do the same to Buckingham and Ashley Cooper, and that King Charles knew it. It does not appear what the extent of the presents was.

In the Depot. On the 9th November, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Shrewsbury on receiving her French pension said, she would make Buckingham comply with King Charles's in all things.

In the Depot. On the 3d December, 1671, Colbert writes, that Lady Arlington had in her husband's presence offered to accept of the present intended for her husband. He adds, "Le mari n'a fait qu'un reproché très obligeant."—"The husband reproached her, but very obligingly."

In the Depot. On the 11th April, 1672, Colbert writes to Louis in these words: "Milord Arlington m'a fait une visite exprès pour me faire connoître combien il est pénétré des marques d'estime et distinction que votre Majesté a donné par le magnifique présent que votre Majesté a fait à Madame Arlington." "My Lord Arlington made me a visit on purpose to let me know how much he is penetrated with the marks of esteem and distinction which your Majesty has given by the magnificent present which your Majesty has made to Lady Arlington." And then proceeds to repeat the strong professions of Lord Arlington to France.

It is probable, that Charles in his stipulations in the above two treaties about declaring himself a Roman Catholick, meant only to draw money from France at first and from Spain afterwards, or at least to be very sure of his power at home before he took such a step. The shifts he fell upon to turn this part of the treaty to his advantage, and to avoid performing it, make a true comedy in Colbert's dispatches.

After he had signed the first treaty, several months pass over upon a difficulty on his part in finding a proper person to send to Rome to manage his reconciliation with the Holy See. At length on the 29th September, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that according to orders from In the *Depot.* France he had proposed to Charles that the affair should be conducted by the Bishop of Laon, a man of great virtue and character, and that Charles had agreed.

On the 23d October, 1670, Colbert writes Monsr. de Lyonne, that In the *Depot.* Charles had changed his mind, and did not like “à confier son secret à un Pape moribond;—to trust his secret to a Pope who was near his end;” and besides that it would be proper he should send an Englishman with the Bishop of Laon.

On the 6th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that King Charles could In the *Depot.* not yet find a proper Englishman to go to Rome with the Bishop of Laon.

On the 13th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that he had proposed to In the *Depot.* Lord Arlington that the Bishop of Laon should set off by himself, and Lord Arlington said he would speak to the King of it.

On the 17th November, 1670, Colbert writes, that Charles had at last In the *Depot.* found a proper Englishman, but who was not in England, being head of the college at Doway, and that he would send him by himself without the Bishop of Laon; that Charles had promised to declare his popery soon, but would not fix his time, and that in the mean time he had made a demand for money from France.

On the 1st and 19th of January, 1671, Colbert writes, that there In the *Depot.* were delays about the English clergyman and the form of his instructions, and that Charles was to trust the whole affair to one of his own subjects.

On the 18th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that still more delays were In the *Depot.* made on account of the want of proper instructions to the King's English clergyman.

On the 25th February, 1671, Colbert writes, that the instructions to the In the *Depot.* clergyman having at length been finished, and lord Arlington carried them to the King, he gave for answer, that he could neither declare his popery, nor send any one to Rome at this time.

In the Depot. On the 21st March, 1672, Colbert writes, that Charles desired a theologian to be sent him from Paris, to instruct him in the mysteries of the Catholic religion, but that he desired this theologian might be a good chymist.

In the Depot. On the 7th June, 1672, Colbert writes, that Charles had put off his conversion till the end of the campaign; and that in the mean time he desired a treaty with the see of Rome, in which the Pope should yield 'le communion dans les deux especes,' and that mass should be said in the vulgar tongue.

Chemistry being the study which, of all others, the King was fondest of, and a demand of impossible concessions from Rome betraying itself, these two last demands probably opened the eyes of the French, and they troubled him no more on the head of religion.

From several of Colbert's dispatches it appears, that Charles, unknown to France, communicated to the Queen of Spain his intention to declare himself a Roman Catholic; and when Louis complained of it, Charles said he had done it to engage the Queen to take a side against the Dutch.

The dispatches show that he received great sums from France during the Dutch war, and that he made no complaints of breach of treaty on that head; but the extent of them does not appear.

While King Charles was projecting or forming these secret treaties with France, he withdrew all his confidence from his old tory ministers, pretended to make a favourite of Buckingham, and put the direction of Ireland into the hands of lord Roberts; of Scotland into those of lord Lauderdale; and of England into those of lord Ashley Cooper; all of whom had drawn their swords against his father. These things he probably did to engage their services in the success of his connexion with France, or to expose men he disliked if it should prove unsuccessful. The contempt he had for the profligacy of Buckingham is notorious. His dislike of Shaftesbury made him blind even to his talents, for Colbert, in a letter of July 1673, says, Charles told him that 'le chancelier etoit le

‘ plus foible, et le plus mechant de tous les hommes,—the weakest and ‘ wickedest of all men.’ In one of Monf. Barillon’s letters at an after period, to wit, in 1681, Barillon writes, that when Shaftesbury, at the end of the Dutch war, was advising Charles to quit the French and make a Spanish alliance, Charles asked him how much the Spaniards had given him? He answered, Nothing at all; then, said the King, you owe them nothing, for they offered Arlington 40,000 l.

The following letter from Charles to his sister, in the *Depot*, shews that his removal of the duke of Ormond from the command of Ireland, did not arise from displeasure.

Part of a letter from Charles the II^d to the Dutchess of Orleans, 7th March, 1669.—His removal of the Duke of Ormond arises not from displeasure.

I See you are misinformed if you think I trust my lord of Ormond less In the *Depot*. than I did; there are other considerations which make me send my lord Robarts into Ireland which are too long for a letter. I have dispatched this night n. z. m. p. s. c. b. s. w. a. e. f m. to 103, who is fully instructed as you can wish: You will see by him the reason why I desired to write to nobody here of the business of ^{France} 271, but to myself.

After Charles had drawn his new ministers into his second secret treaty with France, he assumed a much higher tone over them than he had before done.

He duped Buckingham of his expectations of commanding 6000 English forces against Holland, by prevailing with France not to ask them. Colbert writes on the 4th November, 1671, that on this account In the *Depot*. Buckingham had refused to go to court when sent for. Ashley Cooper and Lauderdale had shewn some discontents about the same time. Colbert gives the following account of the King’s personal behaviour to these three ministers upon this occasion.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Colbert au Roi, du 9 Novembre, 1671.

In the Depot.

LE duc de Bouquingham a enfin été voir le Roi son maitre, qui lui a donné une assez longue audience, et on a dit incontinent après le détail au duc d'Yorck, à milord Arlington, et au trésorier Clifford, desquels je l'ai appris. Sa Majesté Britannique ayant ordonné au dit duc de lui dire tous les sujets de son chagrin, lui témoignant même obligeamment qu'il lui vouloit assez de bien pour l'en guerir; ce duc s'est plaint ouvertement de Mr. de Montaigu, et indirectement de milord Arlington, de tous les mauvais offices qu'on lui rendoit sous main, se laissant entendre qu'ils n'ont conçu de l'aversion pour lui, qu'à cause qu'il a été le premier promoteur d'une bonne union entre votre Majesté et l'Angleterre; et il a voulu soutenir que la grace que cet ambassadeur a demandée à votre Majesté de la part du dit Roi, de le dispenser de la levée et entretenement d'un corps de troupes Angloises, est contre son honneur, et contre le bien de son service; mais le dit Roi lui a dit, après l'avoir écouté paisiblement, qu'il voyoit bien qu'il ne se souvenoit plus des millions qu'il lui avoit fait perdre dans la dernière séance du parlement, et que cependant si l'affection qu'il avoit pour lui duc avoit effacé cette offense, il ne laissoit pas d'en bien retentir les effets, qui l'auroient peut-être réduit dans la facheuse impossibilité de satisfaire à son obligation, si votre Majesté ne lui eût fait le plaisir de l'en décharger. Que quand Mr. de Montaigu n'auroit agi que par un motif de haine contre lui duc, il ne laisserieit pas d'approuver sa conduite par les bons effets qu'elle produit: que c'étoit une folie de s'imaginer qu'il pût mettre en balance l'interêt qu'a le dit duc de commander un corps de troupes avec celui du public, qui reçoit un notable soulagement de la complaisance de votre Majesté. Il ajouta, avec colere, qu'en de semblables occasions il ne le consideroit nonplus que son chien; et que si même votre Majesté l'eût déchargé de l'armement des vaisseaux au lieu de la levée et entretenement des troupes, il n'auroit pas eû plus d'égard à l'envie qu'a Mr. le duc de York de commander la flotte; qu'au reste il vouloit que tous ceux qui ont signé le traité véussent en bonne intelligence, et concourussent unanimement à en faciliter l'exécution; et que s'il arrivoit quelque division entr'eux qui pût nuire à cette affaire, il fauroit bien connoître qui en seroit coupable, et l'éloigner entièrement de sa confiance pour y en admettre d'autres qui la mériteroient mieux. On m'a

dit qu'il a parlé dans le même sens à milord Lauderdale, et à milord Ashley, qui me paroissent effectivement un peu mortifiés. Et je crois que cette reprimande ne nuira pas au service de votre Majesté, d'autant plus que milord Arlington, qui a le plus de part dans l'estime et l'affection du Roi son maître, me montre plus de chaleur et plus d'empressement que jamais à avancer la satisfaction de votre Majesté conjointement avec celle du Roi d'Angleterre.

Translation.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Colbert to the King, 9 Nov. 1671.—
Charles's free treatment of Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale.*

THE Duke of Buckingham has at last been to see the King his master, who gave him a pretty long audience, and immediately after, the detail was told to the Duke of York, to my Lord Arlington, and the Treasurer Clifford, from whom I learnt it. His Britannic Majesty having ordered the Duke to tell him the subjects of his chagrin, saying, obligingly, that he wished him so well as to cure him of it, the Duke openly complained of Mr. Mountagu, and indirectly of my Lord Arlington, for all the bad offices they had done him under-hand, insinuating, that they had conceived an aversion to him only because he had been the first promoter of a good union between your Majesty and England; and he maintained, that the favour which that ambassador had asked of your Majesty on the part of the said King, to dispense with his levying and keeping on foot a body of English troops, was against his honour and the good of his service; but the King told him, after having heard him peaceably, that he saw well he had forgot the millions he had been the cause of his losing in the last session of parliament, and that tho' the affection he had for him, the Duke, had blotted out this offence, he could not help sensibly feeling the effects of it, which perhaps might have reduced him to the disagreeable impossibility of discharging his obligation, if your Majesty had not been pleased to release him from it. That even supposing Mr. Mountagu had acted from no other motive than hatred to him (the Duke) he could not avoid approving his conduct from the good effects it had produced. That it was folly to imagine he could put in competition the interest the Duke had in commanding a body of troops, with

that of the publick, which received so great an ease from your Majesty's complaisance. He added, with anger, that on such occasions he considered him no more than his dog; and that even if your Majesty had released him of the naval armament in place of the levying and keeping the troops on foot, he would have had no more regard to the Duke of York's desire of commanding the fleet: that as for the rest, he wished that all those who had signed the treaty would live in good harmony, and unanimously concur in facilitating the execution of it; and that if any division amongst them should happen which might hurt this affair, he should know very well who were guilty, and entirely banish them from his confidence, and admit others who deserved it better. They told me that he spoke in the same stile to my Lord Lauderdale and to my Lord Ashley, who appear to me in effect a little mortified, and I believe this reprimand will not hurt your Majesty's service, the more so as my Lord Arlington, who has the largest share in the esteem and affection of his master, shews more warmth and forwardness than ever in advancing your Majesty's satisfaction jointly with that of the King of England."

In the Depot. This bold language had its effect with Buckingham at least. Colbert writes on the 15th February, 1672, that a Latin copy of the second treaty was that day signed; that Buckingham upon that occasion said, that another would get the honour of his work, that he had missed the object of his ambition which was the command of the troops; adding, "sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves;" and then reluctantly put his name to the paper.

A Prince whose politicks are crooked makes those of his ministers crooked too. The cabal became sensible of the danger they were exposed to by these treaties with France, and therefore attempted to lessen that danger by sharing it with the King's former friends.

In the Depot. Colbert writes on the 3d June, 1671, that the cabal had proposed to make an attempt to bring Prince Rupert and the Duke of Ormonde to consent to a treaty with France against Holland; that the treaty just concluded should be concealed from them, and a new one on the very same terms framed in conjunction with them; but that he, Colbert, had refused to give his consent to the project.

It is very probable that the dangers which the cabal were thus brought into, engaged them for their own safeties in the bold courses which they took in the beginning of the second Dutch war.

Colbert, on the 11th April, 1672, writes thus of the cabal: " Ils voyent bien que tout leur salut consiste dans l'affirmissement de l'autorité du Roy leur maitre."—" They see that all their safety lies in strengthening the authority of the King their master."

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the manuscript which Doctor North was so good as to show me, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—Bold courses of Clifford and Shaftesbury.

"THE lord Clifford and the earl of Shaftesbury were each of them upon very bold projects, and did not regard a good report: They thought, by the help of the parties they comprehended and took into favour, to be too strong for all opposers."

When the house of commons pressed Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence, Arlington alone hesitated, the rest of the cabal stood firm. Colbert writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 9th March, 1673.—" Le chancelier d'Angleterre, le tresorier, et les ducs de Bouquingham et Lauderdale, sont d'avis de maintenir cette déclaration du Roi leur maitre, en faveur des Nonconformists; et que si le parlement persiste dans ses remonstrances, comme il n'en faut douter, de le casser, et en convoquer un autre: ils ne manquent pas mêmes de bonnes raisons pour appuyer leur opinion. Milord Arlington, qui est jusques à present tout seul de la sienne, dit, que le Roi son maitre ne devoit pas, &c."

Translation.

" The chancellor, the treasurer, and the dukes of Buckingham and Lauderdale, are of opinion to maintain this declaration of the King their master, in favour of the Nonconformists; and that if the parliament persist in their remonstrances, as it is not doubted they will, to dissolve it

and call another: they do not even want good reasons to support their opinion. My lord Arlington, who at present is single in his sentiments, says, that the King his master ought not to do it."

A Prince who betrays, and consents to the corruption of his own ministers, must expect to be betrayed by them. The cabal, and all their schemes, burst like a bubble at the first sight of the terrors of an English parliament hung out to them.

Lord Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—Shaftesbury's sudden change of conduct.

In Doctor
North's pos-
session.

"**S**HAFTESBURY issued writs for election, without the speaker's leave; to bring in a few of his own creatures to be burgeses in the west country.

"When Shaftesbury found he was to be questioned first, and for what he had said and done, he fell to his old courses, by which he used to save himself in former changes; and dealt underhand with the party that opposed the court; and recanted publicly and suddenly, by disapproving the declaration, and thereby saved himself with them, who thought it would be of more service to have the King's councils betrayed, than to make the earl of Shaftesbury an example."

In the Depot.

Colbert writes, 20th November, 1673, that Arlington had turned entirely to the Dutch party; that he contrived the Test act, knowing that Clifford would not take it; and that to make his peace he disclosed the secret of the first secret treaty to Ormond and Shaftesbury.

If this last fact be true, it is a strong instance of the honour of English party: for lord Ormond carried with him to the grave his loyalty and his secret; and Shaftesbury, though little troubled with scruples, never made use of it against lord Arundel, even whilst he persecuted him.

This was not all: Charles, by these crooked politicks, lost all the fruits of the popularity of the earlier part of his reign. The effects of that popularity might have been great to the power of the crown, when even the friends of the crown suspected the weight of it. Lord Keeper Guildford, in the same manuscript, speaking of the earlier period of Charles's reign, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Keeper Guildford's manuscript.—Old gentry jealous of the weight of the King's popularity in the beginning of his reign.

“THE gentry were so secure in their own opinion, that they were considering rather that the parliament would invest too much power in the King, than that there was any danger of the old rebels, and therefore many of them began to draw the other way, desiring the crown should depend on the good will of the people, and thought themselves politick in keeping the balance as even as they could. One would think they that had felt the miseries of anarchy should never have feared a King.”

In Doctor
North's
hands.

The publication of the duke's popery, about the same time, lost the King even the dissenters, whom he meant to have gained by his declaration of indulgence. Lord Guildford, in Doctor North's manuscript, writes thus.

Extract from Lord Guildford's manuscript.—Charles loses the Dissenters.

“IT is certain that from this time the credit of the government was quite broke, and that party who had persuaded to the indulgence, and taken licences to a vast number, (which they did to make the King believe their numbers were very formidable) cried out against it, as not intended out of kindness to them, but only to the papists; that they desired indulgence, but not at the price of all the laws; they had much rather have it in a parliamentary way; and in the next parliament they joined with many of the country gentlemen, that were no friends to them, to oppose the declaration, so as they might have an act of comprehension; wherein the others promised all their endeavours.”

Upon the promotion of lord Danby on the ruins of the cabal, the project of that minister to buy off the resentment of the house of commons, by giving money to the members, only added on account of its novelty to the impopularity of government. On this head lord Guildford, in his manuscript, speaks thus.

“ I observed this good humour began to decay upon the taking off enemies by preferring them; and those friends that were low in the world, or had mercenary natures, had money given them; so that ambitious men expected to be sought to and careffed, because they were able to trouble the King’s affairs; and the honest, plain (but not discerning) country gentlemen believed every vote that was given for the court was the effect of a pension, and would not join, lest he should be thought to do it, because he had some hopes of a reward.”

It has commonly been believed that the French played false to England, in carrying the Dutch war upon the side of Maestricht, instead of making war near the sea coasts, in order to have enabled England to subdue Zealand. But the following extract from lord Guildford’s manuscript shows this to be a mistake.

Extract from Lord Guildford’s manuscript.—The French acted fair to England in the 2d Dutch war.

“ I HAD then the curiosity thereupon to be satisfied, concerning foul play supposed to be done by the French in making war about Maestricht, when it was supposed, if they had advanced towards the sea coasts, Zealand would have yielded to have been subject to the King of England rather than to the French. I was told, (by the Duke of York) that France did concert the siege of Maestricht with the King, and it was alledged, that to think of a surrender was vain, unless the King could show some force, which, if he could, the French making the seat of the war so far off, would divert the force of the States from the defence of the coasts: and this reason prevailed.”

Charles’s declaration of indulgence has been commonly imputed to the intrigues of France with Charles, for the purpose of serving the interest of

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popery. But Colbert's dispatches show that France had not the least hand in it, that it was a scheme of Buckingham and Shaftesbury to gain the Dissenters, and that France was the cause of Charles's recalling it.

Colbert writes to Louis the XIVth on the 9th March, 1673, that *In the Depot.* Madame de la Queruaille had told him, that the remonstrances of parliament about the declaration of indulgence had driven Charles to despair, and that he was to dissolve the parliament, and make a peace with Holland, finding he could do no better.

Upon this intelligence, Louis the XIVth, whose only object in his connexion with Charles seems to have been the success of the Dutch war, wrote to Charles, and ordered Colbert to intreat him, to drop his declaration of indulgence.

On the 20th March, 1673, Colbert writes the following congratulatory letter to Louis the XIVth on Charles's having given up his declaration of indulgence, in consequence of the interposition of France.

Extrait de la lettre de Monfr. Colbert au Roi, du 20 Mars, 1673.

Sire,

JAM AIS conseil n'a été mieux reçu, plus ponctuellement suivi, et n'a *In the Depot.* produit aussi de meilleurs et de plus prompts effets, que celui que votre Majesté a fait donner par moi au Roi d'Angleterre. Ce Prince, qui étoit presque résolu le Jeudi au soir de casser son parlement, à peine eût entendu le Vendredi au matin les raisons que je lui representai de votre part, pour l'obliger à s'accommoder à la nécessité de satisfaire ses peuples sur le fait de sa déclaration, et d'ôter aux mal intentionnées le prétexte trop plausible de religion, qu'il m'assura que les sentimens de votre Majesté auroient toujours plus de pouvoir sur lui que tous les raisonnemens de ses plus fideles ministres; qu'il étoit si sensiblement touché des marques d'amitié sincere que vous lui donnés en cette occasion, et des offres que je lui avois faites de la part de votre Majesté, d'entendre ses secours après la paix faite, au delà de ce qu'elle est obligée par le traité, que pour lui mieux témoigner combien il en est reconnoissant, il alloit sans délibérer d'avantage accorder à ses sujets ce qu'ils lui demandoient avec tant d'empressement. Et en effet le lendemain au matin il entra revêtu de ses habits royaux dans

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la chambre haute, y fit venir celle des communes, et parla dans les termes que votre Majesté pourra voir par la copie de son discours, qui fût suivi des cris de joie et des applaudissemens universels de tout le parlement; et aussitôt que la chambre haute fût retirée, elle travailla incessamment à l'acte du secours d'argent qu'elle a promis, en sorte qu'on espere que cette affaire sera finie demain, ou auprès, à l'entiere satisfaction du Roi. Tout le peuple, qui étoit déjà fort allarmé de la crainte d'une guerre civile, a fait dans toutes les rues des feux de joie de cette bonne réconciliation du Roi avec son parlement. L'aigreur même que la chambre de communes témoignoit contre les Catholiques, s'est un peu adoucie par le consentement général que ce Prince leur a donné pour tous les actes qu'ils jugeroient à propos de faire pour assurer la religion protestante; et comme il n'a pas fait un secret des conseils de douceur et de modération que votre Majesté lui a donnés, quelques uns des membres du parlement m'on dit, que tout ce corps se sentoient obligé à votre Majesté de cet accommodement; en sorte que les affaires sont à présent ici au meilleur état qu'elle le peut desirer pour le bien des siennes; et le dit Roi m'a assuré qu'il auroit cette année une flotte aussi puissante que l'année dernière.

Je n'ai pas crû qu'il fût du service de votre Majesté de garder les mesures qu'elle m'a prescrites, dans les offres de troupes dont elle veut bien assister le dit Roi pour l'exécution de ses desseins après la paix faite; car comme il est persuadé aussi bien que ses ministres, que rien n'est si capable de révolter tout la nation, que de faire voir qu'il peut appuyer son autorité par des forces étrangères, il m'a souvent fait entendre, et le milord Arlington aussi, qu'il ne se serviroit du secours que votre Majesté s'est obligé de lui fournir, que dans une extreme nécessité: ainsi j'ai crû qu'il valoit mieux l'assurer seulement en général que votre Majesté ne s'arrêteroit pas aux termes du dit traité, et que suivant les mouvemens de son affection, après que la guerre seroit finie, elle feroit passer non seulement les six mille hommes qu'elle avoit promis, mais autant qu'il témoigneroit en avoir besoin, et j'ai tout sujet de croire qu'on ne fera pas de demande sur ce point à votre Majesté, qui lui soit trop à charge.

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mons. Colbert to Louis the XIVth, 20 March, 1673.
—France has prevailed with Charles to recall his declaration of indulgence.—
And assures him of troops against his subjects.*

Sire,

NEVER could any counsel be better received, more punctually followed, nor produce better and more immediate effects, than that which your Majesty has given to the King of England. This Prince, who was almost resolved on Thursday in the evening to dissolve his parliament, had hardly heard on Friday morning the reasons which I represented to him on your part, to prevail with him to submit himself to the necessity of satisfying his people upon the affair of the declaration, and to remove from the bad intentioned the too plausible pretence of religion, than he assured me that your Majesty's sentiments had always more power over him than all the reasonings of his most faithful ministers: That he was so sensibly touched with the marks of the sincere friendship you had on this occasion given him, and the offers which I made him on your Majesty's part, to extend the succours after the peace was made, beyond what you was obliged to by the treaty, that to testify the better his acknowledgements to you, he would grant without any farther deliberation what his subjects so pressingly asked of him. The next day in the morning he went to the House of Lords in his robes, sent for the Commons, and spoke in the terms your Majesty will see by the copy of his speech, which was followed with cries and acclamations of joy from the whole parliament; and as soon as the House of Lords broke up, the Commons went immediately upon the act of supply they had promised him; so that it is to be hoped this affair will be finished to-morrow, or the day after, to the King's entire satisfaction. The whole people who were already greatly alarmed with the apprehension of a civil war, made bonfires in every street upon this happy reconciliation of the King and parliament; even the bitterness which the House of Commons had manifested against the Catholics, is a little softened by the general consent the King has given to every act they think proper to make for the security of the protestant religion: and as he made no secret of the mild and moderate counsels which

your Majesty gave him, some members of parliament told me, that the whole body felt themselves obliged to your Majesty for this accommodation; so that affairs here are now in the best condition you can desire for the advantage of your own; and the King has assured me, that he will have this year as powerful a fleet as he had the last.

I did not think it was for your Majesty's service, to follow the measures you prescribed to me, with regard to the offer of the troops which you were willing to assist the King with, for the execution of his designs after the peace; for as he is persuaded as well as his ministers, that nothing is so capable of causing a general revolt in the nation, as to shew them that he can support his authority by foreign forces, he has often given me to understand, and my Lord Arlington has done so also, that he would not make use of the succour with which your Majesty is obliged to furnish him, except in extreme necessity: thus I thought it better only to assure him in general, that your Majesty would not limit yourself to the terms of the treaty, but that, agreeable to the sentiments of your affection, after the war was ended, you would not only send over the six thousand men that were promised, but as many more as he should stand in need of. I have reason to believe they will make no demand too chargeable to your Majesty upon this head.

It appears from a variety of dispatches in the *Depot*, that while Charles listened to terms of peace with the Dutch in autumn of the year 1673, he asked a million of livres extraordinary from France for the support of his fleet, but got a refusal; that the Duke of York opposed the peace strongly; that in the end of the year the French sent over Monsieur de Rouvigny to tempt the King with an anticipation of the payment of his subsidy; that he pleaded the necessity of his affairs at home as an apology to France for quitting the war, but promised in the capacity of a mediator to assist her.

It is not impossible that, for the reasons given in the "Review of the events of the reign of Charles," prefixed to "the Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," Charles's original intention was to prolong the

war between France and Holland, under the pretence of being the mediator of peace, partly to get money to himself from both sides, and partly to give England an opportunity in the mean time to run away with the trade of the world. Charles in a discourse with Courtin, the French Ambassador, once let the last of these consequences drop from him. Courtin writes to Louis, 21 June, 1677, that Charles said to him,— *In the Depot.* “ Qu’au fonde l’Angleterre jouissoit d’une profonde tranquillité, et qu’elle s’enrichissoit, pendant que tous les etats voisins estoient epuîsés ou ruinés par la guerre; que les Anglois le remerciroient un jour de ce qu’il les avoit maintenu par sa prudence dans un etat si heureux, et si avantageux pour leur commerce.”—“ That at the bottom England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and enriched herself, while all the neighbouring states were drained or ruined by the war; and that the English would one day thank him for having kept them by his prudence in so happy a state, and so advantageous for their commerce.”

But if these were Charles’s views, those of the Duke of York, who was less politick, were different. He was very sincere in desiring to procure a peace for France soon after England had withdrawn from the war.

On this head there are two letters from him to the Prince of Orange in King William’s box.

Letter Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Advise him to peace with France.

Whithall, Oct. 23, 1674.

DEARE Nephew, I would not lett this bearer M. de Reede, returne back to you without writing to you by him, to assure you, I am very glad that you have made so good an end of the campagne, after all the hardships you have endured, and dangers you have exposed yourself to; and now that you have freed your country of so ill a neighbourhood as that of Grana was, and by it put all the provinces at ease, and got so much reputation as you have, that you will turn your thoughts to the making a good and honorable peace, which I am sure is for all our interests; I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this subject,

N

A P P E N D I X.

so that I shall say no more to you of it now, but reffer you to him, and desire you to believe that I am with all immaginable kindnesse,

Deare Nephew, your most affectionat Uncle,
For my Deare Nephew, J A M E S.
the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

St. James's, Jan. 12, 1675.

DEARE Nephew, I believe you will not be sorry to heare of the Dutcheffes being safely delivered, it is but a daughter, but God be praised, they are both very well; I shall make use of this occasion also, to tell you I received your letter by the Earle of Offory, and am very glad both by him and the Lord Chamberlin to find you are so well inclined to have a peace, which I am fully perswaded is both for your interest in particular, as well as for the repose of Christendome, and good of our family in generall; I shall say no more to you now, but to assure you that you shall always find me to be,

Deare Nephew,

Your most affectionat Uncle,

For my Deare Nephew, J A M E S.
the Prince of Orange.

In February, 1673, Charles informed the parliament of his peace with Holland, and soon after prorogued it till the 10th of November, 1674. Even at this early period the Duke of York had a prescience of the exclusion; for Colbert writes on the 10th August, 1673, that the Duke of York told him he was afraid of it. Louis was at the same time afraid, that if the parliament met in November it might force Charles into a war with him, and that the forces might be ready the ensuing spring. In the *Depot* there are two letters in August, 1674, from Mons. Rouvigny, Ambassador in England, to his court; the first of which bears, that the Duke of York told him that a clergyman had advised him to ask 400,000*l.* for his brother to prorogue the parliament, and that the Duke of York had desired Rouvigny to mention this to Louis; and the other, that the Duke had come down to 300,000 pistoles. These proposals tally very well with the beginning of Coleman's correspondence: Vide that corres.

pondence. This gave an opening for France to renew her secret money transactions with Charles.

Rouvigny writes, 2d Sept. 1674, that Charles had agreed either to *In the Depot.* prorogue his parliament till April, 1675, in consideration of 500,000 crowns, or if he convened it in November, to dissolve it in case it should refuse to give him money, in consideration of which he was to have a pension of 100,000*l.* from France. Charles afterwards chose the first of these alternatives, got his money, and France was enabled to carry on the war a year without any fear of an English parliament.

This bargain paved the way to a formal treaty in the beginning of the year 1676, but executed in a very extraordinary manner between the two Princes, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent, and Charles obliged himself to prorogue or dissolve his parliament if it should endeavour to force such treaties upon him. The consideration for this treaty was a pension from France. I could not discover from the dispatches what the amount of it was, but found several payments made to Charles in consequence of it. The treaty was known to none but the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, and Lord Danby.

The first of Rouvigny's letters in the *Depot*, which discloses the King of England's wishes for a treaty at this time, is in the following words.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Rouvigny au Roi, du 9 Janvier, 1676.

“E N suite Mr. le duc d'York et Lauderdale appuyerent si fortement ses *In the Depot.* raisons, que le grand trésorier s'y rendit, de sorte qu'il fût arrêté dans ce conseil qu'on s'engageroit présentement avec votre Majesté si elle l'avoit agréable. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'en donna avis le même jour, et me pressoit fort de passer en France pour en porter la nouvelle à votre Majesté, ne pouvant pas consentir qu'un secret, qui a son gré ne sauroit être trop couvert, fût confié à du papier, ou à d'autres personnes qu'à moi. C'est ce qui m'obligea de mander à votre Majesté il y a huit jours, que je partirois bientôt sans sa permission; mais ayant eû plus d'affection que de force, j'ai été contraint de m'arrêter, et d'écrire par mon secrétaire. Voici ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'a chargé de faire savoir à votre

Majesté, qu'il desire avec passion de se lier étroitement avec vous ; qu'en attendant qu'on le fasse par un traité solennel, on peut commencer présentement, en secret, par des promesses réciproques par écrit, qui l'engageront aussi bien que votre Majesté, à ne faire aucun traité avec quelque état que ce soit, sans le consentement de l'un et de l'autre ; ni à donner aucune assistance à vos ennemis ni à vos sujets rebelles. Que si votre Majesté approuve ce projet, elle me l'enverra par mon secrétaire avec un pouvoir de le signer : Ce Prince m'a dit encore, qu'il y a deux raisons qui l'obligent à désirer passionnément que vos intérêts ne vous empêchent pas de consentir à échanger les places que tiennent Gand et Bruxelles investies ; savoir la paix et son peuple : que les Etats Généraux ne feront pas la paix tandis que les villes de Flandre, qui appartiennent au Roi d'Espagne, seront toujours divisées, comme elles sont par celles qui sont sous l'obéissance de votre Majesté, et qu'elles ne seront que des frontières : Que cette province demeurant dans l'état qu'elle est présentement, toute l'Angleterre sera toujours persuadée que votre Majesté en achèvera facilement la conquête toutes les fois qu'il lui plaira ; et qu'il n'y a que cet échange qui puisse désabuser son peuple de l'opinion qu'il en a conçue depuis longtems : Qu'il fait très bien que votre Majesté ne manque pas de bonnes raisons pour ne le pas faire ; mais qu'il croit aussi qu'elle donnera les mains à un échange, sans quoi il n'y aura point de paix générale, ni de repos en Angleterre qu'il n'ait contenté son peuple ; tout lequel est pleinement persuadé qu'il abandonne ses intérêts par un excès d'affection qu'il a pour la France : Que cette opinion souleve tous ses sujets contre lui : Qu'il n'y a que deux moyens qui puissent le faire sortir d'un embarras si fâcheux, et le mettre en état de plaire à son peuple : Le premier, qu'on sache qu'il a sollicité et obtenu de votre Majesté l'échange qui donnera la paix ; et l'autre que pour la rendre stable, il est entré avec les Hollandois dans le traité de garantie pour la conservation de la Flandre et pour la sûreté de l'Angleterre. Ce Prince a continué de me dire qu'il m'informoit par avance de tout ce qu'il seroit obligé de faire, pour le faire savoir à votre Majesté à fin que ses desseins vous soient pleinement connus, et que vous ne puissiez pas prendre à l'avenir aucun soupçon de sa conduite, ni de l'affection inébranlable qu'il aura toute sa vie pour les intérêts de votre Majesté. Voila, Sire, les choses que ce Prince m'a dites, et que j'ai écrites en sa présence et dans son cabinet."

Je suis, &c.

(Signé) ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. de Rouvigny to the King, 9th January, 1676.—
Charles proposes a new secret treaty with France.*

“**A**FTERWARDS the duke of York and Lauderdale supported his (that is Charles’s) reasons so strongly, that the high treasurer gave way to them, so that it was agreed in this council to engage directly with your Majesty if it was agreeable. The King of England informed me of it the same day, and pressed me much to go to France to carry the news of it to your Majesty, as he could not consent that a secret, which in his opinion could not be too much hid, should be trusted to paper, or to any person but myself. This obliged me to let your Majesty know eight days ago that I should soon depart without permission; *but having more affection than strength*, I have been obliged to stop, and write by my secretary. What the King of England charged me to make known to your Majesty is, that he desires passionately to unite himself strictly with you; that without waiting till it can be done by a solemn treaty, it may be begun at present, in secret, by reciprocal promises in writing, which should bind him, as well as your Majesty, not to make any treaty with any state whatever without the consent of the other; or to give any assistance to the enemies or rebellious subjects of either: That if your Majesty approves this project, you will send it by my secretary with a power to sign it. This Prince also said to me, that he had two reasons which made it necessary for him to desire passionately that your interest should not hinder you from consenting to exchange the places which hold Ghent and Brussels invested. These are the peace and his people: That the States General will not make a peace as long as the towns in Flanders, which belong to the King of Spain, are separated as they are by those which are under your Majesty’s obedience, and are no more than frontiers: That as long as that province continues in its present state, all England will be always persuaded that your Majesty can easily make a conquest of it whenever you please; and that nothing but this exchange can disabuse his people in the opinion they have long formed on that head: That he very well knows your Majesty does not want good reasons for not doing it; but he also believes you will consent to an exchange, without which there will be no general peace, nor quiet in England till he has contented his people; all of whom are fully persuaded that he

abandons their interest, through an excess of affection for France: That this opinion raises all his subjects against him: That there are but two ways of bringing him out of so troublesome an embarrassment, and putting him in a condition to please his people: The first, that they may know that he has solicited, and obtained of your Majesty, the exchange which will give peace, and the other that to render it stable, he has entered into a treaty of guarantee with the Dutch for the preservation of Flanders and the safety of England. This Prince continued to say that he would inform me before hand of all he should be obliged to do, in order that his designs might be fully known to you, and that you might not hereafter have any suspicion of his conduct, nor of the unalterable affection which he will have all his life for your Majesty's interests. These, Sire, are the things this prince said to me, and which I write in his presence and closet."

I am, &c.

(Signed) ROUVIGNY.

The other conditions of this treaty, as stated above, having been afterwards in the course of it proposed and agreed to, it was executed in a mode that shows the miserable state to which an English Prince may be reduced, who thinks it is possible for him to have an interest of his own separate from that of his people.

Extrait de la lettre de Mons. Rouvigny au Roi, du 27 fevrier, 1676.

Sire,

In the *Depot*. "J'

AI fait savoir à Mons. de Pomponne par la lettre que je lui ai envoyée le 17 de ce mois, que le Roi d'Angleterre ayant assemblé Mons. le Duc d'York, le Duc de Loderdail, et le grand Trésorier, pour conferer avec eux sur l'écrit qui est connue de votre Majesté; ce dernier ministre demanda à son maitre du tems pour l'examiner avant que d'en donner son avis. Les affaires ou d'autres raisons l'ont empêché de le faire pendant dix jours. En fin, le grand Trésorier a été voir le Duc de Loderdail, à qui il a représenté le peril qu'il y auroit pour leurs têtes, s'ils étoient seuls à délibérer sur le traité, et à le signer. De quoi le Roi d'Angleterre étant averti, il les a fait venir dans son cabinet avec Mons. le Duc d'York; ou ayant été proposé d'admettre dans ce conseil le grand Chancelier et tous les autres ministres, ce Prince leur a dit, qu'il ne desiroit rien au mond plus passionnément qu'une bonne alliance avec votre Majesté; qu'étant média-

teur, la conjoncture du tems ne lui permettoit pas qu'on eût la moindre connoissance qu'il eût conclu et signé un traité avec la France; que la chose ne pourroit pas manquer d'être publique si elle étoit portée dans son conseil, et s'il falloit se servir de son grand sceau; que pour le tenir bien secrette il ne desiroit pas que ses autres ministres en eussent aucune connoissance; que pour cet effet il ne vouloit pas nommer des commissaires, ni faire expédier des pouvoirs; qu'il avoit résolu de signer le traité de sa main, et d'y apposer son cachet en ma présence, aussitôt qu'il seroit convenu des articles avec moi; qu'il ne doutoit pas que votre Majesté n'en fit de même, et que si elle l'assuroit par un billet écrit de sa main, qu'elle signât ce traité et qu'elle y a mis son cachet, il le recevrait avec plus de confiance que si un de ces ministres en avoit été témoin; qu'eux trois n'avoient qu'à examiner en sa présence le projet que j'avois mis depuis 20 jours entre ses mains, et de lui en dire leurs pensées. Voici, Sire, le résultat de ce conseil que le Duc de Loderdail vint me dire chez moi par ordre du Roi son maître.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit que ne pouvant pas confier une affaire de cette importance à ses secretaires d'état, il avoit résolu pour le plus grand secret de copier lui même le projet que je lui avois donné, et de le signer en ma présence; ce qu'il fit hier matin; après quoi il alluma lui même une bougie, et apposa son cachet à côté de son seing, en me disant que ce n'étoit que le cachet de son chiffre, parceque depuis peu il avoit perdu celui de ses armes qui étoient gravées sur un diamant du Roi Jacques son grand pere, que le feu Roi étant sur l'échaffaut donna à l'Evêque de Londres pour le remettre entre ses mains: il fit ensuite appeler le Duc de Laderdail, qui est le seul en qui il a pris dans cette occasion une confiance entière, pour lui dire qu'étant pressé d'aller à Windsor, il le chargeoit de mon écrit, qu'il avoit copié mot à mot, et qu'il lui ordonnoit de me le voir signer, et de m'engager par écrit, en vertu du pouvoir qu'il a plu à votre Majesté de m'envoyer, que dans 20 jours, ou plutôt, si faire se peut, je lui remettrais entre les mains un pareil traité signé de la main de votre Majesté, et cacheté du scel de son secret, lui enjoignant expressément qu'il eût soin de lui rendre mon écrit à son retour de Windsor. Je dépêche, Sire, mon secretaire pour plus de précaution, pour porter à votre Majesté le

traité que le Roi d'Angleterre a écrit, signé et cacheté devant moi, et pour m'apporter, si votre Majesté le trouve à propos, celui qu'elle aura signé et auquel elle aura fait mettre le scel de son secret, avec le billet de sa main dont j'ai fait mention cy dessus.

Sire, votre Majesté voit bien par tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette affaire, que le Roi d'Angleterre est comme abandonné de ses ministres même les plus confidens ; que le grand trésorier qui a beaucoup plus de peur du parlement que de son maître, et qui est très contraire aux intérêts de la France, prétendant par là de s'acquiescer la faveur du peuple, a formé toutes les difficultés que j'ai mandées, à dessein d'empêcher la conclusion de ce traité, ou du moins d'en retarder l'accomplissement. Le duc de Laderdail a soutenu le Roi son maître, ayant sans comparaison plus de respect et de zèle que ses collègues. Mr. le duc d'York, qui est tout entier dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, ne s'est presque pas mêlé dans ces difficultés, parcequ'il a vu que le Roi son frère étoit assez ferme pour n'avoir pas besoin de ses avis.

Par toutes ces circonstances, Sire, votre Majesté jugera mieux de l'état de l'Angleterre, que par toutes les choses que j'ai représentées dans mes lettres ; et l'on aura bien de la peine à s'imaginer qu'un Roi soit tellement abandonné de ses sujets, que même parmi ses ministres il n'en trouve pas un en qui il puisse prendre une entière confiance. Cet exemple, Sire, fera bien voir à votre Majesté que toute l'Angleterre est contraire au bien de ses intérêts, et qu'il n'y a que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne seul, et Mr. le duc d'York qui les embrassent avec affection ; et par là, Sire, votre Majesté connoitra que ce traité est nécessaire pour la sûreté de votre service, puisqu'il vous assure que l'Angleterre ne fera pas contre vous. Il est vrai, Sire, que vous n'en tirerez pas tous les secours que l'on pourroit le promettre d'une bonne alliance, mais aussi vos ennemis en auront beaucoup moins que votre Majesté. Et de plus il y auroit grand sujet de craindre que le Roi d'Angleterre n'eût en fin été entraîné dans les sentimens de son peuple, sans ce nouveau lien qui l'engage plus que jamais dans vos intérêts. Ce sera un appui pour sa fermeté capable de la rendre assez constante pour faire que ses sujets qui en sont surpris jusqu'aujourd'hui, en seront si étonnés à l'avenir qu'ils pourront peut être se conformer aux

intentions de leur maitre. On a jetté les fondemens pour travailler à ce dessein, qui sera utile à l'Angleterre et à la France, en cas qu'il réuissè, et que ne réussissant pas, n'empirera point dans ce royaume les affaires de votre Majesté. Cependant, Dieu veuille donner la paix à la Chrétienté. Les parlemens sont à craindre, et c'est une espee de miracle de voir qu'un Roi sans armes et sans argent leur ait résisté si longtems." Je suis, &c.

(Signé) ROUVIGNY.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Monfr. Rouvigny to Louis the XIVth, 27 Feb. 1676.—

Charles's ministers afraid to be parties to the new money treaty with France.

—Charles writes it himself.

Sire,

"I ACQUAINTED Monf. de Pomponne by the letter I sent him the 17th of this month that the King of England having convened the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and the high Treasurer, to confer with them upon the paper which your Majesty knows of, this last minister asked time to examine it before he gave his opinion upon it. Business, or other reasons have prevented him from doing it these ten days. In fine, the Treasurer has been to see the Duke of Lauderdale, to whom he has represented the risk they should run of losing their heads if they alone were to deliberate upon the treaty, and to sign it. The King of England being informed of this, sent for them and the Duke of York into his closet, where it being proposed to admit into this council the high Chancellor and all the other ministers, he told them, that he desired nothing in the world more passionately than a good alliance with your Majesty; that being mediator, the conjuncture of the time did not allow him to let people have the least knowledge of his having concluded and signed a treaty with France; that the thing could not fail of being made publick if brought before the council, or if he was obliged to make use of his great seal: that to keep it an entire secret, he did not desire his ministers should have any knowledge of it; that for this reason he would name no commissioners, nor give any powers; that he had resolved to sign the treaty with his own hand, and seal it with his seal in my presence, as soon as he should have agreed upon the articles with me; that he did not doubt your Majesty would do the same, and that if you would assure

him by a billet wrote with your own hand, that you had signed the treaty and affixed your seal to it, he would receive it with greater confidence than if one of his ministers had been witness to it; that these three had only to examine in his presence the project which I had put into his hands twenty days go, and give him their thoughts upon it. This, Sire, is the result of this council, which the Duke of Lauderdale came to inform me of at my house by order of the King his master.

— — — — —

The King of England told me, that as he could not trust an affair of this importance to his Secretaries of State, (Coventry and Williamson) he had resolved for the greater secrecy to copy himself the instrument which I had given him, and to sign it in my presence: This he did yesterday morning; after which he lighted a wax candle himself, and affixed his seal to his signature, at the same time saying that it was only a seal with his cypher, for that a little while since he had lost the seal with his arms, which were engraved on a diamond of King James his grandfather, and which when the deceased King was upon the scaffold he gave to the Bishop of London to be delivered into his hands: he afterwards called for the Duke of Lauderdale, who is the only one in whom on this occasion he has put an entire confidence, and told him, that being press'd to go to Windsor, he had charged him with my paper, which he had copied himself word for word, and that he ordered him to see me sign it, and to oblige me by a writing, in virtue of the full power your Majesty was pleased to send me, that in 20 days or sooner, if it could be done, I would transmit him a similar treaty signed with your own hand, and sealed with your privy seal, and expressly enjoined him to take care to give him my writing at his return from Windsor. I dispatch, Sire, my Secretary, for greater precaution, to carry to your Majesty the treaty which the King of England hath wrote, signed, and sealed before me, and to bring me back, if your Majesty thinks proper, that which you will sign and seal with your privy seal, together with the billet wrote with your hand as I have before mentioned.

Sire, your Majesty may well see by all that has passed in this affair, that the King of England is in a manner abandoned by his ministers, even the most confidential; that the Treasurer, who fears the parliament much

more than his master, and who is very opposite to the interests of France, thereby endeavouring to acquire the peoples' favour, has formed all the difficulties which I mentioned, with a design to hinder the treaty being concluded, or at least to retard it. The Duke of Lauderdale has supported his master, having without comparison more zeal and respect than his colleagues. The Duke of York, who is entirely in your Majesty's interest, hath hardly troubled himself with these difficulties, because he saw the King his brother was firm enough not to stand in need of his advice.

From all these circumstances, your Majesty will judge better of the state of England, than from all I have represented in my letters: and it will be difficult to conceive, that a King should be so abandoned by his subjects that even amongst his ministers he cannot find one in whom he can place an entire confidence. This example will plainly shew your Majesty that all England is against your interests, and that there is only the King of England and the Duke of York who embrace them with affection; and from thence your Majesty will see that this treaty is necessary for the security of your service, since it assures you that England will not be against you. It is true, Sire, that you will not reap all the assistance that might have been expected from a good alliance, but your enemies will have still less than your Majesty; and besides, there is great reason to believe that the King of England, without this new tye which engages him more than ever in your interests, might have been drawn into his peoples' sentiments. It will confirm his steadiness so much, that his subjects, who have been surprized at it hitherto, may be so much astonished for the future, as perhaps to conform to their master's intentions. The foundations are laid to work upon a design, which will be useful to England and France, in case it succeeds, and if it does not, your Majesty's affairs in this kingdom will not be the worse. In the mean time, God grant peace to Christendom. The parliaments are to be feared, and it is a kind of miracle to see a King without arms and money resist them so long."

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ROUVIGNY.

The same year in which this private treaty was made, the Dutch and Spaniards endeavoured to form a treaty with England for the protection of the Netherlands: Charles communicated this to Courtin, the French ambassador, who upon that occasion wrote thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 21st Sept. 1676.—“ Il dit qu’il (Charles) scavoit bien l’engagement dans lequel il estoit de ne traiter avec les Etats Généraux, ni avec aucun Prince sans votre participation et votre consentement.—Qu’il m’engagoit sa foy et son honneur de me communiquer toutes les articles du traité, et de ne jamais rien signer que votre Majesté n’y consentit.”—“ He (Charles) said that he knew very well the engagement he was under not to treat with the States General, nor with any Prince without your participation and your consent.—That he engaged his faith and honour to communicate to me all the articles of the treaty, and never to sign any thing your Majesty did not consent to.”

Upon the peace between England and Holland, the Prince of Orange pressed Charles to withdraw the English troops which were in the pay of France. From Rouvigny’s dispatches in the *Depot*, it appears that Charles often expressed, in very strong terms, that he thought his own conduct ignominious in deserting France in the war: and with regard to recalling these troops, Rouvigny writes, 19 February, 1674.—“ Et pour les troupes Angloises qui sont en France, il m’a dit plus positivement encore que n’avoit fait son ministre, qu’il ne les rappelleroit point, quelque instance que lui en eut fait, soit par les Espagnoles et Hollandois, soit par le parlement même.”—“ And with regard to the English troops in France, he told me more positively than his minister had done, that he would not recall them, whatever instance should be made to him, either by the Spaniards or Dutch, or even by the parliament.” He was as good as his word, for he afterwards rejected the advice of his parliament upon that head.

It is known that Charles afterwards promised the Prince of Orange not to permit these troops to be recruited; they however always were

recruited, and the dispatches in the *Depot* show that Charles assured France it always should be so.

The general train of the French dispatches in the *Depot*, during the negotiations at Nimeguen, shows, that while Charles was acting as mediator of the peace, he gave France intelligence of the views of her enemies, and acted in concert with her. Sir William Temple's printed letters show that the unfortunate success of the campaign of the year 1676, had made the Dutch, and even the Prince, anxious for a peace; and that the Prince gave Sir William leave to let his master know it. Upon this occasion Courtin, in a letter to Louis the XIVth, 5th November, In the *Depot*. 1676, writes thus.—“ Il me mena dans un cabinet, ou, après avoir fermé la porte, j'ai, dit il, une bonne nouvelle à vous apprendre, c'est que je crois avoir à cette heure la paix entre mes mains. Il me chargea de conjurer instamment votre Majesté de sa part de lui faire connoître ses intentions, à fin qu'il peut se regler sur cette connoissance, pour faire une proposition.”—“ He took me into a closet, where, after having shut the door, I have, said he, good news to tell you, which is, that I believe I have at this instant the peace in my own hands. He charged me to conjure your Majesty, instantly, to let him know your intentions, to the end that upon this knowledge he may regulate himself to make a proposal.”

It appears from many of the dispatches, that the French court prevented In the *Depot*. the Prince of Orange's marriage with the lady Mary, in the year 1674; that upon this occasion the King and duke expressed strongly their dislike of the Prince of Orange; and that the duke of York flattered himself with the prospect of marrying her to the dauphin of France.

The 500,000 crowns abovementioned, which Louis secretly gave Charles in the year 1674, to prorogue his parliament till April, 1675, saved France from the possibility of an English armament in the campaign of the year 1675; and the abovementioned secret pension given in

the beginning of the year 1676, made him secure of Charles's baffling the attempts of his parliament to engage him in a war with France in the campaign of the year 1676: But in the beginning of the year 1677, the clamours of parliament and of the nation having encreased for a war with Holland, the French redoubled their attentions to Charles, the particulars of which follow.

The session, 1677, was opened with Charles's becoming the instrument of bribing his own subjects, with French money, to prevent a French war. Courtin writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 14th In the *Depot*. February, 1677. "J'ai reçu la lettre de change, de 11000 livres sterlings, sur le quartier d'Octobre; elle est venu fort à propos, parceque le Roi d'Angleterre avoit besoin d'argent pour gagner ceux qui sont accoutumés à ne faire de bruit que pour faire les mieux acheter."—"I received the bill of exchange, for £.11000 sterling, on the October quarter: it came very apropos, for the King of England wanted money to gain those who are accustomed to make a noise only in order to be the better bought."

In the *Depot*. On the 1st April, 1677, he writes thus again. "Il est de ma connoissance, qu'il (Charles) a distribué tout l'argent qu'il a reçu par mes mains, pour gagner les suffrages dont il avoit besoin: Il a si bien servi le Roi jusqu'à cette heure, qu'il le merite d'être assisté dans ses nécessités; et il sera très important de prendre soin de l'entretenir dans les bonnes dispositions dans lesquelles je l'ai laissé encore hier au soir."—"To my knowledge, he (Charles) has distributed all the money he received from my hands, to gain the votes he stood in need of: He has so well served the King to this hour, that he deserves to be assisted in his necessities, and it will be very important to take care to keep him in the good disposition in which I left him yesterday evening."

Courtin assigns this very extraordinary reason for urging his court to send money to Charles to be distributed among the members of parliament, to wit, that Spain and the Emperor were sending money to be In the *Depot*. distributed among them on the other side. On the 13th May, 1677, he writes thus to his court. "Il est même très important que votre

Majesté envoie icy le premier term du subsidé. Monfr. de Bergick et l'Envoy de l'Empereur auront deux cens cinquante mille livres à distribuer dans la chambre basse. Ils feront plus avec cela qu'on n'y pourroit faire de la part de votre Majesté avec deux millions."—" It is even very important that your Majesty sends here the first payment of the subsidy. Mr. Bergick and the Emperor's envoy will have two hundred and fifty thousand livres to distribute in the lower house. They will do more with this than could be done on your Majesty's part with two millions." On the 20th May, 1677, he writes to his court *In the Depot.* thus.—" Monf. Bergick n'a reçu 50,000 ecus, et l'Envoy de l'Empereur n'en apporté pour 10,000 pistoles, que dans ce dessein."—" Mr. Bergick has not received 50,000 crowns, and the Emperor's Envoy 10,000 pistoles, but with this design."

On the 22d February, 1677, Courtin advises his court to offer *In the Depot.* 400,000 crowns extraordinary to Charles to prorogue or dissolve his parliament.

On the 21st April, 1677, Courtin's dispatch bears, that he had got *In the Depot.* a power to make this offer. What consequence this had does not appear.

But as the session of parliament rose in its heat, the French rose in their offers to Charles. Courtin's letter of June 21, 1677, bears, that he had got a power to go as far as 200,000 *l.* to be given to Charles for the ensuing year.

On the 12th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that he had offered Charles a *In the Depot.* pension of 500,000 crowns to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, together with the assistance of Louis's forces, to maintain Charles's authority. The words with regard to this last offer are these.—" Sa Majesté étant toujours prête à employer toutes ses forces pour la confirmation, et pour l'augmentation de son autorité, il feroit toujours le maitre de ses sujets, et ne dependroit jamais d'eux."—" His Majesty (that is Louis) being always ready to employ all his forces for the confirmation and augmentation

of his (that is Charles's) authority, he will always be master of his subjects, and will never depend upon them."

In the Depot. On the 18th July, 1677, Courtin writes, that Charles had insisted for 800,000 crowns, in consideration of which, he offered to prorogue the parliament till the end of April, 1678.

In a subsequent letter he writes that he is disputing about the sum, that Lord Danby always raised it, but the Duke of York brought it down again.

At last, on the 5th of August it was fixed at two millions of livres. The following dispatch will explain the terms on which this money was secretly given by France.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Courtin au Roi, 5 Aoust, 1677.

In the Depot. **N**OUS avons eû de grandes contestations, milord trésorier et moi, depuis trois jours : il n'a rien oublié pour persuader au Roi son maitre qu'il ne pourroit pas subsister cette année, à moins que votre Majesté ne lui donnât 800 mille écus ; jusqu' à dire en ma présence, que votre Majesté ne hazardoit que de l'argent, et que le Roi d'Angleterre hazardoit sa couronne, en s'opposant comme il faisoit au desir universel de tous ses sujets. Je suis demeuré ferme dans le dessein de ne pas épuiser le pouvoir qu'il avoit plû à votre Majesté de me donner. En fin, après diverses conferences je viens de convenir de toutes choses d'une maniere qui me fait esperer que votre Majesté ne me desavouera pas. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a donné une parole positive d'ajourner le parlement quand le 13 du mois Decembre sera venu, jusqu' à la fin du mois d'Avril, c'est à dire jusqu' au 9 ou 10 du mois de Mai selon de stile de France. Je lui ai promis que votre Majesté lui fera payer cette année deux millions de livres, et quand le dernier payement ne se fera que trois ou quatre mois après la fin du mois de Decembre, sa Majesté Britannique ne prétendra pas avoir aucun sujet de s'en plaindre. Mais parceque je lui ai représenté, qu'il n'étoit pas moins de ses interêts que de ceux de votre Majesté que les ministres de confédérés fussent informés de bonne heure de cette résolution, pour ôter à leur Maitres l'espérance qu'ils conservent d'engager l'Angleterre dans leurs parti ; le Roi d'Angleterre ayant reconnu qu'il étoit le

moyen le plus efficace qu'il pût employer pour disposer les ennemis de votre Majesté à la paix, a bien voulu me promettre, que lorsque Mr. de Bergeik prendra congé de lui (ce qui arrivera dans peu de jours) il le chargera de déclarer de sa part au Roi d'Espagne, qu' aucune considération ne sera capable de la porter à entrer dans la guerre présente; et que pour s'appliquer tout entier à procurer la paix par sa médiation, il a résolu de ne point assembler son parlement pendant cet hyver, et d'en remettre la séance jusqu' au printems.

Sa dite Majesté m'a aussi donné parole de faire la même déclaration à tous les autres ministres des confédérés dans le même tems: ainsi au lieu que votre Majesté (suivant les ordres qu'elle m'avoit donnés par sa dépêche du 28 du mois passé) souhaitoit de faire éclatter cette résolution que vers la fin du mois d'Octobre, je puis l'assûrer que le bruit en sera répandu avant le premier jour du mois de Septembre par toute l'Angleterre, et que dans le 15 du même mois la vérité en sera connu à la Haye, et Coppenhague, à Berlin, à Vienne et à Madrid."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Courtin to Louis the XIVth, 5th August, 1677.

—Charles has agreed to prorogue his parliament till May, 1678, in consideration of two millions of livres from France.

"MY Lord Treasurer and I have had great contests these three days; he did every thing to persuade the King his master that he could not subsist this year unless your Majesty gave him eight hundred thousand crowns. He even said in my presence that your Majesty hazarded nothing but money, whereas the King of England hazarded his crown, by opposing, as he did, the universal desire of his subjects. I remained firm in not exhausting the power your Majesty was pleased to give me. In fine, after many conferences, I have agreed upon all things in such a way as makes me hope your Majesty will not disavow me. The King of England has given me a positive assurance that he will adjourn his parliament from the 13th of December to the end of April, that is, to the 9th or 10th of May according to the French stile. I promised that your Majesty would pay him this year two millions of livres. But though the last payment should not be made till three or four months after the month of

December, his Britannic Majesty would have no cause to complain. But because I represented to him that it was not less his interest than your Majesty's to inform the ministers of the confederates in good time of this resolution, in order to remove all the hopes their masters still entertain of England taking part with them; the King of England acknowledged it was the most efficacious means he could employ to dispose your Majesty's enemies to a peace, and promised me, that as soon as Mr. de Bergeik takes leave of him (which will be in a few days) he will give him in charge to declare on his part to the King of Spain, that no consideration is capable of making him enter into the present war; and that in order to his being able to apply himself entirely to procure a peace by his mediation, he had resolved not to assemble his parliament during the winter, but to postpone it till the spring.

His Majesty also gave me his word to make the same declaration to all the other ministers of the confederates at the same time: Thus instead of your Majesty's desire (agreeable to your orders of the 20th of last month) that this resolution should be made known towards the end of October, I can assure you that the report will be spread throughout all England before the 1st of September, and that by the 15th of the same month the truth of it will be known at the Hague, Copenhagen, Berlin, Vienna and Madrid."

After the bargain was struck, Mountagu, who was Ambassador in France, and Lord Danby, prevailed on King Charles to pretend that he had made a mistake in valuing two millions of livres at 200,000*l.* and to insist that the sum should be 200,000*l.* neat. Vide the Duke of Leeds's letters on this subject. The accident of Courtin returning to France, and Barillon, a new ambassadour, coming in his place, made this game the more easy to be played. The following dispatch will shew the strange comedy which a King of England acted concerning this pretended mistake in calculation.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 4 Octobre, 1677.

In the *Depot*. "A PRES cela, Sire, je crus devoir entamer l'affaire des deux cents mille livres sterlings; et dire au Roi d'Angleterre la surprise qu'avoit

que votre Majesté d'apprehendre que Mr. de Montaigu renouvelloit une affaire finie : il m'interrompit d'abord, et me dit, au nom de Dieu, ne me parles point de cette affaire ; j'en suis si confus que je ne puis en entendre parler : voyés Mr. le Tresorier, et faites comme vous l'entendrés avec lui ; car pour moi je suis au desespoir quand on m'en parle. Je lui dis, mais, Sire, votre Majesté voit bien qu'en me renvoyant à Mr. le Trésorier, c'est jetter l'affaire dans de nouveaux embarras, car Mr. le Trésorier ne se rendra pas : Il a fait d'abord un incident sur les cent mille écus qui avoient été payés ; et comme il a vû que votre Majesté avoit condamné cette prétension, il revient présentement à former une nouvelle difficulté. Mr. Courtin même, à qui votre Majesté ne voudroit pas nuire auprès du Roi mon maitre, se trouve embarrassé en cela : et on dit qu'il n'a pas bien compris ce qui s'est passé entre votre Majesté et lui, et que c'est sa faute d'avoir mandé qu'une affaire étoit finie, dans laquelle vous n'aviés dit que des paroles d'honnêteté. Le Roi d'Angleterre, que ce discours impatientoit beaucoup, me dit que l'on avoit tort de rien rejeter sur Mr. Courtin ; qu'il n'y avoit point de sa faute, et que ce qu'il avoit mandé étoit vrai ; mais que lui qui me parloit s'étoit trompé sur la valeur de la monnoye, et qu'il n'avoit pas bien compris la difference de celle de France et d'Angleterre : Et en disant cela, il me conduisit à la porte de sa chambre qu'il ouvrit lui même, et me répéta encore, je suis si honteux que je ne vous puis plus parler : voyés le trésorier, car il me fait connoître de si grands besoins, et une si grande nécessité dans mes affaires, que je ne crois pas que le Roi mon frere veuille me laisser dans cet embarras."

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th October, 1677.

—Charles tries to get the two millions of livres turned into 200,000 l.

AFTER this, Sire, I thought it right to bring upon the carpet the affair of the two hundred thousand pounds sterling ; and told the King of England your Majesty's surprize that Mr. Montagu should renew an affair already finished : He immediately interrupted me, and said, In the name of God, do not speak to me of this affair ; I am so confused about it that I cannot bear its being spoken of : Go to the treasurer, and do as you and he shall understand the matter ; as to myself, I am driven to despair whenever it is mentioned to me. I answered, But, Sire, your

Majesty very well knows that sending me to the treasurer, is embarrassing the affair afresh, for the treasurer will not give it up: He lately made a difference about the hundred thousand crowns which had been paid; and as he saw your Majesty had condemned that pretension, he now forms a new difficulty: Even Mr. Courtin, whom your Majesty would not wish to hurt with the King his master, finds himself involved in this matter. It has been said, he did not rightly comprehend what passed between your Majesty and him, and that he was to blame in representing an affair as finished, on which you had only spoken some civil words. The King of England, whose patience was at an end with this discourse, said, they were to blame who cast reflections on Mr. Courtin; that it was not his fault, and that what he had written was true; but that himself who spoke to me was deceived in the value of the money, and that he had not comprehended right the difference between that of France and England: In saying this he conducted me to the door of the chamber, which he opened himself, and again repeated, I am so ashamed that I cannot speak any more to you: go see the treasurer, for he has made known to me such large wants, and so great a necessity in my affairs, that I cannot believe the King my brother will leave me in this embarrassment.

In the Depot. The pension stipulated in this bargain was regularly paid: Charles was sometimes premature in his demands: Barillon, even before the dispute about the 200,000 l. was ended, writes thus to his court, on the 20th September, 1677.—“ Le Sieur Chiffinch est fort soigneux de me rendre des visites; et les premieres fonctions de l'ambassade ont été de signer des ordres pour payer les lettres de change.”—“ Mr. Chiffinch is very careful to pay me visits; and the first functions of my embassy have been to sign orders for paying bills of exchange.”

In the Depot. During this period Courtin, in a letter to his court, 28th January, 1677, describes the sentiments of the King and his brother, and of the nation, thus. “ Je crois pouvoir repondre à votre Majesté, qu'il n'y a pas un des ses sujets qui lui souhaite un plus heureux succès dans tous ses enterprises que ces deux Princes font. Mais il est vrai aussi, que vous ne pouvez conter que sur ces deux amis dans tout l'Angleterre.”—“ I can answer for

to your Majesty, that there are none of your own subjects who wish you better success in all your undertakings than these two princes do. But it is also true, that you cannot count upon any except these two friends in all England."

And in another letter, of date 21st June 1677, he writes, that Charles In the *Depot.* had given him a note of the terms on which he thought peace should be made; adding,—“ Qu'il ne veut pas néanmoins rien proposer, sans savoir préalablement les intentions de votre Majesté.”—“ That nevertheless he does not incline to propose any thing, without knowing previously the intentions of your Majesty.”—And that Charles concluded with asking 200,000 *l.* for himself for the ensuing year.

At an after period the Prince of Orange came to the knowledge of these intrigues of the English and French courts against him; for in his box I found a relation of them, dated January, 1683, by Blancard, secretary to Rouvigny, the same secretary whom Rouvigny mentions in the above letter of 27th February, 1676, to have been sent over by him to France with the secret treaty written in King Charles's hand.

Extract from the memorial of Blancard, secretary to Rouvigny.—Gives a relation of the secret intrigues of the French and English courts.

“ **I** L y a plus de vingt ans qu'en qualité de secrétaire de Mr. le Marquis de Rouvigny, j'ai fait avec lui plusieurs voyages de France en Angleterre, et que j'ai eu connoissance d'un grand nombre d'affaires fort secrets entre les deux Rois, dont il n'est pas nécessaire que j'en marque la detail. Je me renfermerai seulement à deux ou trois choses considérables, que je dirai même succinctement, dans la vue de servir les Protestants en general, qui auront à traiter avec le Roi d'Angleterre, ou avec le Roi de France; nommément les Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies, et Mr. le Prince d'Orange, contre lesquels on a toujours agi depuis la rupture de la Triple Alliance en 1670 et en 1672.

Lorsqu'on négocioit la paix à Cologne et à Nimegue, et que le Roi d'Angleterre en étoit le mediateur, le Roi de France trouva le moyen de le gagner par argent, et ils firent ensemble un traité secret en 1676, tout à

fait avantageux à la France, qui étoit par là entièrement assuré de lui, et même de son parlement, par un engagement de prorogation, ou de cassation. Ce qu'il y eut de singulier en ce traité secret, et qui est peut être sans exemple, c'est qu'il se fit sans l'entremise d'ambassadeurs ni de commissaires, et sans ratification, parceque les deux Rois agirent seuls comme s'ils s'étoient rencontrés ensemble. La raison de cela fût, que les ministres d'état du Roi d'Angleterre non plus que M. le duc d'York, ne voulurent point qu'il parut qu'ils en eussent connoissance, jusques-là qu'aucuns d'eux ne trouva point à propos de prêter sa main pour écrire les articles du traité, appréhendant d'être punis si le parlement en avoit connoissance; de sorte qu'il falut de nécessité que le Roi d'Angleterre lui-même écrivit un assez long traité, tout de sa main. Je le portay aussi à la cour de France. Mr. de Louvoy et Mr. de Pomponne, dès qu'ils me virent me demanderent si je portois le traité; je leurs dis qu'ouy, et même écrit de la main du Roi d'Angleterre, au deffault de ses ministres; ce qu'ils ne pouvoient croire jusques à ce que je le leur montrai. Ils furent incontinent avec joye porter le traité avec les circonstances au Roy de France, qui devoit dans les regles écrire aussi de sa propre main un autre originale du même traité pour le Roy d'Angleterre; mais pour s'exempter de cette peine, on feignit une petite indisposition, et que j'étois fort pressé de partir: et ainsi le Roy de France se contenta de signer la traité, écrit d'une autre main, de quoy il falut que le Roy d'Angleterre se contentât par les raisons qu'on lui allegua. Il fût d'autant plus facile de les lui faire trouver bonnes, qu'il toucha bientôt après de l'argent environ quatre cent mille ecus; à mesure qu'on le payoit il faisoit quittance signée de sa main, dont il y en a décrites de la mienne; et ses ministres n'en avoient point de connoissance, seulement Mr. Chiffins, son valet de chambre et confident, chez qui on faisoit porter l'argent, ou avec qui j'allois le faire recevoir chez des marchands.

Quoyque les deux Roys fussent ainsi parfaitement liés secrètement, ils étoient convenus qu'ils agiroient d'une manière qui ne marqueroit aucune intelligence, parceque cela auroit empêché la paix generale qu'on négocioit, et que la France souhaitoit ardemment depuis l'année 1674, que le parlement d'Angleterre força son Roy de faire la paix avec la Hollande. Il vouloit aussi l'obliger à se déclarer contre le Roy de France, en lui faisant dire en secret, qu'on luy doneroit plus d'argent qu'il n'en tiroit de

luy, et qu'on le mettroit en état d'avoir Dunquerque sans rendre les cinq ou six millions, qu'il avoit touchez en la vendant. On lui offroit en même tems deux puissantes armées, par mer et par terre, pour faire descente; mais on trouva le moyen d'empêcher qu'il n'ecoutat rien de ce coté là; et il écrivit au Roy de France, et le dit à son ministre, qu'il avoit fait une lacheté en l'abandonnant, mais qu'il n'en feroit point deux en se declarant contre luy.

Lorsque les deux Roys s'unirent ensemble pour declarer la guerre à la Hollande, ils avoient comptés qu'ils ruineront la Republique dans une campagne; et qu'ils y donneront un coup si mortel à la religion protestante, qu'en suite ils l'abatront par toute l'Europe. C'étoit leur principal bût, et de partager les Sept Provinces Unies, sans en faire part au Prince d'Orange, qui n'étoit pour lors considéré, et qu'on avoit dessein de bien établir ailleurs, comme du coté d'Orange, à fin que son nom et sa famille ne restassent plus vers les Pais-bas, et qu'il ne donnât jamais sujet de jalousie à la France.

Dans le tems même de cette grande union entre les deux Roys, celui de France trompoit celui d'Angleterre, car on n'avoit pas dessein de lui donner tout ce qu'on luy avoit promis lorsqu'ils partageoient par avance les Sept Provinces: on ne vouloit pas que lui, ny ses successeurs, fussent fort puissans sur les cotés d'Hollande ni de Flandres, parceque le Roy de France auroit pu trouvé quelque jour un nouvel embarras, dans le dessein qu'il avoit de reunir à sa couronne tous les Pais-bas Espagnoles. Tant de grands projets ayant manqué, le Roy de France et ses trois ministres en eurent un deplaisir mortel, d'autant plus que le Prince d'Orange commença d'être puissamment établie, et de faire changer la face des affaires des Hollandois. La prise de Naerden et de Bonne demonterant si fort la cour de France, même le Prince de Condé et Mr. de Turenne, que de lors on engageoit entierement de conseils, et on prit de nouvelles mesures, comme d'abandonner Utrecht et les autres conquêtes, et de s'appliquer à la paix.

On résolut aussi à la cour de France, pour empêcher l'agrandissement du Prince d'Orange, d'obtenir du Roy d'Angleterre et du Duc d'York, qu'il ne se marrieroit pas avec la Princesse sa fille, ou du moins que ce ne seroit qu'après la paix. Cela fût promis si positivement, c'est à dire, de differer.

le mariage, qu'il à été retardé de trois ou quatre ans ; et même pour empêcher d'y penser, Mr. de Croissy faisoit espérer en 1673, que cette Princesse pourroit épouser Mr. le Dauphin. Mr. Colman le croyoit, et le souhaitoit ardemment, et il me disoit que le Duc d'York son maître l'espéroit. Mr. de Rouvigny ne voulut pas lui desabuser, quoi qu'il sçeut que la cour de France vouloit marrier le Dauphin ailleurs : et comme elle scavoit que le Duc d'York s'attendoit à cette alliance, elle s'imagina qu'il seroit capable de donner la Princesse sa fille à un Prince du sang de France. On envoya sur cela ordre à Mr. de Rouvigny de luy proposer le Prince de Conty, mais il n'eût garde d'en parler au Duc d'York, car il scavoit bien qu'il l'auroit reffusé en colere, puisqu'il avoit l'esperance du Dauphin : Il manda ses raisons au Roy de France, qui aprouva qu'on n'eût pas executé son ordre, et on laissa encore le Duc d'York dans son esperance. J'avois pour lors l'honneur de luy parler quelque fois, et je fûs souvent sur le point de la desabuser, parcequ'il aimoit le Roy de France, et qu'il ufoit de bonne foy avec luy, pendant qu'il en étoit trompé."

Translation.

"**I**T is above 20 years ago, since in quality of secretary to the Marquis of Rouvigny, I went frequently with him from France to England ; and was in the knowledge of a great number of very secret affairs between the two Kings, of which it is not necessary to make a detail. I will limit myself only to two or three considerable things, which I shall tell briefly, with a view to serve the Protestants in general, who may have occasion to treat with the King of England, or the King of France, viz. the States General of the United Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, against both of whom they have continually acted since the breach of the triple alliance in the years 1670 and 1672.

When the peace was negotiating at Cologne and Nimeguen, and the King of England was mediator of it, the King of France found means to gain him by money ; and they made a separate treaty together in 1676, altogether advantageous to France, who was thereby assured of him, and even of his parliament, by an obligation to prorogue or dissolve it. What was singular in this treaty, and which is perhaps without example, is, that it was made without the interposition of Embassadors or Commis-

faries, and without ratification, because the two Kings acted by themselves alone as if they had met together. The reason of this was, that the Ministers of State both of the King of England and Duke of York did not incline it should appear that they had any knowledge of it; which went so far that none of them would put their hand to write the articles of the treaty, fearing to be punished if the parliament came to the knowledge of it. By which the King of England himself was put under the necessity of writing a pretty long treaty, all with his own hand. I carried it also to the Court of France. Monsieur Louvois and Monsieur Pomponne, when they saw me, asked me if I brought the treaty. I told them I had, and even written with the King of England's hand in place of his ministers, which they could not believe till I shewed it to them. They went immediately with joy to carry the treaty with the circumstances of it to the King, who ought, according to rules, to have written with his own hand another original of the same treaty to the King of England. But to save himself, he feigned a small indisposition, and that I was in a haste to depart. And thus the King of France sent the treaty written by another hand, with which the King of England was obliged to be contented, for the reasons which they gave him. It was the more easy to make him satisfied with them that he soon after touched money, about 400,000 crowns. In proportion as the money was paid him, he gave a discharge signed with his hand, of which some are written in my hand; and his ministers knew nothing of it, only Mr. Chiffins, his valet de chambre and confidant, to whose lodgings the money was carried, and with whom I went to the merchants houses to receive it.

Although the two Kings were thus perfectly united together in secret, it was agreed that they should act so as not to show any intelligence, because that would have hindered the general peace which was negotiating, and which France wished ardently since the year 1674, when the English parliament forced their King to make peace with Holland; the parliament wished also to oblige him to declare against the King of France, by causing him to be told in secret, that they would give him more money than he drew from him, and that they would put him in a condition to have Dunkirk without paying back the 5,000,000, or 6,000,000 which he had touched when he sold it. They offered him at the same time two powerful armies

by sea and by land to make an invasion. But means were found to prevent him from listening to any thing on that side; and he wrote to the King of France, and said to his ministers that he had acted a mean part in abandoning him, but that he would not do it twice in declaring against him.

When the two Kings united to declare the war against Holland, they had counted that they would ruin the republick in one campaign, and that they would give so mortal a blow there to the Protestant religion, that afterwards they could overturn it through all Europe. This was their principal view, and to divide the seven United Provinces between them, without giving a part to the Prince of Orange, who was not then considered, and whom they had a design to establish elsewhere, such as on the side of Orange, in order that his name and his family might not continue longer in the Low Countries, and that he might never give jealousy to France.

At the time even of this great union between the two Kings, the French King deceived the English. For there was no design to give him all that was promised him when they made the division before-hand of the Seven Provinces. They did not intend that he or his successors should be powerful upon the coasts of Holland or Flanders, because the King of France might some day find a new embarrassment in the design which he had of reuniting all the Spanish Low Countries to his crown.

So many great projects having failed, the King of France and his three ministers felt a mortal vexation, and the more, that the Prince of Orange began to be powerfully established, and to change the face of the affairs of the Dutch. The taking of Naerden and of Bonne undeceiving so much the court of France, even the Prince of Condé and Monsieur de Turenne, who then engaged entirely in counsels together, they took new measures, so as to abandon Utrecht and the other conquests, and to apply themselves to peace.

They resolved also in the French court, in order to hinder the aggrandizement of the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the King of England and the Duke of York not to give him the Princess Mary in marriage, or at least not till after the peace. The deferring of the marriage was promised

so positively, that it was retarded for three or four years; and even to hinder their thinking of it, Monsieur de Croissy gave hopes in the year 1673, that this Princess might marry the Dauphin. Mr. Coleman believed it, and wished it ardently, and told me that the Duke of York his master hoped for it. Monsieur de Rouvigny did not disabuse them, although he knew that the court of France intended to marry the Dauphin elsewhere. As that Court knew that the Duke of York expected this alliance, they imagined he might give the Princess his daughter to a Prince of the Blood of France. They sent orders upon this to Monsieur de Rouvigny to propose the Prince of Conty to him. But he did not speak of it to the Duke of York; for he knew that he would have refused it in a rage, since he had hopes of the Dauphin. He wrote his reasons to the King of France, who approved of his not having obeyed his orders, and they left the Duke of York in his hopes. I had at that time the honour to speak to him sometimes, and I was often upon the point of disabusing him, because he loved the King of France, and kept good faith with him while he was deceived by him."

C H A P. II.

Second Period. From the Prince of Orange's marriage, in the year 1677, till the fall of lord Danby's ministry in the year 1679.

THIS period begins with a seeming friendship, and ends with a real coldness, between the Prince of Orange and the two royal Brothers. During the course of it Charles was thrice upon the eve of a war with France, yet never made it; the house of commons pressed him to make alliances which they afterwards disapproved, to enter into a war which they would not give him money to support, and to levy an army which they disbanded almost as soon as it was raised; Charles animated the powers of Europe against France, for refusing to deliver up her conquests in Flanders till satisfaction was given to Sweden, and yet immediately after made a treaty with France in support of Sweden; and a great minister, the favourite of his Prince, the friend of his country, as much as one of Charles's ministers could be, betrayed by the friend he had the most reason to trust, was thrown from the summit of power, and almost, in the same instant of time, into the solitude of a prison. These events always appeared to me impossible to be accounted for upon the common principles of human actions. But the very unexpected discoveries which I made last summer at Versailles, in the dispatches of the French ambassadors who were in England during this period, will account for all these seeming inconsistencies. French intrigue and money is the key to them all.

The marriage of the duke of York's daughter to the Prince of Orange, directed by King Charles against the will of her father, and without any previous intimation of the intention to France, was the operation, in a manner, of a minute. The surprise of France upon it, and the views of Charles in it, are related in the following dispatch, written a few days before the marriage.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, 1 Novembre, 1677.

Sire,

“ **I**L m'est revenu de beaucoup d'endroits depuis deux jours, que le In the Depot:
 mariage de Mr. le Prince d'Orange et de mademoiselle la Princesse Marie se traitoit, et qu'il étoit fort avancé. Cela m'a obligé d'en parler à Mr. le duc d'York, que j'ai trouvé fort different de ce qu'il m'avoit parû sur cette affaire, m'ayant dit positivement qu'il n'y songeroit qu' après la conclusion de la paix; mais avant hier il me parla bien moins nettement, et me dit que le Roi son frere y étoit fort porté, qu'il me conseilloit de lui en parler (jusques là il ne me l'avoit pas permis.) Je lui dis sur cela tout ce que je crus propre à le détourner de précipiter une affaire de cette nature. Je vis bien par ce qu'il me dit, qu'elle étoit fort avancée, et j'allai chez madame la duchesse de Portsmouth à dessein d'en parler au Roi d'Angletere, mais il ne m'en donna pas le tems, et dès que j'arrivai, il me mena dans un cabinet, et me dit, je veux vous parler d'une chose qui se passe ici, pour en rendre compte au Roi votre maitre; c'est sur le mariage de Mr. le Prince d'Orange avec ma nièce la Princesse Marie. Je le juge très utile pour mes interêts, et je croi en tirer des avantages présens très considerables, et qui le feront encore d'avantage pour l'avenir. Cette alliance fera cesser les soupçons que mes sujets ont pris, que la liaison que je conserve avec la France, n'ait pour fondement qu'un changement dans la religion. C'est la conduite de mon frere le duc d'York, qui a donné lieu à tous ces soupçons. Toute la jalousie et l'emportement qu'on a en ce pays-ci contre les prospérités de la France, viennent de ce qu'il a fait. Une preuve de cela c'est qu'en la premiere guerre de 1667, on voyoit ici avec indifferance toutes les conquêtes qui furent faites en Flandres, et on s'en soucioit fort peu; mais depuis que Mr. le duc d'York a fait profession de la religion Catholique, toute l'Angleterre s'est émue, et est entrée dans une appréhension que je n'eusse d'autres desseins, et que je ne prisse des mesures pour le changement du gouvernement et de la religion de mon pays. Voila le fond contre lequel il faut me garantir, et je vous assure, que j'ai besoin de tout pour résister aux efforts continuels de tous les Anglois; car enfin je suis seul de mon parti, au moins il n'y a que mon frere. Je suis assuré que le mariage du Prince d'Orange et de ma nièce, dissipera une partie de ces soupçons, et servira infiniment à faire

voir, que je n'ai aucun dessein qui ne soit conforme aux loix d'Angleterre, et à la religion qui y est établie. Cela détruit les cabales qu'on pourroit faire, et met mon neveu dans mes intérêts. Je confonds par là les espérances de ceux qui cherchoient un prétexte pour s'élever contre moi, et qui auroient essayé de mettre le Prince d'Orange de leur parti, en lui faisant concevoir des prétentions qu'il n'appuyera présentement sur d'autres fondemens que sur mon amitié, et dans un attachement véritable à mes intérêts."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 1st Nov. 1677.
—His surprise at the Prince of Orange's marriage.—Charles's reasons for it.

Sire,

"I HAVE been informed, from several quarters, within these two days, that the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Princess Mary is in treaty, and even far advanced. This obliged me to speak of it to the duke of York, whom I found very different from what he had appeared upon this affair, having formerly positively told me that he would not think of it till after the conclusion of the peace; but the day before yesterday he spoke to me less clearly, and said the King his brother was very much bent upon it, and that he advised me to speak to him upon the subject (till now he would never permit me.) I said all to him, I thought proper, to dissuade him from precipitating an affair of this nature. I saw plainly, by what he said to me, that it was far advanced; and I went to the dutchess of Portsmouth's with a design to speak to the King of England of it, but he would not give me time, for as soon as I got there he took me into a closet, and said, I wish to talk to you of an affair which is going on here, that you may give an account of it to the King your master: It is the marriage of the Prince of Orange with my niece the Princess Mary. I judge it very necessary for my interests, and I believe I shall draw considerable advantages from it now, and greater hereafter. This alliance will quiet the suspicions which my subjects have, that the alliance I preserve with France, hath no other foundation than a change of religion. It is my brother, the duke of York's conduct, that has given rise to all these suspicions. All the jealousy and passion which people have in this country against the prosperities of France, comes from

the duke's declaring his religion. In the first war of 1667, they looked here upon all the conquests that were made in Flanders with indifference, and cared little about them; but since the duke of York professed the Catholic religion, all England has been in motion, and apprehensive that I have other designs, and am taking measures for changing the government and religion of my country. This is the rock against which I must guard myself, and I assure you that I need every thing to enable me to resist the continual efforts of the whole English nation; for, in fine, I am the only one of my party, except it be my brother. I am assured that the Prince of Orange's marriage with my niece will dissipate a part of these suspicions, and infinitely serve to shew that I have no design which is not conformable to the established laws and religion of England. It will destroy the cabals that might be made, and put my nephew in my interest. I confound thereby the hopes of those who only seek a pretence to rise against me, and who would endeavour to get the Prince of Orange on their side, by making him entertain pretensions, which now he will rest on no other foundation than my friendship, and a true attachment to my interests."

The marriage was immediately followed by the embassy of Lord Duras concerted with the Prince, which threatened France with war if she did not accept of peace on the terms which Lord Duras carried, and by a demand upon the French court to send back the British troops in the French service.

Yet even in these measures Charles endeavoured to keep terms with France: he issued a proclamation for proroguing the parliament to April, 1678, as by his late secret treaty with Louis he had promised to do: He made an apology in private to Barillon for Duras's embassy, as appears by Barillon's letter to his court of 16 December, 1677, in the *Depot*. He permitted Lord Duras to treat, instead of persisting in the original order for him to return in two days if his message was not complied with. He issued no proclamation to recall the British troops. And Barillon writes on the 3d of February, 1677-8, that Charles told him he would not recall those troops in a haste, and that he intended no war. In the *Depot*.

Louis the XIVth, however, saw the consequences of the Prince of Orange's marriage. He stopped the pension provided for Charles by the

late treaty, pretending to indemnify him, by offering him certain towns in Flanders if he would not interfere in the war, gave a flat refusal to the terms of peace brought by Lord Duras, and prepared to send his troops into Flanders.

In the Depot.

Barillon, 27th December, 1677, writes thus to Louis the XIVth :—
 “ Je me serviray d’offres avantageux, pour adoucir le refus de continuer le payement des subfides. Je crains bien que cela ne repare pas l’aigreur qu’une telle déclaration peut produire.”—“ I shall make use of the advantageous offers to soften the refusal of continuing the payment of the subsidies. I am afraid this will not make reparation for the anger which such a declaration will produce.” And on the 30th December, 1677, he writes :—“ J’ai fait des offres générales sur l’acquisition de quelques places de Flandre par la Roy d’Angleterre, si la paix ne se faisoit point.”—“ I have made general offers of the King of England’s getting some places in Flanders, if peace is not made.”

This stop in the subsidy explains the cause of an extraordinary measure taken by Charles, when at this time he revoked the proclamation which had put off the meeting of parliament till April, 1678, and he now ordered it to meet immediately. It explains too the cause of the offensive and defensive treaty which at this time he hastily made up with the Dutch.

The Duke of York saw the fatal consequence to himself in these approaches to a rupture between Charles and Louis.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes on the 24th January, 1678, that the Duke of York adjured him with tears in his eyes, to prevail on Louis to stop the march of his troops into Flanders.

France aimed yet a more important blow against Charles for having brought about the Prince of Orange’s marriage. For he entered into the most dangerous intrigues with the popular party in parliament against him.

As the intrigues of France in an English parliament are very new matter in the history of English party, I shall relate the progress of them in the order of time as I found it in the *Depot* at Versailles.

It has been mentioned in the last chapter, that whilst Louis was in friendship with Charles in the year 1677, he furnished him with money to bribe his own subjects in parliament. In the dispatches of that year, there are also traces of Monsieur Courtin's own connexions (independant of the King's) with some members of parliament, to attach them to the interests of Charles and France; and on the 15th July, 1677, there are in one of Courtin's accounts presents stated as given by him to persons in England, the particulars of which shall be given in the next chapter.

Upon the marriage of the Prince of Orange, and the side which Charles immediately after seemed to take against France, the court of France and a great part of the popular party in parliament in England came to have the same political objects. It was the interest of Louis to prevent an union between Charles and the Prince of Orange, to get 20,000 English troops disbanded which had been raised against him to the astonishment of Europe in the short space of six weeks, to have a parliament dissolved which had repeatedly addressed Charles for a war against him, and to overturn a minister who had of late continually urged his master to the same war. For this last Vide Lord Danby's letters. The popular party again dreaded, in the strength which that union and that army would confer upon their Sovereign, the loss of their own liberties; they hoped in a new parliament chosen in a popular ferment to gain new strength to themselves; and they wished to pull down Lord Danby for the same reason for which every opposition wishes to pull down every minister.

These circumstances of accident led the way to a connexion between the popular and the French interests.

On the 13th November, 1677, Barillon, who had been sent Ambassador In the *Depot* to England only two months before, writes to his own court, that some of the members of parliament in opposition to the court seemed desirous of forming connexions with France, and were making advances to him, but that he stands off till he should see what steps Charles would take with regard to France. He adds, "Jusqu' à présent je n'ay pas tellement rebuté ce qu'on m'a dit de la part des caballes opposés à la cour, que je ne suis en état d'entrer avec eux quand il le foudra.—Je ne donneray point

objet à sa Majesté Britannique de se plaindre que ceux qui ont l'honneur de servir votre Majesté avoient la même conduite à son égard qu'ont eu les ministres des alliez."—"I have not hitherto given so little encouragement to what has been said to me on the part of the cabals in opposition to the court, as to put it out of my power to enter into measures with them whenever I please.—I will not give his Britannick Majesty subject to complain that those who have the honour to serve your Majesty observed the same conduct with regard to him which the ministers of the allies have done."

In the Depot. On the 24th January, 1677-8, he writes, that the advances had been renewed to him, that he was inclined to form a connexion between France and the popular party, but that he could not do it without orders. He says, that the use which Charles's opposers in parliament are to make of his recalling the British troops from France, is to impute it to a design of arming these troops to destroy the liberties of England.

These letters probably suggested to the court of France the idea of sending over Monsr. Rouvigny, who having been longer in England than Barillon had been, could know persons better than him, with a great sum of money to be distributed among the popular party in the English parliament.

In Lord Danby's letters (which are published) there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montagu, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing him, that Rouvigny was to go over with money upon that errand, and to act in concert with Lord Russell; and that Barillon was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham and others of the popular party in England.

The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes, which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russell and the court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue the man of honour appearing.

Mémoire de Mons. Barillon, du 14 Mars, 1678.

“ **M**R. de Rouvigny a vû milord Rouffel et milord Hollis, qui ont été *In the Depot.* tous deux fort satisfaits de l’assurance qu’il leur a donnée, que le Roi est bien convaincu qu’il n’est point de son intérêt de rendre le Roi d’Angleterre maître absolu dans son royaume, et que sa Majesté vouloit travailler à la dissolution de ce parlement dès que le tems y paroîtroit favorable : Milord Rouffel lui a dit, qu’il engageroit milord Shafbery dans cette affaire, et que ce seroit le seul homme à qui il en parleroit clairement ; et qu’ils travailleroient sous main, à empêcher qu’on augmentât la somme qui a été offerte pour faire la guerre, et qu’ils feroient ajouter à l’offre du million de livres sterlings, des conditions si désagréables pour le Roi d’Angleterre, qu’ils espéroient qu’il aimeroit mieux se réunir avec la France, que d’y consentir. Il témoigna à Mr. de Rouvigny, qu’il soupçonnoit que sa Majesté trouvoit bon que le Roi d’Angleterre lui déclarât la guerre pour avoir de l’argent, avec promesse que dès qu’il en seroit le maître, il conclurroit la paix. Mr. de Rouvigny lui dit, que pour lui faire voir le contraire bien clairement, j’étois prêt à répandre une somme considérable dans le parlement, pour l’obliger à refuser absolument de l’argent pour la guerre, et le sollicita de lui nommer des gens qu’on pût gagner. Milord Rouffel répondit, qu’il seroit bien fâché d’avoir commerce avec des gens capables d’être gagnés par de l’argent : mais il lui parût fort aisé d’être assuré par cette proposition, qu’il n’y a entre votre Majesté et le Roi d’Angleterre nulle intelligence qui puisse préjudicier à leur gouvernement : il dit à Mr. de Rouvigny, que lui et tous ses amis ne souhaitoient autre chose que la cassation du parlement ; qu’ils savoient qu’elle ne pouvoit venir que du côté de la France ; que puisqu’il les assûroit que c’étoit le dessein de sa Majesté d’y travailler, ils se voyoient obligé de se bien fier en lui, et faire tout leur possible pour obliger le Roi d’Angleterre à rechercher encore une fois son amitié, et mettre par ce moyen sa Majesté en état de contribuer à leur satisfaction : il l’assûra que ce seroit là le sentiment de milord Shafbery, qui doit voir un de ces jours Mr. de Rouvigny chez milord Rouffel. Milord Hollis a parû plus retenu que milord Rouffel. Il témoigne comme lui être bien aisé des bons sentimens où est sa Majesté ; mais il trouve que la paix est si difficile à faire, qu’il n’espère pas que le Roi soit de longtems en état de les rendre contents

en faisant rompre ce parlement. Mr. de Rouvigny l'a trouvé si aigri contre la cour et les ministres, qu'il n'a pas osé lui rien dire de l'envie que le Roi d'Angleterre témoigne avoir de faire la paix, de peur qu'il ne fit agir sa cabale pour la guerre, par l'opposition que ce milord a contre tous les desseins de la cour. Et il croit qu'il ne lui a fait des difficultés sur la paix, qu'a fin de l'engager à lui dire ce que le Roi d'Angleterre avoit dit sur cela. Il ne croit pas qu'on accuse le grand trésorier dans la chambre basse; mais milord Roussel a dit à Mr. de Rouvigny, qu'il avoit pris résolution de soutenir l'affaire contre le trésorier, et même d'attaquer Mr. le duc d'York et tous les Catholiques. La chambre haute s'opposera vraisemblablement là dessus à la basse, parceque les seigneurs prétendent qu'on ne peut exclure aucun d'entre eux de la dite chambre haute, sans lui faire son procès dans les formes. Le dessein du parlement ne peut être trop secret, parceque quoique ce soit une chose souhaitée de toute l'Angleterre, si ceux qui en sont à présent les membres favoient qu'on y songeât, ils feroient tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre pourroit souhaiter pour l'empêcher d'exécuter ce dessein.

Translation.

Barillon's memorial of the 14th March 1678.—Rouvigny's intercourse with lord Russel and lord Hollis.—Honour of the former.

“**M**R. de Rouvigny has seen lord Russel and lord Hollis, who were fully satisfied with the assurance he gave them, that the King (i. e. of France) is convinced it is not his interest to make the King of England absolute master in his kingdom; and that his Majesty (i. e. of France) would contribute his endeavours to bring about the dissolution of this parliament, as soon as the time should appear favourable: Lord Russel told him he would engage lord Shaftesbury in this affair, and that he should be the only man to whom he would speak of it explicitly; and that they would work under hand to hinder an augmentation of the sum which has been offered for carrying on the war; and would cause to be added to the offer of the million sterling, such disagreeable conditions to the King of England, as they hoped would rather make him wish to re-unite himself with France than to consent to them. He gave Mr. de Rouvigny to understand, that he suspected your Majesty approved of

the King of England's declaring war against you, only to give him an opportunity of obtaining money, and under a promise that, as soon as he had got the money, he would conclude a peace. Mr. de Rouvigny told him, that to shew him clearly the contrary, I was ready to distribute a considerable sum in the parliament to prevail with it to refuse any money for the war, and solicited him to name the persons who might be gained. Lord Russel replied, that he should be very sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money: but he appeared pleased to see by this proposal that there is no private understanding between your Majesty and the King of England, to hurt their constitution: He told Mr. de Rouvigny that he and all his friends wanted nothing further than the dissolution of parliament; that they knew it could only come from the help of France; that since he assured them it was the design of your Majesty to assist in it, they would trust him, and would do all in their power to oblige the King of England to ask your friendship once more, and by this means put your Majesty in a state to contribute to their satisfaction: This he assured him would be lord Shaftesbury's sentiments, who was one of these days to see Mr. de Rouvigny at lord Russel's. Lord Hollis appeared more reserved than lord Russel; he appears, like him, to be very glad of your Majesty's good intentions, but he thinks the peace is so difficult to be made, that he is afraid it will be a long time before your Majesty can be in a condition to give them satisfaction by getting the parliament dissolved. Mr. de Rouvigny found him so embittered against the court and the ministry, that he did not dare to say any thing to him of the desire which the king of England shews for peace, lest he should bring his cabal, from his desire to oppose all the designs of the court, to be partizans for the war. And he believes that he only started difficulties about the peace, to engage him to tell what the King of England had said upon that head. Lord Hollis does not believe they are going to accuse the high treasurer in the house of commons; but lord Russel told Mr. de Rouvigny that he had taken the resolution to support the affair against the treasurer, and even attack the duke of York and all the Catholics. The house of lords will in all likelihood oppose the house of commons in this, because the lords pretend that no one can be excluded from the upper house, without being tried in form. The design of getting the parliament dissolved cannot be kept too secret, because, though it be a

thing wished by all England, yet if those who are at present the members knew that it was thought of, they would do all the King of England could wish to hinder the execution of the design."

About this time a bill had been framed for giving the King a million for carrying on the war against France. It was impossible for the popular party to oppose this bill without betraying their connexions with France. But they endeavoured to disappoint it, by introducing many clauses into it which marked an unusual jealousy in parliament of the crown. But all these Charles submitted to. The following letter from Barillon gives an account of what passed between Rouvigny, Lord Russel, and Lord Hollis upon occasion of this bill.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 24 Mars, 1678.

In the Depot. " J'AI vû les gens avec qui j'ai commerce, et Mr. de Rouvigny a vû milord Hollis et milord Rouffel; les uns et les autres parlent dans le même sens, et disent qu'ils n'ont jamais prétendu s'opposer ouvertement à donner de l'argent au Roi d'Angleterre; que ce seroit le moyen de s'attirer la haine du peuple, et le reproche de tout ce qui pourroit arriver dans la suite; que la chambre basse avoit ajouté à cet acte des clauses si contraires aux privileges et à l'autorité de sa Majesté Britannique, qu'on avoit espéré que ce Prince ni ses ministres n'y consentiroient pas, ou que dumoins ils souffriroient qu'on y formât des difficultés; mais que l'avidité d'avoir de l'argent, et l'envie d'avoir des troupes sur pied, dont on croira pouvoir disposer, ont fait passer par dessus toute sorte de consideration des véritable interêts de sa Majesté Britannique; que c'est ce qui redouble les craintes qu'on a sujet d'avoir des desseins de la cour, dont ils paroissent tous fort allarmés. Quoi qu'ils soient à cette heure persuadés que votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre n'agissent que de concert, ils ne laissent pas de concevoir une grande appréhension que la guerre ne serve à les assujétir. Ils voyent le péril auquel ils sont exposés, mais ils ne connoissent point de remede qui puisse les en garantir. Cependant cette cabale ne se décourage pas absolument, et quoique le parti du grand trésorier se fortifie tous les jours, les autres ont toujours pour but d'empêcher que le parlement donne d'avantage d'argent; ils sont résolus à rechercher tout ce qui pourra

déplaire à la cour, à fin qu'elle les congedie bientôt, et que le Roi d'Angleterre n'ait point d'autre argent que ce qui pourra revenir de cette taxe, qui ne montera pas selon l'opinion commune à plus de 600 mille livres sterlings. On verra dans deux jours ce que fera la chambre basse, car la cabale opposée à la cour connoit bien la nécessité de ne point perdre de tems, et on n'oublie pas de leur en faire voir l'importance. Il y a cependant beaucoup d'apparence que le parlement donnera le reste du million de livres sterlings qui a été promis, et on va travailler incessamment à achever d'en faire le fond. Je supplie votre Majesté de croire que je n'omets rien de ce qui me paroît propre à fortifier le parti opposé à la cour dans le parlement. Il n'est pas aisé de réussir quand le Roi d'Angleterre se conforme à tout ce que ses sujets lui prescrivent de plus contraire à son intérêt. Je suis persuadé que le grand trésorier croit retrouver des occasions, soit dans la paix, soit dans la guerre, de remettre l'autorité du Roi son maître en meilleur état, et qu'il aime mieux présentement se laisser entraîner au torrent." Je suis, &c. (Signé) BARILLON.

Translation.

*Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, of the 24th March, 1678.
—Further intercourse of Rouvigny with lord Russel and lord Hollis.—
Their views.*

"I HAVE seen the persons with whom I have commerce, and Mr. de Rouvigny has seen lord Hollis and lord Russel: Both these and those speak the same language, and say they never pretended to oppose openly the giving money to the King of England; that this would be a means of drawing upon themselves the hatred of the people, and the reproach of all that might hereafter happen; that the lower house had added to this act clauses so contrary to the privileges and authority of his Britannick Majesty, that they had hoped neither the Prince nor his ministers would have consented to them, or at least that they would have permitted difficulties to be thrown in the way; but that the avidity for money, and the desire of having troops on foot, which they thought they might dispose of, had made the ministers pass the act without any consideration for the true interests of his Britannick Majesty: that this redoubles their fears of the designs of the court, with which they are much alarmed: Even although

they are at this minute persuaded that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert, they are still under apprehension lest the war should serve only to bring them under subjection. They see the danger to which they are exposed, but don't know a remedy to save them from it. However, this cabal is not absolutely discouraged, and though the lord high treasurer strengthens himself every day, the others have always for their aim to hinder the parliament granting any more money. They are resolved to seek for every thing that can give the court vexation, to the end that it may soon dismiss them, and that the King of England may have no other money than what may arise from this tax, which will not amount, according to the common opinion, to more than 600 thousand pounds sterling. It will be seen in two days what the house of commons will do; for the cabal opposed to the court, knows well the necessity of not losing time, and care is taken to shew them the importance of it. There is, however, much appearance that the parliament will give the rest of the million which was promised, and they are working continually to find out a fund for it. I beg your Majesty to believe that I omit nothing which appears to me to be proper to fortify the party that is opposed to the court in parliament. It is not easy to succeed when the King of England conforms himself to all that his subjects prescribe to him, even though the most contrary to his interest. I am persuaded the high treasurer believes he may find opportunities, either in peace or war, to put the authority of the King his master on a better foot, and that at present he thinks it best to let himself be driven with the torrent.

I am, &c.

BARILLON.

The following letter exhibits a cruel picture of the effects of party in England, when confidence is once lost between the Prince and the people.

Extrait de la lettre de Mons. de Barillon au Roi, du 11 Avril, 1678.

In the *Depot*. “**L**ES chefs des cabales, c'est à dire Mr. de Boucquingham, milord Scafferi, milord Roussel, et milord Hollis, m'ont fait entendre qu'il n'y a rien de si dangereux pour eux, que de laisser plus longtems les affaires dans l'incertitude où elles sont; que les levées se continuent, et que quand il y en aura un nombre suffisant sur pied, la cour entreprendra tout ce

qu'elle jugera convenable à ses intérêts ; qu'en arrêtant les principaux, on mettra les autres dans l'impuissance de résister et de s'opposer à ce que la cour voudra entreprendre ; que quand le dedans de l'Angleterre sera soumis, on fera la guerre au dehors avec toute sorte de facilités ; et que toute la nation étant d'accord, les secours d'hommes et d'argent pour la Flandre seront fort considérables ; que rien n'est plus propre pour empêcher que cela n'arrive, que de presser la déclaration de la guerre, et obliger sa Majesté Britannique à se déterminer auparavant que toutes les mesures soient prises pour la soutenir ; que votre Majesté pourroit s'acquérir un grand mérite auprès de toute la nation, si elle témoignoit que l'état d'incertitude ne lui convient point, et qu'elle desire savoir si elle doit avoir la paix ou la guerre. Que selon les apparences, cette démarche de votre Majesté ne fera pas que sa Majesté Britannique déclare la guerre, si elle ne l'a pas résolu ; et que ceux avec qui cela sera concerté connoîtront, et feront connoître aux gens de leur parti, que votre Majesté non seulement n'a point de concert avec le Roi d'Angleterre pour les opprimer, mais qu'elle ne veut pas souffrir que sous prétexte d'une guerre imaginaire, on trouve le moyen de les assujétir. Je n'ai point combattu ce raisonnement, et j'ai été obligé d'entrer en quelque façon dans les sentimens du Duc de Bouquingham, et de lui faire paroître, que je ne trouvois pas impossible que votre Majesté m'ordonnât de parler comme il souhaite. Milord Roussel a proposé la même chose à Mr. Rouvigny. Je croi, Sire, que leur principal motif en cela est, de s'éclaircir entierement d'une soupçon qui reste encore à quelques gens, que votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre agissent de concert. Ils ont encore pour but de nécessiter la cour à déclarer la guerre, et croient par là se mettre à couvert du peril que l'armée qui se leve ne soit employée pour changer le gouvernement en Angleterre. Ils ont aussi en vue de s'acquérir à l'avenir la protection de votre Majesté si on les attaque ; mais je ne les trouve pas encore disposer à prendre des engagements formels et présens, si ce n'est Mr. le Duc de Boukingham qui est plus hardi que les autres, et qui croit que leur véritable sûreté dépend de ce que votre Majesté voudroit faire en leur faveur. Si j'ose expliquer mon sentiment à votre Majesté, je ne trouverois pas d'inconvenient de dire quelque chose de sa part à sa Majesté Britannique, qui pût marquer qu'elle ne s'attend pas à demeurer longtems dans l'incertitude de la paix ou de la guerre. Il est aisé d'adoucir les termes en lui parlant, et de ne le pas forcer à se déclarer

malgré lui. Cependant on pourroit en dire assez pour contenter ceux, qui craignent que la cour n'ait point d'autre dessein que de les opprimer. Je dois rendre compte à votre Majesté que tous ces chefs de cabale ne seront point opposés à la paix, quand ils croiront que votre Majesté ne prendra point d'engagement contre leur liberté. C'est sur quoi je les rassûre autant que je puis, et les plus sensés d'entr' eux jugent bien que l'interêt de la France n'est pas qu'il y ait en Angleterre un Roi maître absolu, et qui puisse disposer à son gré de toute la puissance de la nation."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Monsr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, of the 11th April, 1678.—Dangerous projects of the heads of the popular party acting in concert with France.

THE heads of the cabal, to wit, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Russel, and Lord Hollis, have given me to understand that there is nothing so dangerous for them as to leave matters any longer in their present uncertainty; that the levies are going on, and when there is a sufficient number on foot, the court will attempt every thing that is agreeable to its interest; that by arresting the principal persons, they will put it out of the power of the others to resist, or oppose themselves to the designs of the court; that when England shall be subjected at home, the court will carry on a foreign war with the greater facility, and the whole nation being in one way of thinking, the supplies of men and money for Flanders will be great; that nothing is more proper to prevent this, than to press the declaration of war, and oblige his Britannick Majesty to determine before measures are taken to support it. That your Majesty might acquire merit with the whole nation, if you declared that this state of uncertainty is not agreeable to you, and that you desire to know whether you are to have peace or war: that in all appearance this step will not oblige his Britannick Majesty to declare war if he has not resolved upon it already; and that those with whom it is concerted, will by this means know, and make known to their party, that your Majesty not only has no connection with the King of England to oppress them, but that you will not suffer him under the pretence of an imaginary war to find means to bring them into subjection. I did not controvert this way of reasoning, and have been in some degree obliged to enter into the

sentiments of the Duke of Buckingham, and to pretend to him that I did not think it impossible your Majesty might order me to speak as he wished. Lord Ruffel proposed the same thing to Mr. de Rouvigny. I believe, Sire, that their chief motive in this is, to clear up a suspicion which still remains with some of them, that your Majesty and the King of England act in concert. Another end they aim at is, to force the court to declare war, and thereby shelter themselves from the danger, lest the army, which is now raising, should be employed to change the form of government in England. They have also a view of procuring for the future your Majesty's protection if they are attacked. But I don't yet find them disposed to enter into formal and immediate engagements, except the Duke of Buckingham, who is more bold than the others, and who believes their real safety depends on what your Majesty will do in their favour. If I durst express my thoughts to your Majesty, I should think it would not be amiss to say something on your part to his Britannick Majesty, that might show him you don't intend to remain long in an uncertainty as to peace or war. It is easy to soften the language in speaking to him, and not force him to declare himself against his inclination; however, enough might be said to satisfy those who are under apprehensions that the court only intends their oppression. I ought to inform your Majesty that all these leaders of party will not be averse to peace, if they believe that your Majesty will enter into no engagements against their liberty; on this head I give them all the assurances I can; and the most sensible amongst them know well it is not the interest of France that a King of England should be absolute master, and be able to dispose according to his will of all the power of the nation."

Some months after this, the intrigue between the popular party and Monsr. de Rouvigny and Monsr. Barillon, took a more regular form: for a considerable number of that party sent a messenger to France, to convert that connexion of interests which had hitherto been carried on only between them and these two French emissaries, into a connexion of interests directly with the French court itself. Barillon in the following letter gave intimation to the French minister of the application which was soon to be made to him in the name of that party.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Ministre, du 10 Octobre, 1678.

In the Depot. **L**A nouvelle d'une conspiration contre la personne du Roi d'Angleterre auroit bien mérité d'être mandée par un courrier exprès, mais j'ai eu, Monsieur, encore une autre raison. J'ai connu ici depuis quelque tems le Sieur Falaiseau qui a été à Mr. de Montaigu pendant qu'il a été Ambassadeur en France; il connoit beaucoup de gens et a fait assez d'habitudes en Angleterre. J'ai crû pouvoir m'ouvrir à lui, et lui faire entendre qu'il me feroit plaisir de ménager les esprits de ceux qu'il trouveroit en disposition de prendre des liaisons avec la France. Il m'est venu trouver depuis deux jours, et m'a dit qu'il pouvoit me repondre de beaucoup de personnes très considerables par leur naissance et par leurs biens; que les principaux d'entr'eux sont membres du parlement, et qu'ils sont tous dans le dessein de s'opposer fortement au dessein que le Roi d'Angleterre pourroit avoir de faire subsister l'armée, ou pour faire la guerre, ou pour faire changer le gouvernement. Ils offrent de prendre pour cela toutes les mesures possibles avec moi; mais auparavant ils desirent d'avoir une parole positive du Roi de n'être jamais découverts, et qu'on leur tiendra ce qu'on leur aura promis. Pour cela ils veulent que le Sieur Falaiseau fasse un voyage en France; qu'il reçoive par vous, Monsieur, la parole de sa Majesté; et qu'en suite vous m'envoyiez les ordres du Roi pour traiter avec eux, et pour entrer dans le détail de leurs propositions. J'ai dit d'abord que j'avois des ordres suffisans, mais ils se sont attachés à avoir encore une assurance positive par vous, et n'ont point voulu se nommer auparavant. J'ai pourtant raison de croire que ces sont des gens de consideration, ainsi je n'ai pas crû devoir empêcher le Sieur Falaiseau de vous aller trouver dans quelques jours. Il vous rendra un billet de ma part, et vous expliquera sa mission. Il arrivera à peu près dans le tems que j'espere envoyer au Roi, le détail le plus exact que je pourrai, de l'état de ce pays ci. Le Sieur Falaiseau est de la religion prétendue réformée; il est fils d'un avocat de Paris, de bonne famille et assez riche; il a été avec Mr. Dangeau chez Mr. l'Electeur Palatin, et a fait le voyage de Modene, et en suite celui d'Angleterre avec lui. On pourroit craindre qu'il ne dit à Mr. de Montaigu ce qui se passe; mais les gens pour qui il parle se fient à lui, et ces sortes d'intrigues ne peuvent se faire sans hazarder quelque chose.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to the Minister, 10th October, 1678.—
The popular party send a messenger to France to treat with the French court.*

THE news of a conspiracy against the King of England's person would have deserved well to be sent by an express courier, but I had, Sir, yet another reason. I have for some time known here the Sieur Falaiseau, who was with Mr. Montagu whilst he was ambassador in France; he knows many people, and has made connexions enough in England. I thought I might open myself to him, and let him know that he would do me a pleasure to manage the spirits of those he should find in a disposition to take measures with France. Within these two days he came to me, and told me he could answer to me for many very considerable persons, on account both of their birth and fortunes; that the principal amongst them are members of parliament, and are all in the same mind of opposing strongly any designs the King of England might have to keep up the army, either with a view to make war, or to change the government. They offer to take all possible measures with me for these ends; but they desire first to have the King's positive word that they shall never be discovered, and that what shall be promised them shall be observed. To this purpose they are desirous that the Sieur Falaiseau should make a journey into France; that by you, Sir, they may receive his Majesty's word; and that afterwards you may send me the King's orders to treat with them, and enter into the detail of their proposals. I said directly, I had sufficient orders; but they are bent upon having a positive assurance from you, and will not name themselves till then. I have, however, reason to believe they are people of consideration, and therefore thought I should not prevent the Sieur Falaiseau from going to you in a few days. He will give you a billet from me and explain his mission. He will arrive near the time when I hope to send the King the most exact detail I am able of the state of this country. The Sieur Falaiseau is of the pretended reformed religion; son of an advocate of Paris, of good family, and tolerably rich. He was with Mr. Dangeau at the Elector Palatine's, travelled to Modena, and afterwards came to England with him. It might be feared that he would tell Mr. Montagu what passes; but the persons of whom he speaks confide in him, and these sorts of intrigues cannot be carried on without hazarding something.

Provoked by the Princess of Orange's marriage, and probably trusting to the effects of these intrigues in England, Louis the XIVth rejected all the endeavours of Charles and the Duke of York to avoid a war with France; and in the spring of the year 1678, marched at the head of his troops into Flanders and took Ypres and Ghent. This forced Charles to send his troops abroad; and even the Duke of York, for a short time, appeared hearty for the war, hoping in his complaints against France to recover his popularity, and by taking the command of the army, if the war was forced on, to secure himself by a military force.

Barillon, in the following letter to Louis the XIVth, describes the state of the court of England at this time.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, du 18 Avril, 1678.

In the Depot. "VOILA, Sire, l'état de la négociation ici. Si je m'en rapporte au bruit public, la guerre sera bientôt déclarée; mais si j'avois à former un jugement, (ce qui est fort hazardeux en ce pays cy) je croirois que la guerre est résolue, en cas que la paix ne se puisse faire entre cy et peu de jours, et que le Roi d'Angleterre ne la déclarera pas tant qu'il lui restera quelque espérance. Le grand trésorier a pour but d'avoir de l'argent, et voudroit fort relever l'autorité de son maitre. Mr. le duc d'York se croit perdu pour sa religion, si l'occasion présente ne lui sert à soumettre l'Angleterre; c'est une entreprise fort hardie, et dont le succès est fort douteux. Je crois qu'on a persuadé à ce Prince, que la guerre est plus propre pour venir à bout de son dessein que la paix. Il croit faire cesser une partie de l'animosité qu'on a contre lui en se déclarant avec chaleur contre la France. Cela n'appaise pas ces ennemis; il est plus appréhendé que jamais et n'est pas moins hai; son changement à l'égard de votre Majesté n'augmente pas sa réputation; plusieurs personnes croient qu'il reprendra ses premieres liaisons avec la même legereté qu'il les a quittées. Le Roi d'Angleterre balance encore à se porter à l'extrémité; son humeur répugne fort au dessein de changer le gouvernement. Il est néanmoins entraîné par Mr. le Duc d'York et par le grand trésorier; mais dans le fond il aimeroit mieux que la paix le mit en état de demeurer en repos, et

rétablir ses affaires, c'est à dire un bon revenu ; et je crois qu'il ne se soucie pas beaucoup d'être plus absolu qu'il est. Le Duc et le Trésorier connoissent bien à qui ils ont affaire, et craignent d'être abandonnés par le Roi d'Angleterre aux premiers obstacles considérables qu'ils trouveront au dessein de relever l'autorité royale en Angleterre."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 18th April, 1678.—State of the court of England.—The Duke of York intends by the army to establish the catholic religion, and enlarge the royal authority.

"THIS, Sire, is the state of the negociation here. If I depend upon public report, war will be instantly declared; but if I was to form a judgment, (which is very hazardous in this country) I should believe the war is only resolved on in case peace is not made in a few days, and that the King of England will not declare it whilst there remains the least hopes. The high treasurer's aim is to procure money, and he would willingly encrease his master's authority. The Duke of York believes himself lost as to his religion, if the present opportunity does not serve to bring England into subjection; 'tis a very bold enterprize, and the success very doubtful. I believe they have persuaded this Prince that a war is more proper to accomplish his design than peace. He thinks that by declaring strongly against France, he will diminish the animosity against himself. This does not appease his enemies; he is more suspected than ever, and not less hated; his change with regard to your Majesty does not add to his reputation; many persons believe he will return to his former engagements with the same lightness with which he has quitted them. The King of England still wavers upon carrying things to extremity; his humour is very repugnant to the design of changing the government. He is nevertheless drawn along by the Duke of York and the High Treasurer; but at the bottom he would rather choose that a peace should leave him in a condition to remain in quiet, and re-establish his affairs, that is to say, a good revenue; and I do not believe he cares much for being more absolute than he is. The Duke and the Treasurer know well with whom they have to deal, and are afraid of being abandoned by the King of England on the first considerable obstacles they may meet with to the design of enlarging the royal authority in England."

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange during this state of uncertainty between France and England.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Mr. Hyde has got powers to finish the treaty with the Dutch.—An answer from France as to the terms of peace expected.

London, Dec. 24, 1677.

I WOULD not let this bearer Mr. Thinn go without writing to you by him, who his Majesty sends with powers and instructions to Mr. Hyde, to conclude what you have already approved of. As for Mr. Montague we had news from him of his being at St. Germain's, but then he had not entered upon his business; we expect every moment to hear from him. I need say no more, this bearer being so fully instructed to inform you of all this; and be assured that I shall always be as kind to you as you can expect.

J A M E S.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange—Impatient for an answer from France.

London, Jan. 3, 1677-8.

AT length this bearer, lord Offory, has got leave to go to you, at which he is very well pleased, and will lose no tyme, and so goes to morrow morning, being not willing to stay for the expresse we expect from France, though we look for him every hour, but I keep Cornwall here on purpose to send you word what the expresse will bring, which will be either peace or war; and now that I have sayd this, I will not defer letting you know I do easily beleve the trouble you had for the losse of my sonne: I wish you may never have the like cause of trouble, nor know what it is to losse a sonne. I shall now say no more to you, because this bearer can inform you of all things here, as also that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—France having refused the terms of peace, war is preparing.

London, Jan. 8, 1677-8.

YOU will now receive an account from this bearer, my lord Ossory, of the answer his Majesty has had from France, by the which you will see we must prepare for a war, which we are doing here, with as little noise as we can, till the parliament meets, which you know is to be this day fennight, and we are hastening away as fast as possibly we can, the ships designed to strengthen our squadron in the Straights, which I hope may be ready to sail, wind and weather permitting, in ten days; and when they have joyned Sir J. Narborough, he will have with him 25 saile of men of war and two fire-ships, and we must encrease the number of fire-ships, so that if you encrease likewise the squadron you are now sending thether, we shall, I hope, be master of that sea, for all the French are, or may be, so strong there; and it will be necessary to consider what force will be necessary to be masters in these seas, and to be in a condition of giving them trouble upon their sea coasts, which is all I shall need say to you now upon this subject: his Majesty saying he will write to you to desire you to send over somebody hither, to adjust and settle the plan of what is to be done at sea, and what number of ships will be necessary to be sett out, and their severall stations; as for other things, this bearer will inform you of them, so that I shall say no more, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations for war.

London, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

I BELIEVE this will still find you at the Hague, for by the last French letter which came yesterday, I do not find that King was yet upon his march, though all things in a readiness for it. Some will have it that he was determined to see what temper the parliament would be in before he undertook any thing; but I hardly believe he will stay for that now, that the parliament was adjourned this day till the 28 of this month; which was done for reasons which I believe you have been informed of: in the mean time we are preparing all things here for what may happen, and are recruiting

all our old companys to one hundred each ; and have given out orders for the raising of 24 new companys to make lord Craven's, myne, and lord Mulgrave's regiments 20 companys apiece. I have not time to say more to you now, but to assure you you shall always find the continuance of my kindness to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince, proposing that the Duke should command the army that is to go over.—Uncertain if troops are to go.

London, Jan. 25, 1677-8.

I HAVE received just now yours by lord Ossory, and do assure you I take very kindly the proposition you make to me in it, though as yett I can say nothing to you upon it, for till we know what the parliament and Spaniards will do, we cannot make any plan how or which way to carry on the war when we enter into it ; and you will see, by what Mr. Hyde has to informe you of, what little probability there is of our having any men in Flanders, since, without Ostend, we cannot send a considerable body into that country. I have not tyme to say more, it being now late, we having been busy all this night about preparing things for the meeting of the parliament, which is to be on Monday, and besides you will be informed of all things from others, and be assured that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the proceedings of the House of Commons, with regard to the preparations for the war.

London, Feb. 2, 1678.

BY the last post, or at least by this, you will have seen his Majesty's speech to both houses, which one would have thought would have given all satisfaction, and that the house of commons would have proceeded accordingly ; but you will see by their address this day, now that his Majesty has done all they desired by their former address, how they chicane and fly off from what they have formerly said ; attack the prerogative, and would impose upon his Majesty such things as cannot subsist with monarchy, and was never before pretended to by a house of commons. I am sure it will be very good news for France, and I am confi-

dent, so soon as they hear of it, they will take new measures, and attack some place in Flanders, which may be, if the house of commons had gone on vigorously in helping his Majesty with money for the carrying on of the war, they would have hardly done: but I hope that when his Majesty shall have answered their address, which he will do on Monday, that they will be ashamed of what they have done, and will yet make amends, and supply his Majesty as they ought to do, and he will put it home to them. I believe you will be very impatient for the next letters from hence, for by Tuesday's night one shall see what they will do; till when I shall say no more, only to assure you that you shall always find me to be yours.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—That party of the House of Commons which presses for a war refuses a supply.

London, Feb. 5, 1678.

BY the last letters I see you were not then come back to the Hague, but were expected there that night or the next day: I believe you will be very impatient to know how affairs go here; you will by this post have a copy of his Majesty's answer to the address of the House of Commons, which was given them yesterday morning, for all which they go on but very slowly, and those who seemed to be most zealous for a war with France last sessions, are those who obstruct most the giving of a supply; and it has been all his Majesty's servants in the house have been able to do, to get a vote with great pains and wranglings, and that at six o'clock this night, for a supply for the maintenance of the alliance with Holland, and the preservation of Flanders. To-morrow they are to proceed to the sum it shall be, which I am afraid will be much disputed and lessened, as much as the ill people can get it; and without a very considerable one, we shall be able to go on but very lamely with the war. But we must do as well as we can, and till this money matter be settled, we can make no farther preparations than those we have already; I have not time to say more to you now, but that you shall always find me yours.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, Feb. 8, 1678.

I WOULD not let this bearer Cornwell go back without writing to you by him. I have kept him here a great while, thinking to have had

something of consequence to write by a sure messenger, but I would not keep him any longer. Things here go but slowly on; for, though the House of Commons voted yesterday that they would provide money for ninety ships, and to day the same for thirty thousand land men, yett I feare they may be so long about raising a fonds for the maintenance of them, that we shall be able to do little this yeare, for till there be a certainty of the mony, we cannot go in hand with the fitting of more ships, or raising more men than those we have already, and I am sure no tyme shall be lost when we can once go to worke. I have not tyme to say more, only to assure you that you shall always find me to be very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King's bad opinion of Buckingham.

London, Feb. 9, 1678.

WHEN I wrote yesterday to you by Mr. Cornwall I had but little time to say any thing to you, nor have I much more now by this bearer Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you about affairs of great concern, as you will find when he speaks with you; of which it is not necessary for me to say any thing, but that we shall expect your answer with great impatience. In the mean time, I believe you will have been surprized with the news of the Duke of Buckingham's having leave to come to court; I am sure I was, for I knew nothing of it till he had been with his Majesty; but his Majesty knows him too well to let him do any harme. It is not necessary for me to say more to you by this bearer, who is so well instructed of all things here; so I shall say no more at this time but to assure you, you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops are to be sent to Ostend and Newport; but the Spanish make difficulties.

London, Feb. 13, 1678.

I DID not write to you by the post of yesterday, because I designed to write to you by this bearer Lord Ossory, and then I was willing to see what the Marquis de Bourgemaine would say; for though he received his letters on Monday morning, he kept it a secret to those he should have acquainted with it in the first place, till last night, that he said something to his Majesty of it, and this morning he gave in the writing, (a copy of

which you have seen) about Ostend, but would call it nothing but a paper, and did so carry himself with those appointed to treat with him, that he gave them little satisfaction, and does not advance the work at all, and I do not understand his politick when time is so precious to them; but it shall not be our faults if we do not immediately send some men both to Newport and Ostend. I need not say more to you on account of all things here, only to continue the assurance of my kindness to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Glad of the million vote of the House of Commons.

London, Feb. 19, 1678.

I RECEIVED yesterday a letter from you by the post, and just now one from you by Godolphin, but have not yet had time to speak with him about the business he went to you on, and shall not before the post goes, it being now late; but I believe I shall sooner than the next post have an opportunity of writing to you; for except M. Van Buning can prevail with the Marquis de Bourgemain to be more reasonable than he is, his Majesty will be forced to send one over to treat with the Duke de Villahermosa about the affair of Ostend, in which he has yet done nothing, notwithstanding the orders he has had, though we have pressed him to it. I have not time to say more, nor to give you an account of the good vote passed yesterday in the House of Commons, and only can assure you it shall not be our faults here if things be not done as you can desire. We shall now go in hand to raise the rest of our men to compleat them to the number designed; and pray be assured I shall be always very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons delay the supply.

London, Feb. 22, 1678.

BY the letters come this day from the Hague, I find you are gone to the army upon the news of the French being come towards Namur. I am sorry we go so slowly on in our preparation; it is now near a month that the parliament have sat, and yet not so much as a money bill got ready. I hope this alarm of this siege will quicken them, and that M. de Bourgemaine will no longer make any delays, which have proved so prejudicial to his master's affairs; for so soon as he will but say it, we are ready to send our men for Ostend and Newport; and when once any of the

money bills are so far advanced as we can get credit upon them, no time shall be lost, and then you shall hear farther from me, which is all I have now time to say to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of Spain and the House of Commons ;—is to go over himself with the army.

London, March 3, 1678.

IT was but yesterday morning that I received your's of the 5th from Mecklin, and I assure you was very sensibly touched with it, and am as sensible as you can desire I should, of the condition you are in. If the parliament or the Spaniards had done their parts as they should, things had been, I am confident, in a better condition than they are now, but one must think of what is to come ; this goes to you by Godolphin, whom his Majesty sends to you to inform you how things are here, and to consult with you what now is to be done. We did not hear till this day of Ghent's being taken ; and at the desire of the Marquis de Bourgemaine, his Majesty has ordered the two battalions that are at Ostend of our troops to go to Bruges, and we are sending twelve companies to Ostend ; and you may be assured nothing shall be wanting that we can do to support your interest. Commissions are now giving out to raise more men ; and as soon as we can get a considerable body together, I intend to go over with them to you ; and it will not be long before I send over somebody to you to adjust that affair with you. This bearer will inform you of all things else, and assure you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King refuses to raise foreign troops.—Is to raise more troops at home.—The Duke impatient to go over.

London, March 8, 1678.

SINCE Godolphin went I have received two from you, the first of the 10th from Macklin, and the other of the 14th from Boom ; by the last of which I see you believe the French were gone to besiege Ipres, which proves to be so, we having had letters by the way of Calais of its actually being besieged. I must confess I was glad to hear they were gone thither ; for by what one can judge at this distance, I was of opinion they might have taken either Bruxelles or Bruges, for that you

could not cover both of them; but I am sorry to find by what you say, that Ipres is as bad a place, for I was in hopes that place might have held out some tyme, and given you some breathing tyme, at least I hope it will give you leisure to secure the other two places I mentioned. As to what you proposed concerning getting some German troops, I shewed his Majesty your letter, who bids me tell you he had no money to spare for it, and that had he any, it should be made use on to raise more troops here. As for those we are raising, the commissions are but now given out, which would have signified nothing to have been done sooner; for till this day that the poll bill passed the House of Commons, no money could be got; and to-morrow or next day the levy money will be given to the severall colonels, who are obliged to have their regiments compleat in six weeks tyme: and you may be sure I shall do my part to hasten things all I can, being very desirous to be with you. I see you had already heard of some of our troops being landed at Ostend; we have yet but two battalions there, which ought to be eight hundred each, and we have twelve companies more ready to embarke so soon as the wind changes, which is all we can spare at present, till our new levies begin to come in; for we must not leave this town with fewer troops in it than there are at present. The post is ready to go, so that I can say no more at present, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The army is raising fast.—The Duke is to go over.—The popular party obstruct the war.

London, March 12, 1678.

THERE are no letters come this day from beyond sea, so that we are very ignorant of what passes at Ipres, or any where else; in the mean time we are preparing all things here as fast as we can, to be in a condition of helping you. The commissions and levy money are given out, and the officers are gone down into their respective countries to raise their men, and I make no doubt that their severall regiments will be soon compleated and at the rendezvous, which will be for most of them about this town, and some near Harwich for the convenience of embarking them. They have six weeks time given them for the raising of their men, but I hope most of them will have their men together sooner; and

now within a few days, I intend to send one to you to adjust all things with you, both as to the place and time of our landing. To-morrow I hope the poll bill will pass both Houses, but the House of Commons go on but very slowly in their other money bills; however, we must do as well as we can, and work through many difficulties which disaffected, and those of the republican party raise every day. It is late, and the post ready to go, so that I can say no more now but to assure you that I shall always be your's.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party refuse money and obstruct the levies.

London, March 19, 1678.

I SEE by yours of the 22, that you were still at Boom, and that things continue in as ill a condition where you were, as when I heard last from you, and I am sorry to tell you that things do not mend here at all since Godolphin went hence; for though the poll bill be past both houses, and will have his Majesty's assent to it to-morrow, yet that will prove but an inconsiderable sum to what we must have to maintain so many men and ships as we have, and are to have in pay; and most people believe this bill will produce cleere to his Majesty not above three hundred thousand pounds; and for any other money bill, there is none in hand but that for taxing the new buildings, and it is uncertain whether that will pass in the house of commons, there being so many of the members concerned in it; and truly the temper of the house seems not to be good, and looks as if some of them minded more how to get the power from the King than any thing else; however, our levies go on very well, though some of the same persons do endeavour to obstruct them; and our horse, which I thought would have been the longest a raising, will be the soonest ready, there being severall troupes of horse that have already their full number and well mounted. We are very impatient here to heare of Godolphin's being with you, which we hope to do very sone, which is all I shall now say to you at this tyme.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons will not give money for the war.—The Duke expects war for certain.

London, March 22, 1678.

I Received last night yours by Godolphin, who has given me an account of what you had charged him with, and am cleerly of your mind, and what you desire must be done, and his Majesty will have a positive answer by the end of the Easter holidays, till which time I believe the parliament will adjourn some tyme the beginning of next week, and I am absolutely of your opinion, knowing the temper of the French, that we must have a war, and I wish the house of commons would do their part, as well as we shall do ours for the carrying it on, for the levys go on very fast, and we are setting out more ships every day; but they have such groundless jealousies in their heads, that they make no advances in the providing the rest of the money: However, I intend very soon to send one over to you to adjust all things with you. I believe you will have a more particular account from lord Treasurer of all things, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Appears heartily for the war.

London, April 2, 1678.

THIS bearer, Churchill, whom his Majesty sends over to you, to adjust all things with you and the Spaniards, concerning our troops, is so fully instructed in all points that concern it, that, as to that, I shall refer myself to him, and to what he shall say to you upon that subject; but now that I am writing to you, I must say something to you which Mr. Hyde has, by this post, orders to communicate to, and press Mr. Fagel in; it is that we are afraide, by what Mr. Vanbuninge sayde two days ago to me, that the squadron you have now at Cadiz, under the command of Eneston, might, either upon the newse of the French having quitted Messina, or for want of being payd by the Spaniard, come back for Holland, which, if it should be, would be very prejudicial to us all, for then the French would be absolute masters at sea in the Mediteranian, and not only destroy both your trade and ours, but also very much trouble and molest the Spaniard in all their coasts and islands in that sea, for our squa-

dron, which is there, will not alone be strong enough to deale with the French, for at this time we have but 22 men of war and two fire-ships there, and can spare no more from hence, but then to make them up 25 men of war and five fire-ships. I hope you will consider this, and the ill consequences which may in all likelihood happen, should your squadron come away, and therefore I hope you will, so soon as may be, send orders to them to stay, for you cannot imagin how necessary it is for us they should remain there to joyne with our squadron, especially now that we are so neare declaring of a war, which will now be done upon the least encouragement from you, and the States doing their parts, which is all I shall say to you now, only to assure you that I shall be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Expects common measures by the Dutch, Spaniards, and the Emperor, for the conduct of the war.

London, April 7th, 1678.

BEFORE this you will have received mine by Churchill, for I hear he went from the Downs on Friday morning, and believe he got that night to Flushing: This goes to you by an exprefs which his Majesty sends to Churchill, to give him instructions to speake to you about the troops which are at Bruges, I mean the English, which we have no mind to lose, being above four battalions of our old regiments; and we are apprehensive here that the first thing the French will do will be to besiege that place, and the rather because our men are in it; and if he should take them prisoners of warr, it would be a very great flaw to us, and I am confident he would willingly venture the losing a thousand or two of his men to take our old regiments; so that except the Spaniards or you wou'd put more men into it, I fear those we have there will run the hazard of being lost: I hope you will consider of this, and either put so many men into it, that may hinder the French from attacking it, or let us draw some of our men out of it, for I fear, should it once be besieged, it could not well be relieved. I am sure I need say no more to you of this, since I know you will do what is best for the common good, and besides Churchill will speake more at large to you about it. We are very impatient to have the next letters from Holland, hoping, that before the houses

fit again, that Mr. Vanbuning may have powers to treat with us here, and the Empress and Spanish envoys; for you know we can do nothing without you; which is all I shall say to you now, but to assure you, you shall always find me ever kind to you.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the delays of the Dutch.
—Anxious that the war should go on, that the King may get money.*

London, April 16, 1678.

THIS bearer, Godolfin, goes so fully instructed, and can give you so true an account of all things here, that it is not necessary for me to say much to you in this letter, yet I cannot forbear saying to you, that all honest men were both surpris'd and troubled at the delay has been made by the states in the matter of the treaty here; you see that that was the only cause of the adjourning of the parliament yesterday, but I hope that your going to the Hague will make them take good and vigorous resolutions for the carrying on of the war, and that Mr. Vanbuning will receive orders accordingly before the houses meet againe. It is of the last importance to us, and I do not know what may happen if the war does not go on, considering the temper of the nation, and the ill condition his Majesty's affairs must be in for want of money. I will say no more, for you will be much better informed of all these things by this bearer, and end with the assuring you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Princess of Orange has miscarried.—More troops to be sent over.

London, April 19, 1678.

I WAS very sorry to find by the letters of this day from Holland, that my daughter has miscarried; pray let her be carefuller of herself another time: I will write to her to the same purpose. I am also sorry to find by your letter that the Spaniards have so few men that they can send no more troops into Bruges; but since that cannot be, we shall send immediately two battalions more thither, as you advise; which is all I have now time to say to you, but that I am yours.

There is in King William's box the following letter, on the same subject with those of the duke of York, from lord Danby to the Prince of Orange, but not published by his lordship with his other letters.

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—State of the King and Parliament.

London, Feb. 8, 1677-8.

HIS Majesty finds such great discouragements both from the dilatory proceedings of the parliament, and the untoward actings of the Spaniard with him, that your highness will find by Mr. Godolphin, hee is in hopes of little good but by a peace, and I must confesse our appearances promise little good by a war.

Hee thinkes this peace may bee had by giving the King of France some other place for Tournay, and can himselfe thinke only upon Charlemont, as a place the Spaniard may best spare; but I find they would rather have Luxembourg or Ypres, and will not to me owne lesse than both those places in lieu of Tournay, and I believe his Majesty knows no more than myselfe in this matter. Whatever your Highness's opinion may bee of the proposition, I do assure you there is no cause from it to feare any alteration in the King from the measures he has taken with your Highness, so that when your Highness knows the true state of things here, if you shall not approve the having such conditions offered to France, you may bee confident you will heare no more of them, but (as I have formerly writt to your Highness) if the King cannot have Ostend for a port where to land his men and lay magazines, you are never to expect any succors of men from us in Flanders. For my owne part, I know not what either to wish or advise in this case; on the one hand the nation expecting a war from us, and yett on the other move so slowly towards one, that at best we cannot expect to have any considerable force in readinesse before May, and not certain how long that shall bee supported. I pray God you may advise the best, because I am sure wee shall go along with you in your fortunes, to which no man wishes more prosperity than myselfe, who am your Highness's most eternally faithfull servant. D.

Notwithstanding the appearance of hostilities between England and France, it appears from lord Danby's letters (which are published) that

during most of this time Charles and Louis were treating of a general peace, the price of which was to be a great sum of money given by the last to the first of these princes. This, together with the obstructions to the preparations for the war, created by the popular party in the house of commons, made it easy for Louis to buy off the seeming ardour of Charles and the duke of York for the war.

It appears by Barillon's dispatches, that a private and separate treaty for this purpose was begun in the beginning of May 1678, and in a few days concluded. The general outline of it, as intended by France, was, that Charles should stand neuter in the war if the allies should refuse the terms of peace which France had offered at Nimeguen a few weeks before; should not assemble his parliament for six months; should disband his army; and should receive six millions of livres from France.

Barillon writes to his court, 12 May, 1678, "Le Roi lui même signera In the *Depot*, le traité, aucuns des ses sujets n'est assez hardi pour l'oser faire."—"The King himself will sign the treaty, none of his subjects are bold enough to do it."

On the 17th May, 1678, Charles writes the following letter of congratulation to Louis the XIVth, on the prospect of the treaty.

Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Roi, du 17 Mai, 1678.

"MONSIEUR, mon frere. Ce m'est une joie extreme de trouver In the *Depot*, que l'occasion de renouer cette amitié qui sembloit se pouvoir interrompre par le passé, se présente si favorable et assurée, et que j'aye eû le bonheur de contribuer à la paix de la Chrétienté autant que j'ai fait par les articles que le Sieur de Rouvigny vous porte. Comme vous agissés par cette paix tout à fait pour votre gloire, je le reçois aussi pour un effet de votre bonne volonté pour moi le plus particulier qui me peut être rendu, en ce qu'elle met les fondemens d'une amitié que j'espere, durera autant qu'il plaira à Dieu de nous laisser vivre. Les circonstances de mes affaires m'ont obligé de finir avec votre Ambassadeur en des manieres extraordinaires, parceque le secret est de la plus grande importance pour moi et pour mes affaires; ainsi je vous prie bien fort que rien n'en soit dit, que je ne témoigne à l'Ambassadeur que le tout peut être public sans me préjudicier.

J'ai prié le Sieur de Rouvigny de vous parler de tous mes intérêts, pour lesquels je fais fondement sur votre amitié, sachant combien et pleinement vous devés être assuré de la mienne, ainsi je prie Dieu, Monsieur mon frere, de vous avoir en sa sainte garde." Votre bon frere,

(Signé) CHARLES.

Translation.

*Letter from the King of England to Louis the XIVth, 17th May, 1678.—
Congratulates him on the private treaty they are making together.*

"SIR, my brother. It is an extreme joy to me to find that the occasion of renewing that friendship which seemed likely to be interrupted, presents itself so favorably and certainly, and that I have had the happiness to contribute to the peace of Christendom so much as I have done by the articles which the Sieur de Rouvigny carries to you. As you act entirely in this peace for your glory, I receive it also as the most particular effect that could have been shewn me of your good will towards me, seeing it lays the foundations of a friendship which I hope will last as long as it shall please God to let us live. The circumstances of my affairs have obliged me to finish with your Ambassador in an extraordinary manner, because the secret is of the greatest importance to me and to my affairs; I therefore earnestly pray that nothing be said of it, till I let your Ambassador know that the whole may be publick without prejudice to me. I have desired the Sieur de Rouvigny to speak to you upon all my concerns, for which I depend on your friendship, knowing how much and how fully you ought be assured of mine. So, I pray God, Sir, my brother, to keep you in his holy protection. Your good brother, (Signed) CHARLES."

In the *Debet.* On the 22d May, Barillon writes, that an embarrassment had happened in putting the terms of the treaty into writing. For that Charles made a scruple of signing a treaty which formally obliged him to prorogue his parliament and to disband his army. To remove this, Barillon proposed that these two articles should not be contained in that part of the treaty which was to be signed by Charles; but that there should be a separate article to be signed by Barillon alone, whereby it was to be provided that Louis should not pay the six millions of Livres, until Charles had prorogued his parliament and disbanded his army.

Upon this plan the treaty was executed on the 27th May, 1678; a copy of which is in the *Depot* at Versailles, as follows.

Traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre, du 27 Mai, 1678.

“ **L** E Roi d'Angleterre ayant été requis depuis peu, et sollicité fortement par les Etats Généraux, d'employer ses offices auprès de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, pour l'obliger à consentir que le projet de paix donné à Nimigue par ses Ambassadeurs ne reçût aucun changement pendant deux mois, et que la prise des places que les armes de sa Majesté très Chrétienne ont occupées depuis le dit projet dans les Pays-bas et ailleurs, et qu'elles pourroient occuper encore ci après, n'empêchât pas que le même projet ne pût être accepté par les Etats généraux et leurs alliés dans le dit tems de deux mois. Cette réquisition des dits Etats Généraux, et les instances réitérées qu'ils en ont faites à sa Majesté Britannique, l'ont engagée à s'employer de tout son pouvoir auprès des sa Majesté très Chrétienne, laquelle en considération des offices de sa Majesté Britannique, et pour montrer d'autant plus le véritable desir qu'elle a de contribuer de sa part à tout ce qui peut faciliter la conclusion de la paix, a consenti, et accordé avec sa Majesté Britannique, par le Sieur de Barillon, Conseiller d'Etat de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, et son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire auprès de sa Majesté Britannique, chargé d'un pouvoir suffisant, ce qui s'ensuit.

Premierement: En cas que le projet de paix donné à Nimigue au mois d'Avril dernier par les Ambassadeurs de sa Majesté très Chrétienne ne soit pas accepté dans deux mois du jour de la signature du présent traité, par les Etats Généraux, et par Mr. de Villafermosa, ou l'un d'eux, sa Majesté Britannique s'engage à demeurer dans une entière neutralité, pendant tout le tems que la présente guerre durera, et de n'assister directement ni indirectement, soit par mer, soit par terre, en vaisseaux, hommes, ou argent, les Espagnols ni les Etats Généraux, ni aucun de leurs alliés contre sa Majesté très Chrétienne ou ses alliés.

Secondement: Pour l'exécution de la neutralité à laquelle sa Majesté Britannique s'engage, elle promet aussitôt après deux mois expirés, de rappeler les troupes qu'elle a fait passer en Flanders, à l'exception toutes fois de 3000 hommes que sa dite Majesté Britannique se réserve de pouvoir

laisser dans Ostende en garnison, sans contrevenir au présent traité, lequel nombre de 3000 hommes ne pourra être augmenté en aucun cas, ni sortir de la dite ville, mais fera seulement employé à la conservation de la place.

Troisièmement : En cas que les Etats Généraux se portent à accepter en son entier, le projet de paix qui a été communiqué par les Ambassadeur de sa Majesté très Chrétienne à Nimegue, ils seront tenus dans le terme de deux mois porté cy dessus, de remettre entre les mains de sa Majesté très Chrétienne un acte en bonne forme, par lequel les dits Etats Généraux témoigneront convenir des dites propositions de paix, et déclareront que, soit qu'elles soient agréées ou non par tous leurs alliés, ils demeureront dans une entière neutralité à l'égard de la France, sans pouvoir directement ni indirectement donner aucune assistance à ses ennemis, soit par terre, soit par mer, en troupes, en vaisseaux, ou en argent, pendant tout le tems que la présente guerre durera ; et à faute de fournir cet acte dans le dit tems par les dits Etats Généraux, ils ne seront pas réputés avoir accepté le projet de paix ; et sera en ce cas sa Majesté Britannique obligée à toutes les clauses et conditions portées par le premier et le second articles cy dessus.

Quatrièmement : Lorsque les conditions principales de la paix auront été arrêtées et acceptées par toutes les parties intéressées, conformément au projet donné par sa Majesté très Chrétienne, elles seront renvoyées à Nimegue pour y être réduites, étendues et signées en forme de traité par les Ambassadeurs Plenipotentiaires et Ministres des dites parties intéressées, et feront aussi discutées à Nimegue les autres choses de moindre conséquence, et qui suivent toujours les intérêts plus importants.

Cinquièmement : En execution de la paix touchant les places qui seront prises dans les Pays-bas, ou ailleurs, depuis le projet donné à Nimegue au mois d'Avril dernier, ils seront restituées de part et d'autre.

Sixièmement : Sa Majesté très Chrétienne, conformément à la réquisition qui lui en a été faite par sa Majesté Britannique, promet de faire jouir librement Mr. de Prince d'Orange de toutes ses biens situées sous la domination de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, même de la Principauté d'Orange, après que les Etats Généraux auront accepté le dit projet de paix.

Tout ce que dessus a été consenti et accordé entre le Roi d'Angleterre et le dit Sieur Ambassadeur, et a sa dite Majesté Britannique signé de sa main, et promis et promet garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité sans y contrevenir, et s'oblige d'en fournir sa ratification scellée du grand sceau d'Angleterre dans le tems de deux mois d'aujourd'hui.

Et a pareillement, le dit Sieur de Barillon, Conseiller d'Etat de sa dite Majesté très Chrétienne, et son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire auprès de sa dite Majesté Britannique, signé le présent traité, et promis au nom du Roi son maître d'en fournir la ratification scellée du grand sceau dans le même tems de deux mois. Fait à Londres ce 27 Mai, 1678.

(Signé) CHARLES et un R. Et au dessous,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT."

Article séparé.

"JE soussigné Ambassadeur de France promets à sa Majesté Britannique au nom du Roi mon maître, de lui faire payer la somme de six millions de livres tournois; dont le premier paiement sera de trois millions, et se fera incontinent après les deux mois portés par le traité signé ce jourd'hui; les autres trois millions se payeront par quartier et par portions égales, tous les trois mois dans l'année révolue depuis le surdit premier paiement, à condition expresse qu' aussitôt après les deux mois expirés, à compter de ce jourd'hui, sa Majesté Britannique rappellera toutes les troupes qu'elle a en Flandres, à la reserve de 3000 hommes destinés pour Ostende; et à condition aussi que toutes les troupes que sa Majesté Britannique a nouvellement levées, seront licenciées aussitôt après leur arrivée dans ses royaumes, à l'exception toutes fois des 3000 hommes destinés pour Ostende, et de trois autres mille hommes que sa Majesté Britannique destine pour envoyer en Ecosse; et à condition aussi que sa Majesté Britannique prorogera son parlement pour quatre mois au moins, à compter depuis les deux mois expirés pendant lesquels le projet donné à Nimigue doit être accepté; et ne sera tenue sa Majesté très Chrétienne de commencer à faire le paiement des trois premières millions, qu' après que sa Majesté Britannique aura prorogé son parlement pour quatre mois; rappelé ses troupes de Flandres; et

licencié celles qui ont été nouvellement levées, ainsi qu'il est porté cy dessus. Fait à Londres le 27 Mai, 1768.

(Signé) BARILLON DAMONCOURT."

Translation.

Treaty with the King of England of the 27th of May, 1678.—Charles is to stand neuter if the allies refuse the terms of peace offered by France; is not to assemble his parliament for six months; is to disband his army; and to receive six millions of livres from France.

"THE King of England having lately been required and strongly solicited by the States General to employ his good offices with his most Christian Majesty to prevail with him to consent that the project of peace given at Nimiguen by his Ambassadors may receive no change during two months, and that the taking of the places which his most Christian Majesty's arms have occupied since the said project in the Low Countries and other parts, or that shall be hereafter occupied by them, may not hinder the States General and their allies from accepting of the same project within the said time of two months: This requisition of the said States General, and the reiterated instances they have made to his Britannick Majesty, have engaged him to employ every means in his power with his most Christian Majesty, who, in consideration of his Britannick Majesty's offices, and the more to shew the sincere desire he hath to contribute on his part to every thing that can facilitate the conclusion of a peace, hath consented, and agreed with his Britannick Majesty, by the Sieur de Barillon, Privy Counsellor of State to his said most Christian Majesty, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Britannick Majesty, authorized by a sufficient power, upon what follows.

First: In case the project of peace offered at Nimeguen in the month of April last by his most Christian Majesty's Ambassadors is not accepted in two months from the day of the signing the present treaty, by the States General, and by Mr. de Villaformosa, or one of them, his Britannick Majesty engages to remain in perfect neutrality as long as the present war shall last, and not to assist, directly or indirectly, either by sea or by land, with ships, men or money, the Spaniards or the States General, or any of their allies, ag inst his most Christian Majesty and his allies.

Secondly: For the execution of the neutrality to which his Britannick Majesty obliges himself, he promises as soon as two months are expired, to recall the troops he sent into Flanders, 3000 men always excepted, which his Britannick Majesty reserves to be left in garrison at Ostend, without contravention to the present treaty; which number of 3000 men shall not be augmented in any case, nor go out of the said town, but only be employed to preserve the place.

Thirdly: In case the States General incline to accept fully the project of peace which has been communicated by his most Christian Majesty's Ambassadors at Nimeguen, they shall be bound, within the term of two months above-mentioned, to put into his most Christian Majesty's hands a formal instrument by which the said States General are to testify their agreeing to the said propositions of peace, and to declare that whether they be or be not agreed to by all their allies, they will remain in an entire neutrality with regard to France, without giving directly or indirectly any assistance to its enemies, either by land or sea, or by ships, troops or money, so long as the present war shall last; and on default of this instrument being furnished within the said time by the said States General, they shall not be deemed to have accepted the project of peace; and in this case his Britannick Majesty shall be bound to all the clauses and conditions contained in the first and second articles aforesaid.

Fourthly: When the principal conditions of the peace have been agreed on, and accepted by all the parties interested, conformable to the project offered by his most Christian Majesty, they shall be sent back to Nimeguen, there to be reduced, extended and signed in form of a treaty by the Ambassadors Plenipotentiary and Ministers of the said interested parties; and also then shall be adjusted at Nimeguen the other things of less consequence, and which always follow more important interests.

Fifthly: In execution of the peace concerning the places which shall have been taken in the Low Countries or elsewhere since the offering the project at Nimeguen in the month of April last, they shall be restored on both sides.

Sixthly: His most Christian Majesty, conformable to the requisition made to him by his Britannick Majesty, promises to give the Prince of

Orange the free enjoyment of all his estates situated in his said most Christian Majesty's dominions, and also the principality of Orange, after the States General shall have accepted the said project of peace.

All that is above has been consented to and agreed upon between the King of England and the said Ambassador, and signed with his said Britannick Majesty's hand; and he promised and promiseth to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravention, and obligeth himself to furnish his ratification sealed with the great seal of England, in the space of two months from this day.

In like manner the said Sieur de Barillon, Counsellor of State to his said most Christian Majesty, and Ambassador to his said Britannick Majesty, hath signed the present treaty, and promiseth in the name of the King his master to furnish the ratification of it sealed with the great seal, in the same space of two months. Done at London the 27th May, 1678.

(Signed) CHARLES and an R. Underneath,
BARILLON DAMONCOURT.

Separate Article.

I, THE underwritten ambassador of France, promise to his Britannick Majesty, in the name of the King my master, to cause to be paid to him the sum of six millions of livres tournois; the first payment of which shall be three millions, and immediately made after the two months expressed in the treaty signed this day; the other three millions shall be paid quarterly and by equal portions, every three months in the year succeeding the abovementioned first payment, upon express condition that as soon as the two months expire, to be computed from this day, his Britannick Majesty shall recall all the troops he has in Flanders, reserving 3000 men destined for Ostend; and upon condition also that all the troops which his Britannick Majesty has newly raised, shall be disbanded immediately after their arrival in his dominions, 3000 always excepted destined for Ostend, and 3000 more which his Britannick Majesty intends to send into Scotland; and also upon condition that his Britannick Majesty shall prorogue his parliament for at least four months, to be computed from the expiration of the two months, within which the project delivered at

Nimeguen is to be accepted ; nor shall his most Christian Majesty be held to begin the payment of the three first millions, till after his Britannick Majesty shall have prorogued his parliament for four months, recalled his troops from Flanders, and disbanded those that have been newly raised, as is herein before mentioned. Done at London, 27 May, 1678.

(Signed) BARILLON DAMONCOURT

There is also in the *Depot* the following dispatch of Barillon enclosing the treaty, which shews how it had been conducted, and the great consequence of it to France.

Lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 28 Mai, 1678.

Sire,

“ **M**R. de Rouvigny porte à votre Majesté la copie du Traité qui fut signé hier par sa Majesté Britannique. Votre Majesté verra que ses ordres ont été suivis pour toutes les choses essentielles. Ce qu’il peut y avoir de changement dans les termes et dans la manière n’étoit pas assez important pour retarder la conclusion d’une affaire dont les suites sont si considerables. La somme de six millions sera fournie aux termes prescrits par votre Majesté. Je n’ai promis cette somme qu’à condition expresse que le parlement seroit prorogé quatre mois ; que les troupes seroient rappellées de Flandres, et que celles qui sont nouvellement levées seront licenciés. Il m’a été impossible de me dispenser de consentir que 3000 hommes de nouvelles troupes destinées pour envoyer en Ecosse ne soient conservés. J’ai résisté longtems, mais il ne m’a pas paru qu’il soit de grande consequence que le Roi d’Angleterre ait sur pied 3000 hommes plus ou moins ; et une plus longue résistance de ma part auroit donné ici des soupçons, que votre Majesté ne voulût empêcher sa Majesté Britannique de rétablir son autorité dans un pays qui est presque soulevé. In the Depot.

Il a été aussi absolument impossible de réduire le Roi d’Angleterre à signer un traité, par lequel il seroit obligé à proroguer son parlement et à licencier ses troupes ; mais l’expedient qui a été trouvé produit le même effet ; car je n’ai promis le payement de la somme que votre Majesté lui accorde, qu’après que l’une et l’autre de ces conditions sera executée : une

prorogation de quatre mois (qui ne commenceront qu' après les deux mois portés par le traité) donne du tems pour travailler à obtenir la cassation du parlement dans la fuite, et il sera mal aisé de se défendre ici de ce que votre Majesté desirera.

Il n'y a point d'articles secrets ; j'ai seulement donné une promesse conditionnée, qui empêche qu'on ne puisse rien demander à votre Majesté que les conditions ne soient entierement accomplies. Le Roi d'Angleterre a regardé comme une chose qui étoit de la dernière consequence en son pays, de ne point promettre de porter les Etats Généraux à accepter le projet de paix ; mais ce Prince s'est obligé à demeurer neutre en cas que le projet ne soit pas accepté dans deux mois en la forme que votre Majesté l'a envoyé, et je croi que cela est suffisamment expliqué par le traité.

Il me paroît que la préface du traité n'est pas moins avantageuse pour votre Majesté que si le Roi d'Angleterre faisoit paroître qu'il a pressé les Etats Généraux d'accepter le projet ; il est au contraire plus conformé à la gloire et à la dignité de votre Majesté, qu'il paroisse que ses ennemis recherchent la paix par l'entremise de sa Majesté Britannique.

Mr. de Rouvigny rendra compte à votre Majesté de la résistance que j'ai apportée pendant plusieurs jours, pour réduire toutes choses, même dans la maniere et les expressions, comme votre Majesté avoit paru le vouloir ; mais après avoir obtenu le fond et les conditions essentielles, je n'ai pas cru devoir laisser languir une négociation dont l'événement pouvoit devenir douteux.

Quoique je n'aye pas été persuadé qu'on fût ici en état d'empêcher les Etats Généraux de faire le paix, elle auroit pu être retardée et embarrassée de nouvelles difficultés, au lieu qu' après le traité de sa Majesté Britannique, rien ne peut vraisemblablement empêcher les Etats Généraux d'achever ce qu'ils ont commencé. Il est toujours périlleux ici, qu'un parlement dont la plupart des membres sont gagnés par la cour, ne prenne des résolutions extremes, et ne donne de l'argent sous le prétexte d'une guerre contre la France. Je m'étendrois d'avantage sur cela, si Mr. de Rouvigny qui en est pleinement instruit, n'en devoit rendre compte à votre Majesté. J'ai cru qu'il étoit de son service de ne pas différer plus longtems la conclusion d'un traité, qui met votre Majesté dans la sûreté entière de faire

une paix plus glorieuse de beaucoup dans toutes les circonstances, qu'aucun autre dont on ait jamais entendu parler. Votre Majesté qui a plus de lumieres que personne, en connoit mieux aussi tous les avantages présens, et ceux qu'elle en tirera à l'avenir.

Le Roi d'Angleterre desire fort que ce qu'il a fait demeure secret pendant quelque tems, pour pouvoir faire paroître au parlement que les Etats le mettent dans une entiere necessité de faire la paix, et essayer par là de tirer de l'argent pour le licenciement des troupes. Je crois outre cela que sa Majesté Britannique veut, que le Prince d'Orange se fasse quelque mérite en Hollande en facilitant la conclusion de la paix, qu'il a traversée jusqu'à présent. Je ne doute pas qu'on ne lui ait communiqué par avance la résolution qui a été prise ici de faire un traité avec votre Majesté. Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit qu'on n'en diroit encore rien aux ministres de Hollande qui sont ici, mais j'ai eû de trop longues et de trop fréquentes conferences avec milord Trésorier, pour croire qu'on ne soupçonne pas quelque chose d'approchant de la vérité.

Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit aussi qu'elle envoyoit à Bruxelles pour presser Mr. de Villafermosa de conclurre avec votre Majesté, et d'accepter le projet de paix.

Quoique je n'aye pas crû que le dessein du Roi d'Angleterre fût de manquer l'occasion de faire un traité avec votre Majesté, j'eûs néanmoins, il y a deux jours, un juste sujet de craindre que le dessein du grand Trésorier ne fût de traîner l'affaire en longueur, et d'en éloigner la conclusion. Ce ministre dit que le peu d'expérience qu'il avoit dans les affaires de la nature de celles que nous traitions, l'avoit obligé de supplier le Roi son maitre de lui donner quelqu'un qui pût l'aider, et l'empêcher de faire des fautes; et que sa Majesté Britannique avoit nommé Mr. Temple avec qui il me prioit de conferer. Je fût fort surpris, mais je ne crus pas devoir témoigner d'abord aucune répugnance. J'allai le lendemain matin voir Mr. Temple, que je trouvai au lit faisant le malade, ou l'étant effectivement; je jugeai qu'il falloit faire un effort pour lever cet obstacle, et je pressai le Roi d'Angleterre, et Mr. le Duc d'York fort vivement de conclurre ou de rompre le traité. J'apportai a lors toutes les facilités que je pouvois, et je déclarai, que si on n'acceptoit mes offres je ne signerois plus que je n'eûsse de nouveaux ordres: Mr. le Duc d'York prit l'affaire avec chaleur, et me

fit donner une parole positive par le Roi d'Angleterre, que l'affaire seroit conclue le lendemain. Mr. le Duc d'York paroît avoir une grande envie de mériter la même part dans les bonnes grâces de votre Majesté, qu'il a eue autre fois : il s'est conduit dans la négociation comme je le pouvois souhaiter. Je suis, &c. (Signé) BARILLON.

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Account of his method of conducting the private treaty of 27th May, 1678.

Sire,

28th May, 1678.

“ **M**R. de Rouvigny carries your Majesty the copy of the treaty which was signed yesterday by his Britannick Majesty. Your Majesty will see that your orders have been followed in every thing that is essential. What may have been changed in the terms and the manner, was not important enough to retard the conclusion of an affair, the consequences of which are so considerable. The sum of six millions will be paid on the terms prescribed by your Majesty. I have promised this sum upon the express condition that the parliament shall be prorogued for four months ; that the troops should be recalled from Flanders, and that those which are newly levied shall be disbanded. It was impossible for me to dispense with consenting that 3000 men of the new troops, intended to be sent into Scotland, should be kept on foot : I resisted a long time : but it did not appear to me to be of great consequence whether the King of England had 3000 men more or less on foot ; and a longer resistance on my part would have given suspicion here, that your Majesty wanted to hinder his Britannick Majesty from re-establishing his authority in a country which is almost in rebellion.

It was also absolutely impossible to bring the King of England to sign a treaty obliging him to prorogue his parliament and disband his troops, but the expedient that was fallen on produced the same effect ; for I have promised the payment of the sum your Majesty grants him, only after both these conditions shall have been executed : A prorogation of four months (which will not commence till after the two months expressed in the treaty) gives time to work for procuring the dissolution of parliament afterwards, and it will not be easy to resist here what your Majesty shall desire.

There are no secret articles; I have only given a conditional promise, which prevents asking any thing of your Majesty till the conditions are entirely accomplished. The King of England looked upon it as a thing that was of the last consequence in his country, that he should not promise to use his influence with the States General to accept the project of peace; but he obliges himself to remain neuter in case the project is not accepted in two months, in the form that your Majesty sent it; and I think this is sufficiently explained in the treaty.

It appears to me that the preface to the treaty is more advantageous to your Majesty, than if the King of England had made it appear that he pressed the States General to accept the project; it is on the contrary more conformable to the glory and dignity of your Majesty, that it should appear your enemies fought peace through the mediation of his Britannick Majesty.

Mr. de Rouvigny will give your Majesty an account of the dispute maintained by me during many days, to reduce all things even to the manner and the expressions, which your Majesty seemed to want; but after having obtained the fundamental and essential conditions, I thought it my duty not to let a negociation languish, the event of which might become doubtful.

Although I was not of opinion that they were in a condition here to prevent the States General from making peace, it might perhaps have been retarded and embarrassed with new difficulties; instead of which, after his Britannick Majesty's treaty, nothing can, in all appearance, hinder the States General from finishing what they have begun. It is always hazardous here, that a parliament, the greatest part of whose members are gained by the court, may take some resolutions of extremity, and give money under the pretence of a war against France. I should enlarge more upon this, if Mr. de Rouvigny, who is fully instructed, was not to give your Majesty an account of things. I thought it was for your service not to defer any longer the conclusion of a treaty, which places your Majesty in an entire certainty of making a peace much more glorious in all its circumstances than any other that has been ever heard of. Your Majesty, who is more enlightened than any body, will also better know

the present advantages of it, and those which may be drawn from it for the future.

The King of England desires much that what he has done may remain secret for some time, in order that he may be able to make it appear to parliament, that the States put him under an absolute necessity of making peace, and that he may thereby endeavour to draw some money from them for disbanding the troops. I believe, besides, that his Britannick Majesty is willing that the Prince of Orange should gain some merit in Holland by facilitating the conclusion of the peace, which till now he opposed. I do not doubt but the resolution taken here of making a treaty with your Majesty was communicated to him before-hand. His Britannick Majesty told me that nothing should be said of it to the Dutch ministers here; but I have had too long and too frequent conferences with the lord treasurer for them not to suspect something near the truth.

His Britannick Majesty told me also, that he would send to Brussels to press Mr. de Villafermosa to conclude with your Majesty, and to accept the project of peace.

Although I did not believe that the King of England's design was to miss the opportunity of making a treaty with your Majesty, I have had, nevertheless, within these two days, just reason to fear that the high Treasurer's design was to draw the affair into length, and put off a conclusion. He said to me, that the little experience he had in affairs of the nature of those we treated upon, had obliged him to entreat the King his Master to join some one with him to assist him, and prevent his committing errors; and that his Britannick Majesty had named Mr. Temple, with whom he desired me to confer. I was much surprised, but thought I could not directly shew any repugnance. I went next morning to see Mr. Temple, whom I found in bed, feigning to be, or really sick. I judged it necessary to make an effort to prevent this obstacle, and pressed the King of England and the duke of York very warmly to conclude, or to break off the treaty. I then threw in every facility that I could, and declared, if they did not accept my offers, that I would not sign more till I had new orders. The duke of York took the affair up with warmth, and made the King of England give me his positive word that the affair should

be concluded next day. The duke of York appears greatly desirous to deserve the same share of your Majesty's good graces which he had heretofore: he conducted himself in the negociation as I could wish.

I am,

(Signed) BARILLON.

Charles and the Duke of York kept this treaty a secret from the Prince of Orange; but pleaded the embarrassments which the popular party created to the preparations for the war, as an excuse for their not going into it.

To this purpose there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Opposition in parliament prevents the sending over more troops.

London, May 3, 1678.

I DID not write to you last post, having nothing very pleasing to say to you, nor have I now, for things here go very oddly on, and as yet neither house has given any answer or advice upon what his Majesty ordered the Lord Chancellor to say to both houses; and instead of that, they are in the house of commons finding fault with the treaties, speaking against the ministers, and doing nothing as they should do; so that one does not know whether they would have peace or war; which proceeding of theirs has so discouraged the monied men, that the paymaster of the army has been very much put to it to find money, which is the cause the two regiments designed for Bruges are not yet embarked; but this day money is sent to them to pay off their quarters, and they will embarke on Monday without fail, and nothing but the same reason will hinder us from sending more over every day; for now all our men are raised, and the several regiments of horse, foot and dragoons, will be compleat at their several quarters by the end of next week at farthest; but without a certain prospect of more money, there will be no venturing them beyond sea to starve. I would say more to you, but I have not time to do it, so that I must end, and that with assuring you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The war must stop on account of the opposition in parliament.—Anxious about the future.

London, May 7, 1678.

I RECEIVED this day your's of the 3d from the Hague, and before now you will have had an answer to what M. Van Lewen brought hither, by the which you will have seen what our intentions were here; but now I believe you will be very much surprized and troubled at what has passed this day in the house of commons, when, instead of doing what they should do for the publick good, they have fallen upon all the ministers, and ordered an address to be prepared for his Majesty, to desire they may be removed from his person, to which they have by name added the Duke of Lauderdale; so that you see how affairs are like to go here, and that there will be no possibility of carrying on the war now, that the factious party in the house of commons does prevail; it is necessary for me to say this to you, that you may take your measures accordingly, and you must expect to hear of great disorders here, they are not to be avoided. I have not time to say more it being very late, only you may be assured I shall ever be as kind to you as you can expect. You shall be sure to hear from me every post.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The popular party intend to engage the King in a war, and leave him in it without helping him.

London, May 10, 1678.

IN my last I gave you an account of the ill condition of our affairs here, which grow worse every day, and this day the house of commons have compleated their address to his Majesty for the removing from him at once all his ministers, to which they have added by name the Duke of Lauderdale; which is such a way of proceeding as will discourage all the allies, and make us here not know almost what to do, and this is but the forerunner of worse things; so that I do not see how the war can be carried on, it being visible that the chief design of the ill people here, is to engage the King in a war, that they may the easier ruin him, so that I believe we shall be forced to a peace. I do not say that it is positively resolved on, and therefore thought it very necessary to let you know so

much, that you may take your measures accordingly. It is late, and the post ready to go, so that I can say no more for fear my letter should come too late. Rouvigny is come from the French army, I have but just seen him, and by the next I shall say more to you upon that subject; and now I must end, which I shall always do with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Fault of parliament makes peace necessary.—His anxiety about the future.

London, May 14, 1678.

I GAVE you an account in my two last of the state of affairs as they then were, which are not at all mended since; for the address I mentioned in one of mine was brought on Saturday last to his Majesty by the commons, which so offended his Majesty, that the answer he gave then to it was, that it was so extravagant an address, that he was not willing speedily to give them the answer it deserved, and when you see a copy of it, you will find it did not deserve a better answer; and yesterday, to show his farther displeasure to the commons, he prorogued both houses till the 23d of this month, in hopes by that time to bring them into a better temper, and had they continued sitting longer now, they would yet have been more troublesome. You see the temper we are in, and I have but a very ill prospect of affairs, and expect great disorders here, or at least great difficulties, so that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet at home; it is necessary for me to say this to you, that you may not take wrong measures. The King will write to you himself, so that it is not necessary for me to say more upon that subject, nor of any thing else, but to assure you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to peace.—Past and present state of things in England.—His anxiety for the future.

London, May 21, 1678.

I RECEIVED this afternoon your's of the 27th from Honflardike, by the which I see you are resolved to stay thereabouts till you hear whether the French will accept of the suspension of arms. I think you do very well in it, for besides there is but little good to be done or hoped

for in Flanders; I look upon your presence at the Hague to be very necessary, especially when the answer comes from the French by the Deputies you have sent to them; for by what I hear from all hands, and even by what you said to Mr. Hyde, that the generality of the people, as well as some of the chief men amongst the States, are very much for a peace, or else those steps would not have been made that have been by them; and that being so, I would not have any thing of that kind be done in your absence; and since you see there is no possibility of carrying on the war as things now stand, in my opinion you ought not to appear against peace, but ought to go along with the inclinations of the people, and not lose your interest with them by opposing the peace, which will be whether you will or no; for as to Spain, you know as well as I the miserable condition they are in; and as to us here, you see how little is to be expected from hence by what past the other day in the last session; so that his Majesty was forced to prorogue them, and now they are to meet again on Thursday, and I fear they will be very disorderly, and that it will be all we can do to keep things quiet here at home; for now the ill men in the house strike directly at the King's authority; and should we have been engaged in a war now, they would have so imposed upon the King, as to leave him nothing but the empty name of a King, and no more power than a Duke of Venice; and how long they would have let him have that name, the Lord knows: I am sure it would not have been long. I say this to you, to let you see how necessary peace is, and how impossible it is for you to carry on the war. You see his Majesty was very willing to have entered into the war, and did his part towards it, and has now actually ready all his land forces, and by the end of this month or the beginning of the next, will have ninety ships at sea: but you see the parliament, I should say the house of commons, in five months time have done nothing towards it, but given the poll bill, which may be worth three hundred thousand pounds once paid, and taken away so much a year; and instead of giving any farther supply, have done nothing but fallen upon the ministers, and declared they would give no more money till they had satisfaction in matters of religion: what effects such proceedings have had where you are you know best, and how they will end nobody knows. I could not help saying all this to you, to inform you how things are here, that you may take your measures accordingly, and not run on in measures that may

be very prejudicial to our family; and as things now are, the continuance of the war would, in my opinion, both ruin you in Holland, and us here. You see I speak my mind very freely to you, I am obliged to do it out of the kindness and concern I have for you. I know such a peace as is offered is a very hard one both for you and us to submit to; however, I see no remedy: And do not exasperate France, that may be of use to you. Pray let nobody see this letter, it is only wrote for you, and not fit for any body else to read or to know. I say so much to you; 'tis only my kindness has made me write it, and you may be sure I shall always continue it to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, May 24, 1678.

I HAVE just now received yours of the 31, from the Hague, and it is now so very late that I have time to say little to you. I see you wish more troops might be sent over into Flanders if they were ready, which they are, and have been all complete for some time; but the want of money has been such, that we could send over no more than those who are already there, which are 56 companies; and it has been with much difficulty that we got money enough to send down one regiment of foot, four troops of horse, and three of dragoons, into the north, being apprehensive of some disorders in Scotland; and to shew you how little regard is had to what is doing beyond sea, the house of commons have done nothing these two days, and believe to-morrow they will fall upon finding fault with the chancellor's speech; so little are their minds turned to what they should be, and I believe will fly higher than ever; so that you see it has not been his Majesty's fault things have not gone as they should. It is so late that I must end, and that I shall do with assuring you that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Commons want the new-raised troops disbanded.—The Duke wants them kept on foot.

London, May 31, 1678.

THE letters are not yett come from Holland, so that we do not know how, what Mons. Van Bevering has brought to you, will be received, though no doubt is made of the acceptance of the cessation of

arms by every body here, and the house of commons are very earnest for the immediate disbanding of all the new-raised troops, as you will see by the vote they have made for that purpose; and this day they have busied themselves to make the calculation of what money will be necessary for the paying them off; which I thinke is very contrary to what ought to be done, and all the reasonable men I speake with are of the same opinion. To morrow they are to consider of lord Chancellor's speech; some say they will run into heats upon it, and fall upon him and some other of the ministers; I cannot say they will, to-morrow will shew us. You see by all that is done here in how unfit a temper we were to have entered into a war, for all the new raised troops are better than could have been expected, and I never saw so many good looked new men in my life, and I could not have believed the horse could have been so good as they are; 'tis pity they should be disbanded; which is all I shall now say to you, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

The backwardness of England made the Dutch take measures for a separate peace with France.

Upon this the duke of York wrote the following ambiguous letter to the Prince of Orange, still concealing from him the secret engagement of England with France. The letter is in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—About the separate peace between Holland and France.—An ambiguous letter.

London, June 7, 1678.

I Received yours of the 7 but this last post, it should have come the post before; and not only yours, but all the letters from the Hague had the same fortune, by what accident I know not, for the letters from all the other towns in Holland came as they ought, and had we not received letters by expresse from the embassador there, we should have been in paine; and you cannot imagine how many foolish and malicious reports went about town by reason of missing the letters of that post from the Hague. I see by your letter you are very apprehensive of the ill consequence this peace may have where you are, as well as to us here. I know it is to be apprehended, as well as it could not be avoided, and it is well

done to foresee dangers afar off, to provide the best one can against them; but as one does see them, so one must endeavour to provide the best one can against them, and to prepare one's self for the worst that may happen, not to be surpris'd if it should come to passe, but then one must not despaire and give over the game: and I am of opinion, if you take pains where you are to preserve your interest, and keep up your friends hearts, by being amongst them in the Hague, and not so much in the country, I am confident the faction which is against you will be able to do you little harme. You see I say my mind very freely to you, and am obliged to do it by the concerne I have for you. I have not time to say more to you now, but Sir W. Temple will be soon over with you, whom I shall instruct well with what is too long for a letter; in the meane time you may be assured that I shall continue as kind to you as you can desire.

After Louis the XIVth had bought off Charles, and entered into a separate treaty with the Dutch, he thought he might behave as he pleased with regard to Spain, and therefore, instead of delivering up the Spanish towns in Flanders as he had agreed to do, he insisted to keep possession of them until satisfaction should be made to his allies the Swedes. This breach of faith raised the indignation of almost all Europe against him, and clamours came from every quarter for Charles to join in a war with the allies for the preservation of the Netherlands.

Charles upon this once more seemed intent to join in a war against France, sent Sir William Temple to make a treaty with Holland, who, with the same rapidity with which he had finished the triple alliance, and perhaps as little to the liking of his master, concluded in six days a treaty with the Dutch to make war upon France, if in two months she did not, without any regard to the interests of Sweden, evacuate the Spanish towns. But it is probable that Charles meant to make use of this apparent inclination for war, only to keep up his forces, to get money from parliament, and to squeeze more money from France. The journals of parliament during this summer and autumn shew his struggles to disband his army and to get more supplies, under the pretence of his intending to join in a war against France. It appears from Barillon's dispatches, that Barillon several times gave warning to his court that more money would be asked

In the *Depot.* from it. On the 23d July, 1678, he writes, that Charles had sent Lord Sunderland to France to make a compromise about Sweden. On the

In the *Depot.* 28th July, 1678, he writes thus:—"Je suis persuadé que toutes les demonstrations de guerre que se font icy se termineront par un Traité, si votre Majesté veut donner des subides pour faire agir l'Angleterre en faveur de la Suede."—"I am persuaded that all the demonstrations of war which are made here will terminate in a Treaty, if your Majesty will give subsidies to make England act in favour of Sweden." On the

In the *Depot.* 1st of August Barillon writes, that Charles is endeavouring to form a treaty with France to get satisfaction for Sweden.

About the same time, Lord St. Alban's at Paris, by his master's command, presented a project to Louis for a treaty between France and England in favour of Sweden, in consideration of which Charles was to get money for supporting a fleet and army. The project of the treaty follows.

Propositions faites par le Milord Saint Alban.

In the *Depot.* **Q**UE sa Majesté très Chrétienne donnera trois années de subides, dont la premiere sera de six millions, et les deux autres de quatre millions chacune; moyennant quoi sa Majesté Britannique fournira quinze vaisseaux et dix mille hommes de pied, pour joindre aux vaisseaux et aux troupes de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, qui agiront en faveur des Suédois: que ces quinze vaisseaux seront armés et équipés aux frais de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, et ne sera tenue sa Majesté Britannique de fournir que le corps des vaisseaux, et le nombre des canons suffisant pour chacun à proportion de sa grandeur. Les dix mille hommes d'infanterie seront payés par sa Majesté très Chrétienne comme les troupes Angloises qui étoient cy devant à sa solde; que le paix se fera conformément au projet; que la difficulté sur le pays de Cleves se terminera à la satisfaction des Etats Généraux: en cas que les dits Etats Généraux, ou les Espagnols ne fassent pas la paix sur le projet entre cy et trois mois, sa Majesté Britannique demeurera dans une entiere neutralité, et rappellera ses troupes qui sont aux Pays-bas.

On ajoute à ces propositions, qu'il se fasse une ligue entre l'Angleterre, les Etats Généraux et la Suede pour la garantie du traité de paix, et pour

maintenir les Pays-bas en l'état qu'ils sont ; dans laquelle ligue on croit que la France entrera, parceque sa Majesté très Chrétienne a témoigné qu'elle vouloit guerir à l'avenir tous les soupçons que l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux pourroient avoir que son dessein ne fût d'achever la conquête des Pays-bas à la premiere occasion.

Translation.

Proposals made by my Lord St. Alban.—England to get a subsidy for three years.—Is to maintain a fleet and army at the expence of France in favour of Sweden.—And to be neutral in Flanders.

THAT his most Christian Majesty shall give a subsidy for three years, the first of which shall be six millions, and the other two four millions each ; in consideration whereof his Britannick Majesty shall furnish fifteen ships and ten thousand foot to join the ships and troops of his most Christian Majesty which are to act in favour of the Swedes : that these fifteen ships shall be armed and equipped at his most Christian Majesty's expence, and his Britannick Majesty shall only furnish the bodies of the ships, and the number of cannon necessary for each, in proportion to the largeness of rate. The ten thousand infantry shall be paid by his most Christian Majesty as the English troops were which heretofore were in his pay ; that the peace shall be made conformable to the project ; that the difficulty about the country of Cleves shall be terminated to the satisfaction of the States General : in case the said States General, or the Spaniards do not make peace upon the project within three months, his Britannick Majesty will remain in an entire neutrality, and recall his troops that are in the Low Countries.

To these proposals is added, that a league should be made between England, the States General and Sweden for the guarantee of the treaty of peace, and maintaining the Low Countries in the state they are in, into which league it is thought France will enter, because his most Christian Majesty hath shewn he is willing to prevent for the future, all suspicions which England and the States General might have that his design was upon the first opportunity to finish the conquest of the Low Countries."

On the 8th August, 1678, Barillon writes thus :—" Il (Danby) m'a In the *Dépot*, représenté que la guerre que l'Angleterre feroit pour les Suedes, étoit en-

tierement opposé aux sentimens de toute la nation, et qu' ainsi son maitre ne la pouvoit entreprendre sans de grandes secours de votre Majesté."—
 " He (Danby) represented to me that the war which England was to make in favour of the Swedes was entirely against the sentiments of the whole nation, and therefore his master could not undertake it without great succour from your Majesty."

It is highly probable that France made use of these proposals of Charles for a treaty in favour of Sweden, to disappoint the treaty which Sir William Temple had lately made with the Dutch for forcing France to deliver up the towns in Flanders without attending to the interests of Sweden. From Sir William Temple's account of affairs at this time, it appears that Du Cros, the Duke of Holstein's envoy, disappointed this treaty by bringing news from the court of England into Holland of the connexions of France and England in favour of Sweden. I did not see evidence in Barillon's letters that Barillon made use of Du Cros for this purpose. But the following circumstances make it probable: Several of Barillon's dispatches shew that Du Cros was in the year 1678 in the pay of France, and in the most intimate intelligence with Barillon. From Lord Danby's letters which are printed, it appears that Charles was enraged at Du Cros for the intelligence he had carried. Sir William Temple relates that Charles said to him, " The rogue Du Cros has outwitted us all;" words, the consequence of which Temple did not perceive, because he was ignorant of the secret traffick of Charles with France concerning Sweden, to which they alluded. The Dutch, informed of the secret connexions between Charles and Louis, instantly quitted the dangerous friendship of the first of these Princes, and in a hurry signed the peace of Nimeguen. And perhaps what shews as strong as any thing the consciousness of France of the low pass to which she had reduced Charles by betraying his double conduct to his allies, is, that when Charles asked payment of the first part of his pension provided for him by the above treaty of 27th May, 1678, In the *Depot*. France refused to pay him a penny. Barillon writes to his court on the 18th of August, 1678, that Lord Danby had asked payment of the pension stipulated; that he, Barillon, told him, that Charles had not kept his part of the terms of the treaty, and therefore was to have none of

the pension. This letter, with two others of the 25th and 29th August, 1678, describes the anger of Charles and Lord Danby at losing the money by their own imprudence. In the letter of the 18th August, Barillon uses these words:—"On connoit presentement avec beaucoup de déplaisir qu'on a laissé passer une conjoncture dont il étoit fort aisé de profiter."—"They know now with much vexation, that they have lost a conjuncture of which it was easy for them to have profited."

The letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange immediately after France had refused to evacuate the towns till satisfaction was made to Sweden, and during the time of the secret negociation with France to serve Sweden, are in King William's box. Perhaps they may create some doubt of that sincerity in the Duke's character which he used so much to boast of, because they convey the idea to the Prince of Orange, that the Duke was equally zealous for the war against France at both these periods. The letters follow.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize at hearing the French have refused to evacuate the towns.—Disbanding the army stopped.

London, June 21, 1678.

I HAD not time to write to you last post as I intended, having been kept so long at business that night, that when we had done it was too late to write; since when we have been very much alarmed by a letter from Sir L. Jenkins, in which he says the French make a difficulty of restoring the towns in Flanders to the Spaniards, till the Swedes have entire satisfaction; and now we are in very great expectation of the letters, which should have come this day, to know if the French persist still in that, their so unreasonable demand: in the mean time we have done our parts, as if it were so, for we have stopped twenty entire companies of foot of the new-raised men, and five hundred commanded men, that were ordered to go for Ireland, till we know the certainty of it. A courier also was sent yesterday to the ambassador at Paris to know the truth on't, and to expostulate the matter if so: and this day in the house of lords we have lengthened the time for the disbanding of the new-raised troops, and I hope the house of commons will agree to that alteration, and before that

time we shall in all likelihood know what to trust to. It is late, and I have not time to say more, only to assure you of the continuance of my kindness to you, &c.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Appears keen for war because towns not evacuated.

London, June 24, 1678.

THIS goes to you by Lord Ossory, whom the letters we had both from Nimeguen and the Hague, about the so unreasonable difficulties the French make, has hastened over to you, not knowing how soon you may fall into action again; and truly I expect it, for as the temper the King of France is, I do not think he would have let his ambassador at Nimeguen make those difficulties without his being resolved to stand by it, so that I look upon the war as certain if in Holland you do your parts, which I cannot doubt on, for his Majesty will stick firm to you for the restoring of those towns to the Spaniard, as you will find by Sir Wm. Temple, whom his Majesty is dispatching away to you full instructed upon all that great affair; and I am glad we have had this time to exercise our new troops, for they are now much better than they were, and all know the use of their arms very well. Pray have a care of Dendermond as well as Antwerp; what else I have to say I refer to this bearer, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 25, 1678.

WHEN I wrote this enclosed to you, I thought Lord Ossory would have gone, but now Godolphin's coming with some other reasons have hindered his going now; however, I send you this letter because I have but little time left me, it being very late. I am glad to hear your resolutions have been so vigorous; we shall stand by you for the restoring of the towns in Flanders and Maestricht, and are getting ready five battalions of foot to send to Bruges and Newport, which I hope will have a good effect always: they will be of eight companies each. I have not time to say more now.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Sir William Temple sent to make a treaty with the Dutch.

London, June 27, 1678.

IT is not necessary for me to say much to you by this bearer, Sir Wm. Temple, he going so fully instructed to you from his Majesty upon the affairs that are now in agitation, and I am confident you will be satisfied with what he has to say to you from his Majesty; and you will find how firmly you will be stuck to in case France does not acquiesce with what they had offered you; and let them now do what they please, I am confident it will have done them no good, and you will find your advantage by it; and I need not put you in mind of laying hold of this advantage they have given you, for I am sure you have done it already, and I hope you will not be so much out of the Hague as you have been for some time past; for I know by experience that nothing can do one so much good as being upon the place where all the business is done, when by being away one loses opportunities that may advance one's affairs, and cannot gain friends as may be as necessary for you as well as others. I have spoken my mind very freely to this bearer upon this affair, and refer it to him to enlarge upon it; for I am so concerned for you that I must say any thing to you that I think to be for your good, for you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, June 27, 1678.

I COULD not refuse this bearer, M. Van Leewen, to write to you by him, though I have already done it by Sir Wm. Temple; his Majesty having thought fit he should go back into Holland, the better to persuade the States of his readiness to stick by them in case France continue in their unreasonable demands; and I hope his going at this time will have a very good effect; since I find he is now of the mind he should be. It is not necessary for me to say more by him, and shall end with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Troops sent over.—The parliament is giving money.

London, July 5, 1678.

THE Holland letters are not yet come; I long very much for them, being in pain to know how my daughter does, having heard by the last letters that she had not been well. You will before this have had Sir William Temple and M. Van Leewen with you, and I hope they will have satisfied both you and the States with his Majesty's good intentions to stick by you, if you will take vigorous resolutions, which I hope you will, notwithstanding the loss M. de Loraine has had of some of the troops endeavouring to relieve Reinfeld, of which before this you know the particulars; but we are not yet informed of them, and if it has no ill effect where you are, I am sure it will have none here; and in my mind it ought to make you adhere firmly to your resolutions, for else at Vienna it might have an ill effect. This day a battalion of eight companies embarked at Blackwall for Newport, and this day also another sets sail from Portsmouth for the same place, and three battalions more will be embarked by Tuesday next for Newport and Bruges; so that when they are landed, we shall have ninety-six companies of foot in Flanders, which will make upwards of 9000 men, and when it is necessary, more shall be ready to follow. The parliament draws now to an end, and will I hope conclude well, for many of the angry men are gone out of town, and I am told the money bill will come up to the Lords on Monday or Tuesday next, and when that is once past, we shall soon rise. I have not time to say more, only to assure you that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Waits for steps to be taken by the Dutch.

London, July 8, 1678.

I RECEIVED last night your's of the 12th from the Hague, and can now say but little to you in answer to it, only that if you do your parts we shall do ours, so that it absolutely depends upon what is done where you are; for it is not to be expected that we should make any farther step till we are sure of you, which I hope is done by this upon Sir William Temple's arrival with you. I write this by Lord Ossory,

who is just a-going away; he can inform you of all things here, so that I shall say no more, only to assure you of the continuance of my kindness.

Pray have a care of Antwerp and Dendermond."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 12, 1678.

"WE have been so busy all this day, that till now I have not had one moment's time to write, and now it is so late that I shall not be able to say all I have a mind to say to you. We expect, with great impatience, the next letters, which should be here this night, but the wind having been contrary we cannot hope for them before to-morrow, for all things depend upon the resolution where you are, for here we are all ready, and the money bill is past, which is all we could expect till we be actually entered into the war. We shall, I believe, end this sessions on Monday next, but though I believe we shall not meet till towards winter, yet the houses will, I think, only be adjourned for a fortnight or three weeks, so that if there should be need for them sooner than towards winter we might have them: this is only my opinion, but will not be positively resolved on till Sunday. Mr. Montague is in disgrace, and his Majesty ordered this day his name to be put off the council book, and is sending immediately away lord Sunderland, ambassador to Paris, in his room. I have not time to say more, it being so late, and therefore must end, which I shall always do with assuring you of the continuance of my kindness."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Desires plan of war to be adjusted.

London, July 17, 1678.

"WE have been so encouraged by the last letters from Holland, and see such likelihood of the war, that his Majesty has desired this bearer, the marquis de Bourgemain, to go over to you to agree with you and the duke de Villahermoza, of the plan of the war for the remainder of this campaign, in case we enter into it, of which I do not doubt, since I make none of your agreeing to Sir William Temple's proposals; Lord Feversham goes too, so that I need say no more, but to assure you that you shall always find me the same to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, July 18, 1678.

“**H**IS Majesty having thought fit to send Lord Feversham along with the marquis de Bougermaine to you, to adjust all things with you concerning the war in case it continues, as now I believe it will; I would not let him go without writing to you by him, though he be fully instructed of all things here; what I have to say I refer to him, and have also charged him to assure you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Promises vigor in the war.

London, July 19, 1678.

“**I** RECEIVED this afternoon two of yours, of the 19 and 26; by the last of which I was very glad to find the treaty was signed, but there are some things are wanting in it, and others which will require being explained, as you will know more at large from Sir W. Temple, to which I am sure you will give your helping hand that they may be agreed to; in the mean time we are sending over, as fast as we can, two thousand horse and dragoons, but you cannot expect them at soonest till after the term prefixed be expired, we having not those conveniences here that you have where you are for embarking of horses, and till the war be declared we cannot let you have any of our foot to join your army, which cannot be till those points you will hear off be agreed to; in the mean time no time shall be lost in preparing every thing to carry on the war with vigor, which is all I have time to say to you now, only to assure you that I shall ever be very kind to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—Is to go over with the troops himself, if needful.

London, July 26, 1678.

“**I** RECEIVED two days since your's from Vilvorde, by the which I see you were come to your army, and were resolved to see what could be done for the redeeming of Mons. I hope upon the intelligence you have had of their being able to hold out some time, that you will not yet hazard any thing, and the M. de Bourgemaine and the Earl of Feversham

who have been with you before this, will have persuaded you to it, in case the place be no more prest than we hear it is; and that which makes me more desirous you should not yet hazard any thing, is, that upon his Majesty having read your letter, he has commanded me to tell you, that he will get in readiness what troops can be spared from hence, besides those that are already in Flanders, to join with you in case the French do not conclude the peace in the time prefixed, being resolved if they will not evacuate the towns to prosecute the war vigorously; and that no time may be lost, in case it must be war, the Duke of Monmouth is to go from hence on Sunday for Bruges to have the troops that are already there in readiness to march if the war goes on; and I shall take care for the embarking of those that are yet here as soon as possible, and be ready to go over with them myself if occasion be. It was thought necessary to let you know this, even before we heard from Lord Feversham, that you might take your measures accordingly. We have now ready in Flanders fourteen battalions of foot, as many of which shall be ready to march at a day's warning if the peace be not made, as you and the Spaniards shall think fit; besides which, we have two battalions of foot more, and 3000 horse and dragoons to be embarked from hence by the end of next week: the horse and dragoons you may reckon to be effective, and each battalion of foot to be about seven hundred. When my nephew comes to Bruges you will hear from him, which is all I shall say now to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent over.

London, July 29, 1678.

"I RECEIVED your's from the camp at Grimberg of the 2d of August, before Lord Feversham came hither; and last night my nephew the Duke of Monmouth went for Ostend, and the wind is so fair I hope he may be there by this time, with orders to draw out eight battalions of foot of those we have in Flanders, which are fourteen, and make what haste he can with them to you; we also send two battalions more from hence strait for Antwerp, which I hope will be embarked on Wednesday: you see we do all we can, and lose no time. I wish they may come time enough to you, but fear they cannot. This morning Lord Feversham and the Marquis de Bourgemaine came hither, and upon what they have said from you, have put a stop to the embarking of our 3000 horse and dragoons till

we hear farther from you, but shall still keep them in readiness. You are like to have so much business upon your hands that I shall say no more, but that you shall always find me kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops to go over.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, August 2, 1678.

"**H**IS Majesty has commanded me to write to you about one Freeman, by whom some time since he had written to you; he says he thought then he would have served him as he ought, but now he finds him to be a great villain, and one that plays foul play both with you and him; but however, you are not to take notice of it, only to have a care of him, and to have an eye upon him. I received your's from Cappel of the 4th of August, and by this time you will know that the ratification of the treaty went away last post; so that you shall find that nothing shall be wanting on our side, but by the last letters from Holland we have heard what the Swedes have done, and that most people there look upon the peace as certain; however we here shall not look upon it as done till all be concluded, and our two battalions that were to go from hence will embark on Sunday and Monday for Antwerp. The Flanders' post is not yet come, and I have been abroad a-hunting this day, so that I have not time to say more, only to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Disappointed in this manner both of the money for the treaty of neutrality, and of the money for the assistance of Sweden, Charles broke off his connexions with France, sent a greater army to Flanders, and endeavoured by the strongest promises of assistance, but in vain, to animate the Dutch to disregard the treaty they had just signed, and to prevent other powers from acceding to it. During four short months after the Dutch had signed the peace of Nimeguen, Charles was for once in his life sincerely an enemy to France.

During this period there are the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange in King William's box.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize and anger at the Dutch signing the peace at Nimeguen.—Affects ignorance about Sweden.

London, Sunday night, Aug. 4, 1678.

“WE were very much surprized this day to hear by an exprefs from Nimeguen, that the peace was figned only by the Dutch and French without the Spaniards, and that the mediators had refufed to fign, though offered by them, to have their hand in fuch a feparate peace. I believe it was what you did not expect no more than we, and the manner of it was extraordinary, and what M. Bevering faid upon his figning it; and by what we hear, the Swedes feem not to be pleafed at it. For my part, it has fo ftunned me I do not know what to fay upon it, nor guefs what will follow upon it. I long very much to hear from you after your having heard of it. In the mean time, we do not put a ftop to the embarking of the troops defigned from hence, not knowing what may happen, for the two battalions that were defigned to go from hence will be on fhip-board by Tuesday next, and the horfe and dragoons which were ordered to be ready, will be all this week at the waterfide, and ready to go on fhip-board at twenty-four hours warning. His Majefty has alfo ordered his troops that are by this time with you to continue with you, or to go back into Flanders from whence they came, as you fhall find moft expedient, which is all I have to fay to you till I hear from you upon this affair, which fo turns my head as I do hardly know what to fay, except it be to affure you that I fhall always be as kind to you as you can defire.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on the battle fought after the peace.—Promifes affiftance.

London, Aug. 12, 1678.

“I READ with a great deal of fatisfaction your’s of the 16th, in which you give an account of what you had done near Mons, for I received it but on Saturday night; and before that by the way of France, we had heard of your having been engaged, fo that until I received your’s, I was in great pain for you, and that day’s action; but now I am at eafe for both, and very much pleafed for what you have done, for by what I hear from all fides, it was a very bold and vigorous action, and as bravely carried on. I am very glad you are fo well fatisfied with Lord Offory and

his Majesty's subjects, and that they behaved themselves so well. I hope those that before this are come to you will not discredit the nation. I am glad my nephew the Duke of Monmouth had the good fortune to be with you; he has done justice to your troops, and given the highest commendation to your foot guards and dragoons that can be, and which they deserve. We are very impatient for the to-morrow's letters, and hope to hear you have gained your point and relieved Mons. His Majesty has dispatched away Mr. Hyde to the Hague; and I believe you will not be displeased with the instruction he carries, the substance of which you will have in cypher from the Lord Treasurer; so that I shall not repeat it to you, by which you will see we do our parts, and that you shall always have reason to believe me as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, Aug. 13, 1678.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 20th from your camp near Revs, by the which I was very glad to find you had obtained your end without a second engagement, which has been much for your honour, and I hope will set all things to rights where you are going. Before you receive this, you will have seen Mr. Hyde, and found that what you desired was done by advance; and I am sure you will have been pleased with the orders he carried, and you may be sure that nothing shall be wanting on our side, which that you may see, we shall send over with all possible speed three thousand horse and dragoons, and three battalions of foot into Flanders; it will be eight days before the first can embark, but the foot shall go sooner. We tell them here they shall go for Brabant to join your army, because we would not have the French know they are to go to Flanders before they be landed there, which when they shall know, will oblige them to fill their garrisons on that side, and by that means weaken their main army. We go to-morrow morning early to Windsor, but that shall not hinder any of our preparations, for you shall find we shall be very vigorous in standing by you, and you shall have reason to believe me kinder to you than ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Despairs of the French making peace.

Windſor, Auguſt 19, 1678.

“**T**HIS bearer tells me he will be with you as ſoon as the poſt, ſo that I will answer by him yours of the 23 from the Hague; and according to what you wrote about a general ſuſpenſion of arms, his Maſteſty has ſent orders to his plenipotentiary at Nimeguen to propoſe it; but I doubt the French know too well the advantage they have to agree to it, unleſs they have more mind to a peace than I believe they have. We are in very great impatience to hear what reſolutions you will have taken upon Mr. Hyde’s arrival; I am ſure you will be ſatisfied with the orders he carried, by which you will have ſeen we ſhall do our parts here, and you may be always aſſured of the continuance of my kindneſs to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops ſent over.—Is to go over himſelf.

Windſor, Aug. 20, 1678.

“**I** WROTE yeſterday to you, but this will be ſooner with you, and therefore ſhall give you an account of the troops deſigned for Flanders, which will begin to embarke on Monday next, and wind and weather permitting, may be all landed at Oſtend by the end of that week: They are compoſed of 27 troops of horſe, 60 in each troop; 12 troops of dragoons, of 80 a-piece; and two battalions of foot, of 9 companies in each. The earl of Feverſham goes over to command them, and he goes over before, himſelf, this week to prepare their quarters, and by that time the ceſſation will be ended. I hope the horſe will be reſreſhed and ready for any ſervice if there be need of them; and if the war goes on, you will conſider whether it will be beſt for the ſervice for them to ſtay there in Flanders or to join your army, or to have thoſe foot of ours, which are already with your army, come back into Flanders, to ſee to make a diverſion on that ſide now that Mons is relieved. I thought it neceſſary to mention this to you, that you may have in your thoughts how to diſpoſe of them for the beſt of the ſervice, for they ſhall be diſpoſed on as you think beſt, and pray let me know when it may be proper for me to go over myſelf, and then I ſhall bring ſome more troops with me. Lord Feverſham will write to you ſo ſoon as he is on the other ſide of the water. I

long very much to hear what resolutions are taken at the Hague; I hope they will be to both of our satisfactions; which is all I have to say, but to assure you of the continuance of my kindnesse to you."

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—More troops sent.—He is himself to go.

Windſor, Aug. 23, 1678.

"SINCE I wrote laſt to you his Maſteſty has altered his mind as to the place where he will ſend thoſe troops I mentioned to you, and inſtead of ſending them into Flanders, has ordered them up the Scheld to land near Antwerp, and ſo to march towards the army to join it after they have reſreſhed themſelves a little. This was reſolved upon the Duke of Monmouth's repreſenting to his Maſteſty, that you had rather have the foot that is now to go, to join your army than to go for Bruges; and beſides that, that the whole country of Flanders was now ſo ſickly, that certainly theſe troops which are now going over would ſoon have been rendered in as ill a condition to ſerve as thoſe that are there already; whereas, going into Brabant, and to join the army, we hope they may not be ſo ſickly. But before this reſolution was taken, the two Spaniſh miniſters were adviſed with about it, and have written to the Duke de Villahermoza to advertiſe him of it. The troops will begin to embark on Monday or Tueſday at fartheſt, and Lord Feverſham goes a day or two before to prepare things for them. We had a very large account laſt poſt from Mr. Hyde, of what had then paſt upon his coming, and are very impatient for the next letters to know what reſolutions will be taken, which I wiſh may be vigorous ones, and then I may hope to be ſoon with you on the other ſide of the water; which is all I have to ſay, but that you may always depend upon my kindneſſe."

But while Charles was ſpending his anger every where in vain againſt France, ſhe was ſecretly preparing a mine to blow up his miniſter and expoſe himſelf, by getting one of his own ſervants to lay before parliament one of thoſe ſecret money tranſactions, into which ſhe had herſelf drawn him. The beginning of the intrigue of Mr. Mountagu's attack upon Lord Danby in parliament, is to be found in the following diſpatch of Barillon to Louis the XIVth.

Lettre de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, du 24 Octobre, 1678.

Sire,

“ **M**R. de Montaigu et moi avons eû beaucoup d'occasions de parler In the Depot. de l'état présent des affaires. Je n'ai pas crû lui devoir entièrement cacher les raisons que votre Majesté a d'être mal satisfaite de la conduite que la cour d'Angleterre a tenue à son égard depuis quelque tems, qui lui étoient déjà assez connues : Cela l'a engagé à me parler ouvertement et à me dire, qu'il étoit en son pouvoir de perdre le grand Trésorier, et qu'il l'attaqueroit dans le parlement, et l'accuseroit de trahison, s'il étoit assuré de la protection et de la bienveillance de votre Majesté dans les suites que cette accusation peut avoir. Il prétend prouver par les lettres de ce ministre, qu'il lui avoit ordonné de la part de sa Majesté Britannique de demander à votre Majesté une somme de 18 millions, et de lui déclarer que c'étoit le seul moyen de l'empêcher de se joindre à vos ennemis, et que sans cela il seroit obligé d'entrer dans la ligue contre la France, et de lui déclarer la guerre. Il prétend que le refus d'obéir à un ordre si extraordinaire et si déraisonnable, et qui étoit donné à l'insçu des secretaires d'Etat, lui a attiré l'inimitié de ce ministre ; et qu'il lui sera facile de faire voir au parlement à quel dessein on vouloit avoir 18 millions, et on connoitra aussi en même tems que votre Majesté n'a pas voulu entrer dans les projets qui se faisoient pour l'oppression de l'Angleterre et pour le changement du gouvernement. Mr. de Montaigu croit que cette accusation ruinera infailliblement le grand Trésorier. Je n'ai pas crû devoir refuser d'écouter une proposition dont les suites peuvent être conformes aux intentions de votre Majesté. Il n'y a point de plus grand embarras pour le Roi d'Angleterre que de voir attaquer un homme qui a toute la confiance : Si cette accusation peut avoir quelque succès, il faudra que sa Majesté Britannique tombe dans de grands inconveniens en soutenant ou en abandonnant son premier ministre. On ne sauroit jamais s'assurer de rien en ce pays ci : mais cette accusation ne peut être entièrement inutile parcequ'elle n'est pas destituée de fondement, et que selon les apparences Mr. de Montaigu ne la tenteroit pas qu'il ne vit quelque jour pour y réussir. Nous avons parlé à fond des moyens dont il prétend se servir pour venir à bout de son dessein. Je ne puis répondre que ses mesures soient sûres,

B b

mais il espere être secondé par beaucoup de gens considérables qui se joindront à lui : il ne croit pas cependant pouvoir soutenir le poids d'une telle entreprise, si votre Majesté ne veut aussi y contribuer de sa part. Il demande que ce que votre Majesté feroit pour traverser les desseins de la cour d'Angleterre, et pour empêcher que l'armée ne subsiste, soit employé en même tems à favoriser ce qu'il entreprend. Sa prétention est que votre Majesté voulût bien faire ici un fonds de cent mille francs, qui seroit employé à gagner des voix, et à s'assurer de sept ou huit des principaux de la chambre basse qui appuyeroient l'accusation lorsqu'elle seroit commencée. Cette dépense et l'emploi de cette somme ne se feroit que par ma participation et par mon contentement. Il ne se donneroit rien dont je n'en eusse connu l'utilité auparavant. Que si dans la suite ce projet n'ait aucun succès, et que le grand Trésorier se puisse maintenir et surmonter cette attaque, Mr. de Montaigu se remet à la générosité de votre Majesté de le traiter en la maniere qu'elle le jugera à propos, et de lui accorder des marques de sa bienveillance et de sa protection ainsi qu'il lui plaira, et votre Majesté ne sera obligée à rien ; mais si l'accusation réussit et que le grand Trésorier soit perdu, entre cy et six mois, Mr. de Montaigu espere que votre Majesté voudra bien le récompenser du service qu'il lui aura rendu et le dédommager de la perte qu' infailliblement il souffrira dans ses biens et dans ses charges. Le Roi d'Angleterre fera vraisemblablement tous ses efforts pour se venger d'un homme qui l'aura attaqué en la personne de son premier ministre. Mr. de Montaigu m'a demandé en ce cas là que votre Majesté lui fassé payer la somme de cent mille écus, ou que votre Majesté veuille bien lui assûrer un fond de 40 mille livres en rente sur l'Hôtel de Ville des dernières qui ont été créés. Il les mettra sous le nom de ceux que votre Majesté aura agréables, et ce fond lui demeurera en propre pour en pouvoir disposer, néanmoins sous le bon plaisir de votre Majesté ; c'est à dire qu'il ne le pourra vendre ni aliéner sans sa permission. Si votre Majesté n'agrée aucune de ses propositions, il se contentera qu'elle lui promette une pension de 50 mille francs sa vie durant. Ainsi il est au choix de votre Majesté de lui donner, ou la somme de cent mille écus une fois payée, ou un fond de quarante mille livres en rentes sur l'Hôtel de Ville, ou une pension de 50 mille francs sa vie durant ; et cela en cas seulement que l'accusation réussisse, et que le Trésorier soit chassé de la cour dans six mois ; car si cela arrive, Mr. de Montaigu ne croit pas être exposé à la

haine du Roi d'Angleterre, comme il fera si ce qu'il aura tenté réussit. On prend le tems de six mois, parceque l'on présume que sa Majesté Britannique fera ses efforts pour conserver son ministre, et que d'abord elle voudra le soutenir. Je ne prendrai pas le parti de donner conseil à votre Majesté ; et je dois me contenter d'exécuter avec soin les ordres qu'elle me donnera. Cependant comme votre Majesté m'a commandé de faire mon possible pour susciter des affaires au Roi d'Angleterre, il ne me paroît pas qu'il lui en puisse arriver une plus fâcheuse que celle de voir accuser dans le parlement, un homme sur qui il s'est reposé du soin des affaires et du gouvernement du son état depuis deux ans. Les ennemis du Trésorier qui sont en grand nombre prendront courage, et il n'est pas impossible que Mr. le Duc d'York ne l'abandonne et ne se tourne contre lui. Il pourroit bien arriver que le Roi d'Angleterre prorogéât son parlement aussitôt que le Trésorier sera attaqué, mais s'il le fait, il n'aura point d'argent pour faire subsister l'armée, ni pour licencier. Cela peut l'engager à prendre un parti d'extrémité et à tenter quelque chose de violent. Je doute fort que le succès en fût heureux. Votre Majesté saura bien peser toutes les raisons de part et d'autre, et me commander ce qui est de sa volonté. Quelque parti que votre Majesté prenne, je ne crois pas qu'il en arrive aucun inconvenient à son égard, parcequ'il y va de la tête de Mr. de Montaigu que ce qu'il a traité avec moi soit jamais scû.

Je suis, &c.

(Signé)

B A R I L L O N."

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 24, 1678.

Sire,

"**M**R. Montagu and I have had many occasions of talking upon the present state of affairs. I thought I ought not to hide entirely from him the reasons which your Majesty has to be ill satisfied with the conduct of the court of England to you for some time past, which was already sufficiently known to him: this engaged him to speak openly to me, and to tell me it was in his power to ruin the high treasurer, and that he would attack him in parliament, and accuse him of treason, if he was assured of the protection and good will of your Majesty in case of the consequences which this accusation might have. He pretends to prove from this mini-

ster's letters, that he ordered him on the part of his Britannick Majesty to ask a sum of 18 millions from your Majesty, and to declare that it was the only means to prevent his joining your enemies, and without it that he should be obliged to enter into the league against France, and to declare war against you. He alledges that his refusal to obey so extraordinary and so unreasonable an order, and which was given unknown to the Secretaries of State, drew upon him the enmity of this minister, and that it would be easy for him to shew the parliament for what design 18 millions were wanted; and at the same time the parliament will see that your Majesty was not willing to enter into the schemes which were forming for the oppression of England, and the change of government. Mr. Montagu believes this accusation will infallibly ruin the high Treasurer. I thought I could not refuse hearkening to a proposal, the consequence of which may be conformable to your Majesty's intentions. The King of England can receive no greater embarrassment than to see a man attacked who has all his confidence. If this accusation has any success, his Britannick Majesty must fall into great inconveniencies whether he supports or abandons his prime minister. No one can ever be sure of any thing in this country: but this accusation cannot be entirely fruitless, because it is not destitute of foundation, and according to appearances Mr. Montagu would not attempt it unless he saw some prospect of succeeding. We have discoursed to the bottom concerning the means he intends to make use of to accomplish his design. I cannot answer that his measures are sure, but he hopes to be seconded by many considerable persons who will join him. However he does not believe he shall be able to bear the weight of such an undertaking if your Majesty will not also contribute to it on your part. He asks that whatever your Majesty would do to traverse the designs of the court of England, and hinder the keeping up of the army, may be employed at the same time to favour what he undertakes. His demand is that your Majesty will make a fund here of one hundred thousand livres which should be employed to gain votes, and to make sure of seven or eight of the principal persons in the lower house, who may support the accusation as soon as it shall be begun. This expence and the employing this sum is not to be done without my participation and consent: that no money is to be given of which I should not know the advantage before hand: that if in the end this scheme has no success,

and the high Treasurer can maintain himself and overcome this attack, Mr. Montagu submits himself to your Majesty's generosity to use him in such a manner as you shall think proper, and grant him such marks of your good will and protection as you shall please; and in this case your Majesty shall be obliged to nothing. But if the accusation succeeds, and the high Treasurer is ruined in six months from this time, Mr. Montagu hopes that your Majesty will recompence him for the service he shall do, and indemnify him for the loss he will infallibly suffer in his fortune and his posts. The King of England will probably use all his efforts to revenge himself of a man who in the person of his Prime Minister has attacked himself. Mr. Montague asked in this case that your Majesty should cause the sum of one hundred thousand crowns to be paid him, or that your Majesty would secure to him an annuity of forty thousand livres, on the Hotel de Ville, payable out of the funds that have been last settled. He will put this annuity in the name of persons most agreeable to your Majesty, and it shall remain his property to be disposed of, nevertheless subject to your Majesty's pleasure; that is to say, that he shall not sell nor alienate it without your permission. If neither of these propositions be agreeable to your Majesty, he will content himself with your promise of a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life: thus it is in your Majesty's choice to give him either the sum of one hundred thousand crowns in hand, or an annuity of forty thousand livres upon the Hotel de Ville, or a pension of fifty thousand livres during his life; and this in case only that the accusation succeeds, and the Treasurer is removed from court in six months; for if this happens, Mr. Montagu does not think he should be exposed to the King of England's hatred, as he will be, if what he attempts succeeds. Six months time is taken, because it is presumed that his Britannick Majesty will use his efforts to preserve his minister, and that at first he will support him. I shall not take upon me to give counsel to your Majesty; I ought to content myself with executing with care the orders you shall give me. However as your Majesty hath commanded me to do every thing that is possible to raise troubles to the King of England, it does not appear to me that any thing could possibly happen more disagreeable to him than to see the man accused in parliament in whom he has reposed the care of affairs, and the government of his kingdom for two years. The Treasurer's enemies

who are very numerous, will take courage, and it is not impossible that the Duke of York may abandon him and turn against him. It may happen that the King of England will prorogue his parliament as soon as the Treasurer is attacked; but if he does it, he will have no money either to subsist his army, or to disband it. This may engage him to take a desperate step, and attempt something violent. I much doubt whether the event of it would be fortunate for him. Your Majesty will be able to weigh all the reasons on the one side and the other, and to command me according to your will. Whatever part your Majesty takes, I do not believe any inconvenience can happen to you, because Mr. Montagu's head is in danger if what he has treated upon with me be ever known. I am, &c.

(Signed)

BARILLON."

In the Depot. The French intrigues in parliament were attended with the most important consequences. The King and the Prince of Orange were equally perplexed, and France served, by the contradictory movements in parliament with regard to the French war, of which the Duke of York and Lord Danby complain in their letters recited above. From Barillon's dispatches of 20th and 27th October, 24th November, and 22d December, 1678, it appears, that after Montague's offer to accuse Lord Danby, Barillon was continually busied in extending the party which was averse to Danby; that Barillon believed Danby in revenge gave ear to the popish plot to make France odious, and permitted the intrigues of Colman to be exposed to hurt Barillon himself; that Lord Hallifax was privy to the intention of impeaching Lord Danby, in order to rise on his ruins, and Algernon Sidney was the person who managed the correspondence between him and Lord Hallifax concerning it; that there was much hesitation about the time when the attack should be made, the leaders of the popular party insisting it should not be until the King had been forced to disband his army; and that in the end it was made sooner than was intended, by the sudden order of Lord Danby (who had probably suspected what was going on) for the seizing of Mr. Mountague's papers. The effects of Mr. Mountague's accusation in parliament were, the ruin of Lord Danby's ministry, the dissolution of the parliament, the disgrace of the King on account of his traffick for money with France, and a foundation laid for a long train of evils to him and his brother.

The names of many of the popular party who intrigued with France, the political principles by which they reconciled this conduct to their own minds, and the motives of interest which may also be supposed to have had weight with them, will be seen in the next chapter.

It did not escape the sagacity of Lord Keeper North, that there must have been an invisible hand which directed the irregular movements of the house of commons at this time. In his manuscript memorandums there are the following passages.

Extract 1st, from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandums.

“IT was very strange to see the Papists join in the cry against the court, and the country party keep company with the French ambassador, and Mr. Coleman (who was truly a pensioner of France) send letters of intelligence to his friends in several parts, burlesquing the orders of government and their buckling to France, and magnifying Spain and the confederates, and boasting of a true English spirit, and he was turned out of the Duke's service, for these pranks, by the King's command, which made him be more cherished by the whigs who conversed with him, especially in parliament time, when he always made them welcome to his table.

And it was observed the Papists in the house of lords did join with the discontented Lords against the test (which I am credibly informed was upon an assurance given them they should never be turned out upon any test) and likewise for to address for the dissolution of that house of commons. In the first they prevailed, and were served as all who trust the fanatics are usually served, who all of them joined in the exclusion of them by an act of the same parliament.”

Extract the second.

“WHEN Coleman was in the pay of the French, he held correspondence with Monsieur le Chaise, and he wrote news-papers against the French and Jesuits amongst the fanatics.”

Extract third.

“IT was strange to me that the house of commons should be so earnest to persuade the King to enter into an actual war with France, and

when he had made preparations in order for it, that the factious party should represent them as intended to enslave the nation, and that good men should be able to believe it.

Here were two rocks, France and arbitrary power. If the King should not make war, it were kindness to France; if he did, his very army was shewed to the people as a bugbear. It is certain that the gentry were in some fear to see so gallant an army so quickly raised, and to be rid of it must join to call it popish; and to make the name more odious, the plot must be magnified, and the posts and chains set up in the city, and the trained bands up every night, to the citizens immense charge, who were in so real (though senseless) a fright that they bore it very patiently."

Extract fourth.

"I N order to have foreign enmity against the government, the faction press them to a foreign war, which will be sure to make the enemies comfort them at home; and if any object that foreign war may bring misery upon the people, and hinder trade, which will make confusion; all the better, say they, when the people are enraged we will charge the fault upon whom we please."

Extract fifth.

"A GREAT statesman (Lord Danby) once resolved to oppose France and popery, which were popular measures one would have thought him safe in. But France tempted him with that which to have refused would have made his master ruin him; and the negotiation itself being criminal was exposed. The plot accusers loved his adversary better than him, and when he cherished them they accused even him. A statesman should not rely, as he did, upon tools (Doctor Tong, Oates,) that are guided by others."

The Lord Keeper was so far in the right, with regard to Coleman's being employed by Barillon as an incendiary to disturb Charles's government, that some of Barillon's dispatches mention his giving money to him in that way; and in a volume of supplement to Barillon's dispatches in the *Depot*, for the years 1679 and 1680, there is a memorial from his widow to the French court, transmitted by Monsieur Barillon, in which

she sets forth, that Monf. Barillon had promised her husband 65,000 livres for his services, in case war was not declared by England against France; that he had received only half the sum, and that Barillon scrupled paying the other half to her without an order: Vide also the Journals of the house of commons, November 7, 1678, where Coleman confesses that he got money from Barillon to be distributed in the house of commons.

The Prince of Orange also, at a later period, got some information of the intrigues of France in parliament. Blancard's memorial, mentioned in the last chapter, contains these words.—“ Le Roi (i. e. of France) auroit été bien fâché qu'il (i. e. Charles) eut été absolu dans ses états; l'un de ses plus constantes maximes depuis son rétablissement ayant été de le diviser d'avec son parlement, et de se servir tantot de l'un, tantot de l'autre, toujours par argent pour parvenir à ses fins.”—“ The King of France would have been very sorry that he (i. e. Charles) had been absolute in his states; one of his most constant maxims since the re-establishment of that Prince having been to set him at variance with his parliament, and to make use sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other, and always by money to gain his ends.”

There are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, written during the quarrel between King Charles and Louis the XIVth, from the peace of Nimeguen until the fall of Lord Danby's ministry.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Princess of Orange with child.—
Princess Anne to pay a visit to her sister incognito.*

London, September 27, 1678.

“ WE came hither on Wednesday last, and are a preparing to go to Newmarket the beginning of next week, the parliament being prorogued till the 21st of next month. Whilst we shall be out of town, the Dutchesse and my daughter Anne intend to make your wife a visit very incognito, and have yet said nothing of it to any body here but his Majesty, whose leave they asked, and will not till the post be gone; they

carry little company with them, and send this bearer, Robert White before, to see to get a house for them as near the court as they can: They intend to stay only whilst we shall be at Newmarket. I was very glad to see by the last letters that my daughter continued so well, and hope now she will go out her full time. I have written to her to be very careful of herself, and she would do well not to stand too much, for that is very ill for a young breeding woman. The incognito ladies intend to set out from hence on Tuesday next if the wind be fair, and have bid me tell you they desire to be very incognito, and have Lord Ossory for their governor. I have not time to say more, only to assure you that I shall always be very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the trick of the Popish plot.—Godfrey's murder.

London, October 18, 1678.

"WE came hither on Wednesday from Newmarket, and the same night, presently after eleven, the Dutchess arrived here, so satisfied with her journey and with you, as I never saw any body; and I must give you a thousand thanks from her and from myself, for her kind usage by you: I should say more on this subject, but I am very ill at compliments, and you care not for them. As for news, this pretended plot is still under examination, and the judges are to give their opinion whether one witness in point of treason be sufficient to proceed criminally against any body: and I do verily believe that when this affair is thoroughly examined, it will be found nothing but malice against the poor Catholics in general, and myself in particular. There is another thing happened, which is, that a justice of peace, one Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, was missing some days, suspected by several circumstances, very probable ones, to design the making himself away; yesterday his body was found in a by-place in the fields, some two or three miles off, with his own sword through him. This makes a great noise, and is laid upon the Catholics also, but without any reason for it, for he was known to be far from being an enemy to them. All these things happening together will cause, I am afraid, a great flame in the parliament when they meet on Monday, for those disaffected to the government will inflame all things as much as they can: I could say more upon this subject, but have not time

to do it, nor to say any thing else, but to assure you that I shall always be very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Matters point to a rebellion in England.—Account of Coleman's death.

London, December 3, 1678.

"I HAVE now two letters of yours to answer, the first of the 29th of last month, which I received but on Friday night last, and that so late that it was too late to write by the post; since when I have received yours by Silvius, and assure you he has given me full satisfaction in what you charged him with, and that you did for the best. As for news, affairs in general go very ill, for you see the commons will not so much as hearken to the keeping up any longer the troops we have in Flanders, and Brabant, so that they must of necessity be soon sent for over, it being impossible to keep them there for want of money, and a bill is now passing in the house of commons for their being disbanded out of hand, and to send for them presently over for that intent; and yesterday the ministers in general were fallen upon, and all things look as they did in the beginning of the late rebellion; and truly I believe there will be great disorders here before it be long, if things continue at the rate they are; and the republican party is very busy at work. As for what concerns myself, since my proviso has past, I have been let alone, but how long that will continue I do not know, for some continue their good will to me still. Mr. Coleman was executed this morning, and declared, as he was ready to be turned off, that he had been falsely accused by Oates and Bedlow, for that he had never seen them till they were brought as witnesses against him; that he knew nothing of a plot against his Majesty's life or government, and never had gone about to endeavour the alteration of religion by force. It is late and I must end, and that with assuring you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth endeavours to be accounted legitimate.

London, December 9, 1678.

"I COULD not refuse this bearer, Machant, to write to you by him, and this shall serve instead of a letter by the post, which is to go

to-morrow. As for affairs here, things go on very ill still, and I am afraid things will grow to a greater heat than ever, and that they will every day do something to lessen the King's authority; and I am told they will again fall upon the Queen and myself, and that to-morrow will be the day. I believe you have heard of some foolish discourses have gone about town concerning the Duke of Monmouth; they continue still, and some of his friends talk as indiscreetly on the same subject. The republicans, and others of the boldest fanaticks, are they that spread it most abroad, hoping to reap some advantage by it against our families; but if they can do us harm no other way I shall not much fear them: however, I shall be watchful upon that matter, and not despise it neither, and if I find it necessary shall take notice of it to his Majesty, who continues very kind to me. I have written so freely, this going by a safe hand; and now shall say no more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Intention of the Commons to impeach Danby and disband the army.

London, Dec. 17, 1678.

"I HAVE not heard from you this good while, however that does not hinder me from writing, though one has not great pleasure in giving any account of what passes here, things not going as they should. This day was once designed by some to have brought in an impeachment against the Lord Treasurer, but they have deferred it; some think it is deferred only to see what success the bill for the disbanding the army will have in our house; and when that shall be past them, have at us all. To-morrow we go upon it in a committee of the whole house, and we shall I believe have a warm debate concerning some amendments which are of absolute necessity to be made in it. In the mean time his Majesty is seeing to draw over his troops as soon as he can, and the weather being frosty as it is, has altered his mind of having those in Brabant come down the Scheld from Antwerp, and designs now to have them march over land to Ostend to embark there, and is sending away orders to that purpose. I have not time to say more now, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Montagu's attack upon Lord Danby.

London, Dec. 20, 1678.

“YOUR's of the 20th I received but last night, by the which I see you think it very strange that people here do so push for the disbanding of the army. I am of your opinion; but what will that signify, since it is so pushed on by the parliament?—This day we made an end to the amendments of that bill, and to-morrow shall pass it and send it down again to the house of commons. I believe they will not approve of our amendment, which will cause some debate between the houses. I believe you will be surprized to hear what Mr. Montagu has done; for being yesterday accused in council of having had secret conferences with the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, he to revenge himself of that, produces letters written to him by the Lord Treasurer by his Majesty's command, when he was Ambassador in France, and shews them to the commons, who upon it ordered an impeachment to be drawn up against the Lord Treasurer upon the matter contained in those letters, and other things they had against him. I am confident there was never so abominable an action as this of Mr. Montagu's, and so offensive to the King, in revealing what he was trusted with when he was employed by his Majesty: all honest men abhor him for it. To-morrow I believe the impeachment will be brought up to our house, then we shall see what the articles will be. I make no doubt but that the Lord Treasurer will defend himself very well; I am sure his Majesty is bound to stand by him. You see at what a rate things go here: I see little hope of their mending. Next week is like to be a busy week with us, though it be the Christmas Holidays; till when I shall say no more, but that I shall always be very kind to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of disbanding part of the troops.

London, Jan. 10, 1678-9.

“I DID not write to you the last post, having been a-hunting for the first time since the parliament was prorogued, and was so weary. I could not do it, and besides I had nothing considerable to say; since when I have received your's of the 13th, by the which I see you were

going into Gelderland and the other neighbouring provinces, and should be some time out of the Hague. As for news, here is none considerable, but what I believe pleases you no more than it does me, which is, that there are already three of the new-raised regiments of horse disbanded; and the rest of the new-raised troops will be so too as fast as money can be got to pay them off. As for other things the face of affairs looks very ill still, and the ill-affected people do keep up the fears and jealousies as much as ever, and mens minds are as unsettled as ever, and fit for any disorder, and I very much fear we shall find the effects of it so soon as the troops are disbanded; and then we shall not only be liable to disorders at home, but be exposed to attempts from abroad. This is all I shall say at present, but to assure you of my being always very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Anxious on his own account.

London, Jan. 17, 1678-9.

"**I** DID not write to you by last post, having then but little to say, and now all that is, is that his Majesty declared in council this afternoon that he would put off the meeting of the parliament till the 25th of next month; for till that time he believed he should not be able to have disbanded the new-raised troops, or to have found out the bottom of the plot, both which he would willingly do before they met; as for the disbanding, as fast as they come out of Flanders it will be done, and for the plot, a committee of council sits every morning. I wish we may not repent before few months pass the parting with so many good troops; for I must confess I do not like to hear the French are getting so considerable a fleet ready at Brest, especially when I consider the posture affairs are in at home; and I assure you great arts are used by some to enflame mens minds, which is now easily done; and how all things will end, the Lord only knows; and for myself, those who appeared against me when the parliament sat are as malicious against me as ever. This is all I shall now say to you, and you may be sure I shall always be very kind to you."

CHAPTER III.

Third period. From the fall of Lord Danby's ministry until the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles the Second.

THE fall of Lord Danby's ministry, and the dissolution of the parliament, which were accompanied by the prosecution of the Popish plot and by the bill of exclusion, caused Charles speedily to turn his eyes back to France.

The Duke of York, who saw that the storm would first break upon his head, had endeavoured even before Lord Danby was impeached to make provision against danger with France. Barillon writes to his court on the 17th Nov. 1678, that the Duke of York complained to him that Lord Danby had adopted the sentiments of parliament against Popery and France to gain popularity to himself; and that the Duke proposed the army should be kept on foot, notwithstanding the resolutions of parliament to disband it; that the parliament itself should be dissolved, and that to facilitate these ends, the union between Louis and his brother should be renewed: Barillon adds, that the Duke desired him not to let the King or Lord Danby know of his having suggested these things to him. In the Depot.

Mountague also, in order to gain advantage from the mischiefs he had created, endeavoured to persuade Barillon to bring about a reconciliation between Louis and Charles. Barillon writes to his court 5th Jan. 1678-9, that Mountague had urged him to advise Charles to dismiss his army and give up Danby, and if Charles consented, to assure him of the assistance of France. In the Depot.

On the 5th Jan. 1678-9, Barillon writes, that upon Lord Danby's impeachment Charles pressed Barillon to prevail with Louis to give him assistance, saying, that the attack upon the Catholics was only an attack upon the common cause of royalty. Barillon answered, that Charles ought to disband his army before he could expect it;—"car c'est le point essential;"—"For that is the essential point."

Whatever reason Charles had to be startled at a demand from France for disbanding his army, he renewed the conversation a few days after with Barillon, the particulars of which are in the following dispatch.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, du 9 Janvier, 1679.

In the *Depot*. “**L**E Roi d'Angleterre m'a tiré ce soir en particulier, et m'a dit qu'il m'entretiendrait demain ou après avec plus de loisir, mais qu'il me chargeoit d'assurer votre Majesté, qu'il ne souhaitoit rien tant que son amitié, et de faire une liaison étroite que rien ne pût alterer; qu'il auroit une extreme joie de vous devoir son salut et sa conservation, et qu'il ne refuseroit aucune des conditions que votre Majesté desireroit; qu'il voyoit bien par tout ce que je lui avois dit que la conservation de l'armée, ou d'une partie, étoit regardée comme une chose dangereuse pour les intérêts de la France; que son dessein étoit de licencier ses troupes, et de n'en garder que ce que votre Majesté elle même jugeroit à propos; que si elle lui demandoit encore d'autres sûretés il consentiroit à tout, mais qu'il falloit aussi qu'il connût si votre Majesté vouloit l'aider et le secourir dans l'extrémité où il se trouve réduit, parce qu'il seroit obligé de prendre d'autres mesures qui lui convenoient moins, mais qui seroient pour lui d'une absolue nécessité. J'ai répondu à cela en termes généraux, et j'ai évité d'entrer dans aucun détail. Je crois que l'on me parlera positivement, et que le Roi d'Angleterre consentira à licencier toutes ses troupes pourvu que votre Majesté veuille l'aider à subsister pendant quelque tems. Quoique je sois informé des intentions de votre Majesté, et que je sache bien que je dois éviter d'entrer dans une négociation qui se terminera par une demande de trois ou quatre millions, je ne fais pas jusqu'à quel point votre Majesté veut que j'en éloigne la proposition, et je ne vois pas comment je pourrai éviter qu'elle me soit faite.

J'ai connu aussi, parceque m'a dit ce soir Mr. de Sonderland, qu'on veut ici faire un dernier effort pour avoir l'appui de votre Majesté, et que pour cela on ne disconvient d'aucunes conditions. J'essairai de gagner du tems et de savoir au vrai l'état des affaires de ce Pays-ci, à fin que votre Majesté puisse me donner ses ordres sur la conduite que j'aurai à tenir.”

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 9th Jan. 1679.

—Charles begs the assistance of France.—Offers to submit to any conditions, and to keep as few troops as Louis thinks proper.

“THE King of England drew me aside this evening, and told me that he would discourse me to-morrow or after to-morrow with more leisure; but that he charged me to assure your Majesty he wished nothing so much as your friendship, and to make a strict union which nothing might alter; that he should have an extreme joy to owe his safety and preservation to you, and would not refuse any conditions your Majesty desired; that he very well knew by all I had said to him, that the keeping the army on foot, or any part of it, was regarded as a matter dangerous to the interests of France; that his design was to disband his troops, and only keep what your Majesty might think proper; that if you demanded other securities, he would consent to all; but it was necessary also he should know if your Majesty would give him assistance and supply in the extremity to which he is reduced, because otherwise he would be obliged to take other measures less agreeable to him, but which he should be under an absolute necessity to do. I answered in general terms, and avoided entering into any detail. I believe they will speak to me positively, and that the King of England will consent to disband his troops, provided your Majesty will assist him to support himself for some time. Although I am informed of your Majesty’s intentions, and that I well know I ought to avoid entering into a negociation which will end in a demand of three or four millions; I don’t know how far your Majesty will have me evade the proposal, nor do I see how I can avoid its being made to me.

I also know by what Lord Sunderland said this evening to me, that they will make a last effort to have your Majesty’s support, and to that purpose will not disagree about any conditions. I will endeavour to gain time, and to know for truth the state of affairs in this country, to the end your Majesty may give me your orders upon the conduct I am to observe.”

In the *Depot*. On the 12th Jan. 1679, Barillon writes to his court that Charles had told him,—“ Qu'il aimoit mieux dependre de votre Majesté que de son peuple ;”—“ That he liked better to depend upon your Majesty than upon his people ;” and that he begged a supply of four millions of livres.

In the *Depot*. In January 1679 he writes, that Sunderland told him he was to go Ambassador to France, “ pour établir un liaison étroit entre sa Majesté Chrétienne et le Roy ;”—“ to establish a strict union between his Christian Majesty and King Charles :” and there is in the *Depot* a letter from Sunderland notifying to the French court that he is soon to set out upon his embassy, and another soon after from Charles to Louis that he had stopped him.

In the *Depot*. Barillon writes on the 16th Feb. 1679, that Charles told him his reason for making Lord Sunderland his minister was, that he had always found him attached to the interests of France.

In the *Depot*. Barillon writes on the 10th Feb. 1679, that Sunderland told him, he imputed his late promotion to the same cause ; and in June thereafter he writes, that upon his saying to Lord Sunderland that there would be a good understanding between the two Kings, if those who wished to be popular were not enemies to France, Sunderland laughed, and answered ;—“ Vous voyez comment le Comte de Danbi s'en est bien trouvé.”—“ You see how well Lord Danby has fared by it.”

To all these advances the French court gave no encouragement. The reason of which may be gathered from the following circumstances.

In the *Depot*. Barillon writes on the 25th Jan. 1679, that there was at present a suspicion of a secret intelligence between Charles and the Prince of Orange, and of the Prince's having remitted 200,000*l.* to him : and on the 15th June, 1679, he writes that Henry Sidney is sent Ambassador to the Hague, and as Barillon suspects with no good intentions to France.

In the *Depot*. Barillon, on the 16th and 23d of February, 1679, writes that when he urged Charles to disband his army, Charles answered that he had no money to do it with ; and in other dispatches he writes, that Charles avoided disbanding his army, and excused himself by saying, he would thereby have a pretence for asking money from parliament to disband it.

Barillon on the other hand frequently writes, that the popular party in *In the Depot.* parliament were sincere and hearty in concurring with him to get the army disbanded.

He writes on the 27th March and 6th April, 1678, that though the *In the Depot.* Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland are sincerely in the interests of France, they cannot at present be of much use to those interests, because they are still under the terror of being involved in the fate of Lord Danby.

On the 8th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the power of Charles by *In the Depot.* the factions of his own dominions is entirely sunk, that an alliance with him would therefore be of no advantage with regard to foreign affairs, and that it is better to continue to court the heads of parties in order to continue his difficulties.

It is however a piece of justice to French politicks, mischievous as they were at that time to England, to say, that there are no traces in the papers at Versailles of any encouragement given by France to the Popish plot, though that was the great engine made use of by the popular party against Charles.

Charles, abandoned in this manner by France, was obliged to assemble a new parliament, to disband all his new-raised army, to send his brother into Flanders, and to trust the conduct of his affairs to a council composed of many of those who had been his most violent opposers.

From Barillon's letter to his court, May 1st, 1679, it appears that *In the Depot.* Barillon was at first enraged at the settlement of this council; imagining that it might have created an union of all parties in the domestic quiet of England and against France; but that the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him, the only reasons which had brought about the measure were, that the King might get money from parliament by means of it, and that she and Lord Sunderland had thought themselves in danger from the popular party. He adds, that Lord Hollis told him he had had a hand in contriving it; and that he and Mountagu assured him it should never be turned against France.

In the *Depot*. Barillon writes, 16 March, 1678, to his court, that Charles had excused himself to him for sending his brother into banishment, by the necessity of his affairs, and that he spoke of him with the greatest tenderness. A copy of the letter from Charles to his brother, which ordered him to retire abroad, is in the *Depot*, as follows.

Lettre du Roi d'Angleterre au Duc d'York, du 28 Fevrier, 1679.

In the *Depot*. "MON cher frere. Je vous ai déjà amplement dit les raisons qui m'obligeoient de vous éloigner de moi pour quelque tems au dela la mer.

Comme je suis véritablement fâché du sujet de notre séparation, vous pouvés aussi vous assûrer, que je ne souhaiterai jamais que votre absence dure plus longtems qu'il ne fera absolument nécessaire pour votre bien et pour mon service. Je trouve cependant qu'il est à propos de vous faire savoir de ma propre main que je m'attends que vous me satisferés en ceci, et que je souhaite que ce soit aussitôt que votre commodité le permettra: Vous pouvés facilement croire que ce n'est pas sans beaucoup de peine que je vous écris ceci, étant plus touché de la constante amitié que vous avés eue pour moi, que de quoi que ce soit au monde; et j'espere aussi que vous me ferés la justice d'être assuré que l'absence ni rien autre chose ne m'empêchera d'être veritablement et avec affection votre,

(Signé) CHARLES R.

Supercription. Pour mon plus cher ami le Duc d'York."

Translation.

*Letter from the King of England to the Duke of York, 28th February, 1679.
—Orders the Duke to retire abroad.*

"MY dear brother. I have already fully told you the reasons which oblige me to send you from me for some time beyond sea.

As I am truly sorry for the cause of our separation, you may also assure yourself, that I shall never wish your absence to continue longer than is absolutely necessary for your good and my service. I find it however proper to let you know under my hand that I expect you will satisfy me in

this ; and that I wish it may be as soon as your conveniency will permit : You may easily believe that it is not without a great deal of pain I write you this, being more touched with the constant friendship you have had for me, than with any thing else in the world ; and I also hope that you will do me the justice to believe for certain, that neither absence, nor any thing will hinder me from being truly and with affection yours.

(Signed) CHARLES R.

Supercription. For my most dear friend the Duke of York."

Even after Charles had ordered his brother to withdraw, he made an attempt to save him from the affront of it, by sending the bishops of Canterbury and Winchester to persuade him to return to the protestant religion. An account of the conference between the bishops and the Duke, upon this occasion, is in the *Depot* as follows.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon, du 6 Mars, 1679, au Roy.

Sire,

" L'ARCHEVEQUE de Cantorbery et l'evêque de Winchester In the Depot.
demandèrent il y a deux jours une audience secrette à Mr. le Duc d'York. Ils lui dirent d'abord, qu'ils le supplioient de leur permettre de lui parler sur une matiere qui lui pouvoit être desagréable ; que le bien de l'état, et le service de son Altesse royale en particulier les obligeoient de lui representer, que le changement qu'il avoit fait de la religion Anglicane apporteroit de tels desordres à l'avénir et causeroit de tels maux, qu'ils se trouvoient nécessités à l'exhorter de vouloir entrer en conference sur les points qui sont en contestation entre l'Eglise Protestante et l'Eglise Romaine, et qu'ils esperoient de lui faire connoitre combien des raisons doivent l'obliger à entrer dans la premiere religion qu'il a professé. Mr. le Duc d'York leur répondit qu'il prenoit en bonne part ce qu'ils lui disoient, et qu'il étoit persuadé de leurs bonnes intentions ; que cependant il ne pouvoit douter qu'il n'y eût beaucoup de malignité dans le dessein de ceux qui les avoient obligés à lui tenir un tel discours ; que c'étoit un piége qu'on lui tendoit pour l'engager à refuser d'entrer dans une conference qui ne pouvoit être d'aucune utilité ; qu'il ne se prétendoit pas assez savant pour disputer avec des gens d'une profonde capacité ; qu'il avoit cependant

apporté toutes les précautions possibles dans son changement; qu'il l'avoit différé plusieurs années, et qu'il avoit consulté les plus habiles évêques et docteurs Protestans; que présentement sa conscience étoit en repos, et qu'il croyoit être dans le bon chemin, qu'ainsi rien ne devoit l'obliger à entrer dans une conférence avec eux, parcequ'il n'avoit aucun doute sur lequel il voulut s'éclaircir; qu'il les entendroit volontiers quand ils auroient quelque chose à lui dire; mais que de sa part il n'avoit pas dessein d'entrer en contestation avec eux. Il y eût quelques répliques de part et d'autre. Les prelates soutinrent que cette conférence ne pouvoit être d'aucun inconvenient, et paroïssoit fort utile dans la conjoncture présente. Mr. le Duc d'York persista toujours à refuser cette conférence. On avoit déjà répandu le bruit que ce Prince étoit disposé à changer de religion, et qu'il iroit au premier jour à la chapelle du Roi d'Angleterre. Ce qui s'est passé en cela est regardé ici par tout le monde comme un commencement qui peut avoir des suites fort dangereuses pour Mr. le Duc d'York. Il en connoit toutes les conséquences, et m'en a parlé comme d'un premier pas que ses ennemis ont voulu faire pour aller plus avant contre lui. Il m'a dit que l'archevêque de Cantorbery et l'évêque de Winchester lui avoient parlé comme députés des autres évêques qui se sont trouvés à Londres, et que c'est avec la participation du Roi d'Angleterre qu'ils lui ont proposé cette conférence. Ce Prince ne paroît pas ébranlé, ni résolu de se démentir en rien de la profession ouverte qu'il fait de la religion Catholique."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, March 6, 1679.

—The Bishops by order of the King endeavour to bring the Duke of York back to the Protestant religion.—The conference.

Sire,

"THE Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester two days ago asked a private audience of the Duke of York. They immediately said that they entreated him to permit them to speak to him upon a matter which might be disagreeable to him; that the good of the state, and of his Royal Highness's service in particular, obliged them to represent to him that the change in his religion from that of the church of England would bring on such disorders hereafter, and cause such evils, that

they found themselves under a necessity to exhort him to enter into a conference upon the points which are in contest between the Protestant and Roman Catholick churches, and that they hoped to convince him how many reasons ought to oblige him to embrace the religion he had first professed. The Duke of York answered, that he took in good part what they had said to him, and that he was persuaded of their good intentions; that however he could not doubt but that there was much malignity in the design of those who had obliged them to hold such a discourse to him; that it was a snare laid to engage him to refuse entering into a conference which could be of no use; that he did not pretend to be wise enough to dispute with persons of profound capacity; but he had however taken all possible precautions in his change; that he had deferred it many years, and had consulted the most able Protestant Bishops and Doctors: that at present his conscience was at ease, and he believed himself to be in the right road; that nothing made it necessary for him to enter into a conference with them, because he had no doubts in which he wanted to be cleared; that he would willingly hear them if they had any thing to say to him, but for his part he had no design to enter into a dispute with them. There were some replies on both sides. The Prelates maintained that this conference would be attended with no inconveniencies, and appeared very useful in the present conjuncture. The Duke of York always persisted to refuse this conference. The report had been already spread abroad that he was disposed to change his religion, and that he was to go upon the first occasion to the King of England's chapel. What passed in this affair is regarded here by every body as a beginning which may have very dangerous consequences to the Duke of York. He knows all the consequences, and spoke to me of it as the first step which his enemies have taken, that they may go farther lengths against him. He told me that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester had spoken to him as deputies from the other Bishops who are in London, and that it was with the participation of the King of England they have proposed this conference. This Prince does not appear shaken, or resolved to deviate in any thing from the open profession he makes of the Catholick religion."

It appears from Barillon's letter to his court of the 13th March, 1679, In the *Dépêche* that upon receiving the order to go abroad, the Duke of York threw

himself entirely upon France; that in apology for his late appearances against the interests of Louis, he laid the fault upon his brother; and that he told Barillon he wished to take refuge in France, but was prevented against his will.

In King William's box there are the following letters to the Prince of Orange from the Duke of York during his secret exile in Flanders, which shew the extreme uneasiness of mind he was under whilst there.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His surprize at the news of Sir William Temple's council.

Bruxelles, May 8, 1679.

“ I SEE by your's of the 5th, which I received yesterday, that you had not then heard of the great news of the making of a new council, and the Earl of Shaftesbury being President of it, which did not only surprize me very much, but all those of this country, and more especially those who govern here, they not understanding more than I do what could prevail with his Majesty to lay aside so many of his truest servants, and put all his affairs into the hands of those who for so many years have opposed and obstructed all his affairs; for my part, I dread the consequences of it, but shall be very glad to be mistaken, and wish with all my heart his Majesty may find ease in his affairs by what he has done; a little time will let us see much. I have been informed that all this great alteration was resolved on at Lord Sunderland's, none attending his Majesty there but the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. The Dutchess is said to brag she helped to persuade his Majesty to do it. These people continue very civil to me. I am exceedingly glad to hear my daughter has missed her ague, I hope she will have no more now the warm weather is come. I should now make you a thousand compliments for your obliging letter and the kind usage I had from you; but besides that I am very ill at making them, I have not time to do it, and I hope you will always believe me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.—Things tend to a republick.

Bruxells, May 11, 1679.

“ I HAVE just now received your's of the 9th, by the which I see you were surprized with what has happened in England as well as I was, and you are in the right to say one can yet make no judgment what effect it will have, time must shew it; and to return your freedom, I fear it will not have a good effect; for by the last letters I had from thence, I am informed that all those of the house of commons who have now upon this new change had any preferment, have already quite lost their credit in that house, and that there are already new cabals and parties setting up there amongst those who have had no preferment: so that to tell you freely my thoughts, in my mind all things tend to a republick, for you see all things tend towards the lessening of the King's authority, and the new model things are put into, is the very same it was in the time of the commonwealth; and I fear that hardly any that are now of the council have courage enough to advise or stand by any vigorous resolution. I should be very glad to be deceived, and would say more, but that the post is just ready to go; let what will happen, you shall always find me the same to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The exclusion bill.—His opinion of the consequences of it.—Wishes the Prince to go to England.

Bruxells, May 14, 1679.

“ YOU have before this had an account of what was done by the house of commons on this day se'nnight that concerns me; you see how violently my enemies attack me, and that Wednesday last was the day that both houses were to take into consideration my affair. What the issue of it will be, I expect to hear this night or to-morrow, and cannot now but look on the monarchy itself in great danger, as well as his Majesty's person, and that not from Papists, but from the commonwealth party, and some of those who were lately brought into the council, that govern the Duke of Monmouth, and who make a property of him to ruin our family; and things go on so fast and so violently, and there are so very few left about his Majesty that have either will or courage to give good

advice to him, that I tremble to think what will happen; for if his Majesty and the house of Lords stick to me, then one may expect great disorders, nay a rebellion: if his Majesty and they shall consent to what the commons may do against me, I shall then look on his Majesty as less than a Duke of Venice, and the Monarchy and our family absolutely ruined and given up: but what to do or what to advise as things now stand, is very hard to say. I could wish you in England, though I dare not propose it to you to go, not knowing how you might find things there, nor how it would consist with your affairs in Holland, of which I can no way judge. Therefore all I dare say to you is to desire you to consider well with yourself, whether it be fit for you to go or no. You see they would not fall upon me till the council was new modelled, and that they had turned out four of the Judges, all loyal men, and put in others in their places that I fear will find what they please law. I could write a volume upon this subject, but shall say no more till I have my next letters, only assure you shall never find any alteration in my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—On the King's proposing limitations on a Popish successor.

Bruxells, May 17, 1679.

"SINCE I wrote last to you I have had the English letters of Friday, and last night Churchill came hither, who left London on Sunday, and brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty. You will by this have seen his Majesty and Lord Chancellor's speech, which were spoken on this day se'nnight to both houses; they had this one effect, that it put off in both places the debate that was to have been concerning me; but for all that, I do not at all flatter myself that these speeches will keep them from falling upon me, at least in the house of commons; for I do not find they are satisfied with those so great condescensions of his Majesty; and to tell you the truth, I am informed by my letters that nothing will satisfy the Prebyterians but the destroying of the Monarchy and the setting up of a commonwealth; to which purpose they flatter the Duke of Monmouth, as the only way to bring to pass their ends and to destroy our family; and he is so indiscreet as to give into it, and so thinks he can find his account in it; and as I told you in my last, I apprehend very much for his Majesty's person from those kind of people, and I can hardly see how

he can almost get out of the ill condition he is in. However, my friends have some hopes, and all advise me to leave this place and go into a Protestant country, which they say may be of some advantage to me; therefore if you approve of it, I would willingly go to Breda as the properest place for me to be in to please them and to be near England, keeping still my house here furnished to come hither as occasion shall offer. Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can, that I may take my measures accordingly; for till I know whether you approve of it, I do not intend to say any thing of it here. This is all I shall say now to you, but to assure you that nothing shall ever alter me from being as kind to you as ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His indignation at the bill of exclusion.—Thinks the King steady about the exclusion.

Bruxells, May 29, 1679.

"I INTENDED to have answered yesterday yours of the 22d, from the Hague, but really had not time, having had so much to write by an express my friends from England sent me, who I dispatched back last night, that I could not write to you by that post; and this morning I received another from you of the 26th, by the which I am very glad to find that the journey to Dering has quite cured my daughter. You know before this what passed on Sunday was se'nnight in the house of commons upon my subject: it was the Presbyterians and the Duke of Monmouth's friends carried it, and were most violent against me; and now it is plain that those first, I mean the Presbyterians, design nothing less than the ruin of the monarchy and our family; and truly I am of your mind, and think it is impossible for things there to last as they are, not a week longer, for if his Majesty does not entirely submit to them, and become less than a Duke of Venice, it is my opinion they will fly out into an open rebellion; and I hope in God his Majesty will never submit as they would have him, and then the other must follow: and if his Majesty make but one step more, I mean make any farther concessions, he is gone, for if once they get the navy, purge the guards and garrisons, and put new men in, they will be absolute masters. A very few days will let us see what will become of it, and one shall know what to trust to; so that I shall stay here, and not make use of the offer you make me of

going to Breda, for now what my friends in England designed by it is out of doors. But in all my misfortunes there is one thing which gives me a great deal of ease, it is that his Majesty appears very resolute for me, and exclaims, as I can desire, at what has passed the house of commons, and is very much unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth, and uses all his endeavours to hinder the bill's passing in the house of commons. I hope this vote of theirs will do their work for them, for they that pretend to lay aside one for his religion, may as well lay aside another for some fancy or other; but I hope his Majesty will take courage, and at last be a King. I shall say no more now, but assure you that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Doubtful of the King's steadiness about the exclusion.

Bruxelles, June 1, 1679.

"**Y**OU will have seen by your last letters from England, how violently they proceed on against me; and that the bill for depriving me of the succession had had one reading, and was to be read again as on Monday last; so that except his Majesty begin to behave himself as a King ought to do, not only I, but himself and our whole family are gone; and things have been let go to that pass, that the best I can expect is very great disorders, and unless something very vigorous be done within a very few days, the monarchy is gone, for the presbyterian party, which is the republican, is grown so strong, that without they receive a sudden check all is gone. A few days will now let us see what we have to trust to; in the mean time be assured nothing shall alter my kindness to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Doubtful of the King's resolutions.—Expects a civil war.

Bruxelles, June 8, 1679.

"**I** RECEIVED your's, of the 31st of last month, on Monday night last, just after the post was gone, so that I could not answer it sooner. I know so well the concern you have for me as easily to believe the trouble all these extravagant proceedings of the house of commons against me has given you; I did not think they could have been so violent,

and have so soon forgot the oath of allegiance that they had so lately taken; but when one considers how strong the Presbyterians are in that house, it is not so extraordinary a thing, for they will never fail to lay hold of any opportunity to down with monarchy; and Sir Tho. Clarges made a very good remark in the speech he made against the bill, that most of those that were for it, I think he said all, were either Presbyterians or their sons. But I hope this, and some other proceedings of the commons, will have so alarmed his Majesty and the Lords, that he will at last take some vigorous resolution, and they will stand by him; and I have all the assurances from my friends one can have, that if the bill come up to the house of Lords, it will be rejected there; and his Majesty, in his last letter to me of this day se'night, assured me the same thing. He continues very kind to me, and is unsatisfied with the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings, but still continues kind in his mind to him, and endeavours and hopes to make him behave himself as he ought to do. And now, as to the affairs in England, one can do nothing but guess at what may happen, for even there I think few can say what will be; what I conjecture is, that this parliament must of necessity be either dissolved or prorogued in a very few days, or the monarchy is gone; and I hope now, not only his Majesty's eyes, but all the honest mens eyes are opened, and see that a commonwealth is what is driven at, and that they will take their measures accordingly; and I have some hopes on't, since his Majesty refused the address made him for the drawing together the militia of London and parts adjacent, during the trial of the Lords. And I know he is very sensible that if he parts with any more of his power that he is gone. He has yet the fleet, the garrisons, his guards, Ireland and Scotland firm to him, so that if he will yet stand by himself he may yet be a King, but for all that it cannot be without trouble and hazard; but firmness and good husbandry may carry him through all his difficulties; and I am very apt to believe, that whensoever he shews he will be no longer used as he has been, and that they see he will be a King, that there will be a rebellion. I have told you my mind freely; a few days will let one know what to trust to. I am very sorry to find by your letter that my daughter had yet had a fit after her vomit; I hope it will be the last, and shall be very impatient till I have the next letters, to know how she does. It is now time for me to end my long letter, and be assured that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Conceives hopes from the long prorogation.—Was not privy to it.

Bruxelles, June 10, 1679.

“ I BELIEVE you will have been surpris'd to have heard of the prorogation of the parliament till the middle of August; till I hear from his Majesty I can make no judgment of it, which I expect to do to-morrow or next day; when I do I shall inform you of it. Methinks it looks like a dissolution, and some vigorous resolutions taken, else why so long a prorogation? Which is all I shall say to you till I hear again from England, except it be to assure you that I am as kind to you as you can desire.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Disappointed at not being sent for upon the prorogation of the parliament.

Bruxelles, June 15, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED your's of the 12th from Breda, by the which I see you were to go back the next morning to Dering. I am glad to hear my daughter had miss'd two fits of her ague, and I hope to hear she will have had no more. You will before this have had your letters from England, and so be able to judge how things will go there. When colonel Wesley went from hence I had some hopes of being soon sent for by his Majesty, believing by the prorogation vigorous counsels would have been taken; but by some things have been done since, I have reason to believe such counsels will not be pursu'd, and consequently I not sent for: but of this I shall not be able to make any certain judgment till the end of next week; when I hear any thing I shall be sure to acquaint you with it, and in the mean time be assured that no body has more kindness for you than I have.”

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Bruxells, June 22, 1679.

“ I WAS in hopes by this time to have had a letter from his Majesty by Graham, who he said he would write by before he went to

Windfor, but he is not yet come, and I am still ignorant of the reasons that moved his Majesty to declare in council he would not let me return during the prorogation: and though, by some things which had been done since that time, I did begin to believe I should not be sent for so soon, yet I confess I was somewhat surprized at his Majesty declaring it so, and now do not expect to be sent for in haste, for I hardly believe I shall be sent for when the parliament meets. I have been abroad all this day, and so have not time to say more to you now, but to assure you you shall always find me very kind to you."

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Bruxells, June 26, 1679.

"I HAVE just now received your's of the 22d, and have now less hopes than ever of being sent for; for notwithstanding the rebellion in Scotland, which I thought might have served for an argument for my being called for home, by letters I have this day received from his Majesty by Graham, I find he does not yet think fit to send for me, though he gives me all the assurances imaginable of his desiring it, but concludes for several reasons (which would be too long now to write, the post being ready to go) that it would not be for his service nor my good to send for me yet, so that to deal freely with you, I am afraid so long as Lord Shaftesbury and some others, who shall be nameless, are at the head of affairs, I am not like to be called for home. As for the news from Scotland, you know as much of it as we here, but I have not time to say any more to you now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Has asked leave to come home.—
Doubtful about his own fate.*

Bruxells, July 3, 1678.

"I HAD your's of the 26th of last month on Friday last, since when I would not write to you till now, and do easily believe the trouble it is to you, that there is so little likelihood of my being sent for by his

Majesty; I have again ventured to write to him upon that subject, and have given him my reasons why I think it for his service to send for me to him, and that presently. What effect that will have I may know by the end of this week or the beginning of the next, and then shall know what to trust to; for if I be not sent for upon my last letters, I shall have little hopes to see England this good while, and shall have reason to fear those measures will be taken which must ruin our family, and with it the Monarchy; for the republican party get ground every day, being backed by the Presbyterians. As for the affairs in Scotland, that rebellious crew that is up in arms will I believe be soon dispersed, they having no considerable men amongst them; but I think what may follow upon the Duke of Monmouth's going down thither, may be of ill consequence. When I know any thing of importance shall be sure to let you know it, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as ever."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Monarchy depends not on parliament, but on God alone.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 6, 1679.

"I RECEIVED this morning your's of the 4th from Houndslardike, and by it see your news from England concerning Scotland agrees with mine, and believe the affairs in that country quieted by this; but I am not at all of your mind as to what concerns the meeting of the parliament, for I can hope for no good from it, but on the contrary all the ill imaginable, and not only to me but to his Majesty and whole family, as may appear by the bill that was read in the house of commons against me, which was against law, and which destroys the very being of Monarchy, which I thank God yet has had no dependancy on parliament, nor on nothing but God alone, nor ever can and be a Monarchy; and his Majesty will be of this mind, and never let this house of commons sit again; if he does, he is ruined for ever. I could say much more to you upon this subject, but have not time; and let what will happen in England, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

For my Sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Still in doubts about his own fate.

Bruxells, July 9, 1679.

“ I EXPECT with great impatience to have an answer to my last long letter to his Majesty; and though the wind has been contrary these two or three days last past, yet I hope by to-morrow night or Tuesday to hear something, and if it be any thing to my satisfaction, I shall be sure to let you know it; if it be only delays and puttings off, I shall stay to let you know it by the post. I believe the next letters will bring us news of the rebels in Scotland being defeated. [I see by your's of the 7th, which I received this day, that the same report which was some time since at Nimeguen of my being gone into France is now come where you are. I cannot imagine how such a story should be made, since there was no ground for it, nor was it ever talked on here; but there are so many lies made in all places, and sworn to in England, that one ought not to wonder at any stories that are made: and I believe you will very soon see the Queen fallen upon with a design of taking her life, else those three great villains Otes, Bedlow and Dugdal, would not have behaved themselves so insolently as they did the other day at council, when they were sent for by his Majesty and asked there what they had to say at Sir G. Wakeman's trial against her Majesty, and positively refused to do it; which is all I have now to say to you, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as ever.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to parliament.

Bruxells, July 16, 1679.

“ I RECEIVED your's of the 12th after the post was gone, so that I could not answer it till now, and though I may have mistaken you, I am still of opinion that this house of commons if ever they meet will fall again upon me, and never do any thing but harm to his Majesty's affairs; and it would be a great blow to the Monarchy to let them sit again that did but offer to meddle with the succession; and had I any power with his Majesty, they should not meet. I could say very much on this subject to lett you see I am in the right, but have not time, the post being ready to go, to say any more, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.”

For my Sonne, the Prince of Orange.

F f

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King has refused to permit him to come home.—He is in despair.

Bruxells, July 19, 1679.

“ **I**N my last I told you I expected every hour an answer to my letters I wrote by Graham; I have now had it, but no good one, for I must still remain a banished man abroad, and have no other answer given me, but that it is for his Majesty’s service and for my own safety; so that my reasons have not prevailed at all, nor can I ever expect to be recalled so long as those who are now at the head of his Majesty’s affairs continue to govern; and I fear very much that the next sessions of parliament, let it be when it will, will be a fatal one, not only for me, but for the very Monarchy itself, let his Majesty or any body else flatter themselves as much as they please to the contrary. I could say much more but will not, it being no very pleasing subject to discourse on; the Dutchess of Modena came hither on Monday, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke’s joy at the dissolution of the 2d parliament.—Yet anxious for himself.

Bruxells, July 26, 1679.

“ **I** RECEIVED your’s so late of the 21st last post, that I could not answer it then, since when I believe you have heard as well as I that his Majesty dissolved this parliament, and called another to meet in October. I am very glad he has done it, and think he must have given up his crown to them had he not done it after the insolent behaviour of the house of commons to him. I hope it will teach the next better manners; but in case they should follow the footsteps of that which is now broken, I hope they will be served after the same manner. Nobody desires more than I that there may be a good union between the King and his parliament, but I am not for their using him so insolently as this last did, nor for their meddling with the succession, nor making of Kings, with which they have nothing to do; and I am glad of this dissolution, though it rather retards my being sent for than advances it, for I always consider more what is more for his Majesty’s service and the good of our family than any private concern of my own. I find my enemies continue in

favour as much as ever, and are at the head of affairs, and as long as that continues I have little hopes of seeing England, which is all I shall now say to you, but to assure you, you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The dissolution of the parliament will not cause him to be recalled.

Bruxells, July 30, 1679.

"**I** HAD your's of the 25th but yesterday, by which I find you had not then the news of a new parliament being to be in October; I suppose you had it soon after, and you will have seen I am prepared for patience, not expecting to be sent for home in haste; and truly, I do not see any likelihood when it can be, so long as I have such enemies about his Majesty, and therefore have need of a great stock of patience, I acknowledge. I hope it will last, and you may be sure I shall do nothing hastily, I have not erred on that side yet. I wish in England some considered the good of our family so much as I do, and then things would go better than they do; and to speak freely to you, I have but a very dismal prospect of our affairs in general, and I do not see without a miracle how they can be mended, for his Majesty has so given up himself into the hands of his new counsellors, that I can see nothing but the ruin of the Monarchy; and that which I think is a very bad sign, is, that his Majesty is not so sensible as he should be of the ill condition he is in; you see I speak very freely to you of affairs as I think they now are, and shall always do so. My stag hounds are come, and I intend to begin to hunt this week, and shall do what I can to divert myself. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The King orders him to continue abroad.

Bruxells, Aug. 10, 1679.

"**I**T was so late on Monday last when I came from hunting, that I could not then let you know I had had your's of the 3d, by which I saw you were going for Gelderland, and my daughter for Aix, where I hope those waters will do her good. I had yesterday an express from England, who brought me a very kind letter from his Majesty, but tells me I must have

patience till the meeting of the parliament, and the trial of the Lords in the Tower is over ; that then he hopes things may be in so good a temper as to make it fit for him to send for me over, and till then I must have patience; and will do what I can to divert myself in the mean time ; which is all I have now to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire."

In Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon bishop Burnet's history, there are the following accounts of three of the Duke of York's letters from Brussels.

" P. 452. By his own letters from Brussels, he seems very well satisfied with the civilities he received there, but seems very jealous of the King. In one dated the 22d of July, he writes : There is one thing troubles me very much, and puts odd thoughts into my head, it is, that all this while his Majesty has never said a word, nor gone about to make a good understanding between me and the Duke of Monmouth, for though it is a thing I shall never seek, yet methinks it is what his Majesty might press. Think of this, and I am sure you may draw consequences from it, which I shall not mention to you, but are obvious enough to any one that considers."

" P. 468. I find, by the Duke's letters, he was pleased with the dissolution, but not with the so speedy calling of another (i. e. parliament) which he said was only two months delay, and was giving them so much time to concert their measures better against their next meeting ; for he had little hopes a new parliament would differ much from the last ; but his jealousies of the King continued ; for in one he says, it is strange his Majesty has not written to me, neither in answer to what I wrote by Graham, nor now upon breaking the parliament : I am not used like a brother nor a friend. Press to have some mark of displeasure shewn to Armstrong, if that be not done I know what I am to expect."

" P. 475. The Duke writes, in a letter from Brussels, I see his Majesty has been much misinformed as to some things concerning the Duke of Monmouth, for Lord Chancellor Hyde never went about to put any jealousies into my head of my nephew ; what he did about the patent, was only

what any man that understood the law was obliged to; and I do not remember he ever opened his mouth to me of it: And till he spake to me himself at Windsor, five or six years ago, of his having a mind to be general, I never took any thing ill of him, nor grew jealous of him; but after what I had said to him upon that subject of my reasons against it, and that I told him then freely he was not to expect my friendship if ever he pretended to it or had it. One cannot wonder if I was against any thing that did increase his power in military affairs, as his being colonel of foot guards would have done, especially when I saw he used all little arts, by degrees, to compass his point of being general."

Charles, in the mean time, was not less unhappy in England than his brother was abroad.

Barillon writes, on the 23d January, 1679, that Charles said he was so poor that he was to recall all his ambassadors, "faute d'argent:"—"from want of money." In the Depot.

Barillon writes, on the 18th May, 1679, that in order to take business and importance from the King, Sir William Temple's council had made a regulation that foreign ministers should not speak to him without first asking an audience. In the Depot.

Others of Barillon's dispatches, relate that Charles complained bitterly of this; and that when Barillon saw him, the meetings were in secret, and with many signs, on the King's part, of the fear of detection. As Charles was the best actor in the world, these things may not be true; and yet perhaps they may.

On the 18th May, 1679, Barillon writes, that the Dutchess of Portmouth told him the King complained greatly of the indifference of France to his present sufferings. In the Depot.

On the 6th July, 1679, Barillon writes his court a long account of a discourse of Charles to him at a secret meeting; in which that Prince, in very abject terms, begged the protection of France from his new council and from parliament, and laid the blame of his late differences with In the Depot.

France, upon his brother and Lord Danby. “Le fin de ce long discours fût, de me presser de représenter à votre Majesté ce qui se passe ici, et de le conjurer, de sa part, de vouloir mettre pour toute sa vie l’Angleterre dans sa dépendance.”—“The end of this long discourse was, to press me to represent to your Majesty what was passing here, and to conjure you, on his part, to incline to put England under your dependance for ever.”

In the Depot. Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, that there had been a renewal of the conversation, on the King’s part to the same purpose.

Many of the most extravagant schemes of faction are to be found in Barillon’s accounts of English affairs about this time.

In the Depot. He writes, on the 30th January, 1679, to his court, that Mountagu had proposed France should aid Monmouth in getting him declared Prince of Wales; that Mountagu said he did so by orders of Monmouth, who had told him that Charles secretly wished it, and only wanted the support of France to bring it about. Barillon says Mountagu intends to go to Louis the XIVth to propose this scheme; and that the arguments which Mountagu used were, that a disputed succession in England would be of advantage to France; and that the severities against Roman Catholics in England would cease, if the hopes which some entertained of the Prince of Orange’s succession, and the fears which others formed from the prospect of the Duke of York’s succession were at an end.

In the Depot. Barillon writes, on the 13th July, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham boasted to him that he was in no English party, but only in that of Louis the XIVth; and that he insinuated his own pretensions to the succession; recounting that by his mother, who was descended from Edward the IVth, he was himself a Plantagenet.

In the Depot. On the 14th September, 1679, and other dispatches; Barillon writes that Buckingham advised him to give himself no trouble about the pretenders to the crown, but to court and form his connexions in the city, which Buckingham pretended was at his direction, and could command the fate of government. And afterwards, on the 28th October, 1680, Barillon writes that Buckingham boasted to him of his vast power with the city and the dissenters.

There is in the *Depot* a letter from Buckingham to Louis the XIVth, in November, 1678, in which he tells that Prince that the Duke of York and Lord Danby had formed a project to get him dethroned, by raising a rebellion in France, and gives him warning that there are certain Irishmen employed to assassinate him. In the same letter he asks a supply of money from Louis.

Barillon writes, on the 20th April, 1679, that Buckingham is gone to propose a project to Louis the XIVth, but that he would not let him know what it was.

Profligacy in public and in private life go generally together. Barillon writes, on the 16th March, 1679, to his court, that Buckingham dares not attend the house of Lords in the prosecution of Lord Danby, because Danby threatened him with a prosecution for sodomy.

During this period Charles made a feeble attempt to provide some security for himself at home, by forming two hundred of his disbanded officers into a company of guards, with a view to have officers ready if he should afterwards raise troops; but in this he was checked by one of his own ministers, the Earl of Essex. When Lord Essex was seized, some years after, on account of the Ryehouse plot, the messenger reported that he found the two following letters in his cabinet. The first is a copy, the other an original, both are in the paper office.

Earl of Essex to Charles the II^d.—Pressing him to disband his new guards.

May it please your Majesty,

“SINCE my coming to towne I have heard of many discourses here concerning the new company of guards which your Majesty is raising; those who do not wish well to your affairs do rejoice much at it, concluding it will give great cause of jealousy to your people, and prevent the good effects which your Majesty hopes for, this next session of parliament; and that upon this, occasion may be taken to question some guards now in being. 'Tis commonly said this is but a foundation of a standing army, whilst a body of officers shall be thus kept together to head

men which may be suddenly raised : That this is an illusion of the act of disbanding, which intended to separate the officers and souldiers then in pay, when so soon after many of these officers are collected into a body again. There is nothing I do more apprehend than a mistrust men may have that any designe is on foot of governing by an army, and therefore the least action which may be construed to intend this, cannot at this conjuncture but be very fatal to your Majesty. Your Majesty has gained much upon your people by disbanding the troops raised for Scotland, and I should grieve extremely to see you lose again that credit by framing this new constitution of guards. The world cannot but observe the great frugality your Majesty has begun in your household, and the retrenchments intended on pensions and otherwise ; now if monies shall be thus saved all other waies, and force encreased, what hopes can there be of a supply to relieve your Majesty's pressing occasions, when in so narrow a time as this, the charge of troops being encreased, men will apprehend the money which shall be given will be applied to the like uses. I cannot but acquaint your Majesty of the effect it hath in the treasury, for we do cleerly find men much more backward to lend money than they were before. There are divers who have endeavoured to obstruct the credit there ; but 'tis certain they do it now with much more force, whilst they have this pretence to back all they say. I speake nothing but from a heart zealous for your service, and therefore I hope your Majesty will be pleased graciously to accept what I have said, and make such reflections thereon as may be most for your own good, which is ever the aire of your Majesty's most dutyfull, and most obedient subject and servant,

London, July 21, 1679.

ESSEX."

Earl of Sunderland to Lord Essex on the same subject.

" I GAVE your Lordship's letter to the King. He cannot yet be persuaded that the new guards will hurt his affairs so much as I believe they will. Sir William T. is now here, and will speak to him of them ; so will the Dutchesse of P. I have done it, and will again. I shall wait upon your Lordship to-night or to-morrow morning, and give you a more perfect account of this matter. I am most sincerely your Lordship's most faithful and most humble servant,

SUNDERLAND."

Tuesday.

After Louis the XIVth had kept King Charles in a painful suspense for some months, subsequent to the dissolution of Lord Danby's ministry, he listened to his complaints, to which it is probable the dissolution of his second parliament contributed, and a secret money treaty as usual was set on foot between the two Princes, the particulars of which follow.

The first condition which France exacted in listening to this treaty was, that Charles should not assemble a parliament for a number of years. Charles at first avoided to engage himself to this, but afterwards consented not to assemble it for three years, and after that time not until Louis should give him leave. The two following dispatches contain an account of these things.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, du 3 Août, 1679.

“ **I** E Roi d'Angleterre me donna il y a deux jours une longue audience In the Depot.
dans l'appartement de Madame de Portsmouth à Windsor. Je lui dis d'abord combien votre Majesté prend de part au malheureux état des ses affaires, et l'envie qu'elle auroit d'y apporter un remede qui pût les rétablir. Ce Prince me répondit, qu'il ne doutoit pas que votre Majesté n'eût quelque déplaisir de voir la royauté attaquée aussi fortement qu'elle l'est en Angleterre, et que ce n'étoit pas son interêt qu'elle fût détruite ; mais qu'il étoit tems que votre Majesté prit une résolution et se déterminât à le secourir d'une somme d'argent qui le mit en état de ne pas recevoir la loi de ses sujets. Que s'il étoit assuré de ce secours, il eseroit trouver des moyens de remettre ses affaires dans la suite, et de ne plus dépendre du caprice de la chambre basse. Je pris cette occasion pour supplier sa Majesté Britannique de m'expliquer quelles sont ses intentions sur les séances du parlement ; et je lui representai qu'il étoit fort difficile que votre Majesté pût prendre aucune résolution, qu'elle ne fût pleinement informée de la conduite que l'on devoit tenir ici à l'égard de l'assemblée du parlement, et sans savoir s'il a dessein de s'en passer pour long tems, ou d'en éloigner seulement les séances par des prorogations fréquentes. Le Roi d'Angleterre me répondit, que j'avois vû ce qu'il venoit de faire, et que sans avoir aucune réponse de votre Majesté, ni être instruit de ses intentions à son égard, il avoit pris le parti de casser le parlement ; qu'il en pourroit encore

éloigner la séance, selon qu'il connoitroit les bonnes ou les mauvaises dispositions de ceux qui le composeroient; que cependant il ne pouvoit s'engager ni promettre de se passer absolument du parlement, parcequ'il n'espéroit pas que votre Majesté lui voulût fournir les sommes dont il auroit besoin, pour soutenir les dépenses nécessaires de son Etat, et pour subsister longtems sans parlement; qu'il attendoit seulement des marques présentes de la bonne volonté de votre Majesté, qui le mettroient en état de gagner du tems, et de faire voir aux gens mal intentionnés qu'il n'est pas réduit à se remettre entre leurs mains; que personne ne connoit mieux que lui combien il est important que ce que sa Majesté feroit en sa faveur demeure secret et ne soit pas pénétré. Ce Prince entra ensuite dans le détail de ses affaires, et m'expliqua combien ses revenus sont diminués. Il me fit entendre que la perte qu'il souffre ne se peut réparer entierement que par le parlement; mais que pour en venir à bout, il faut que ses sujets connoissent qu'il se peut passer d'eux; qu'alors ils seront plus traitables et prendront une conduite différente de celle qu'ils ont tenue dans les derniers tems. Je lui dis, que les assemblées du parlement me paroissent toujours fort dangereuses, et qu'il étoit difficile de s'en promettre rien de favorable pour ses intérêts, et qu'il seroit toujours exposé à voir le parlement se porter à tout ce qui est contraire à la France, et à le forcer peut être à y entrer lui même. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'interrompit sur cela et me dit: je vois l'état où je suis réduit présentement; ne croyés pas que je me laisse contraindre à rien faire qui me puisse priver du seul appui qui me peut soutenir. L'obligation que j'aurai au Roi votre maitre, me retiendra toute ma vie dans ses intérêts, quand même je ne connoitrois pas par expérience combien il seroit dangereux pour moi de perdre son amitié. Il faut qu'il se fie à moi, et qu'il croye que rien ne fera capable de me faire oublier ce que je lui devrai; je ne laisserai pas venir les affaires si avant que je puisse être contraint par le parlement; et je prendrai pour cela tous les engagements, et donnerai toutes les sûretés qu'on peut desirer.

Après ces discours généraux, ce Prince me dit, qu'il me prioit d'être bientôt informé des intentions de votre Majesté, et que je fisse mon possible pour avoir une réponse précise et formelle; qu'il étoit honteux de me parler avec tant d'empressement, et d'être réduit à demander un secours présent à votre Majesté sans lui pouvoir rien offrir de sa part; que si votre

Majesté lui veut donner un secours qui lui puisse être utile, il faut qu'il soit de la somme de quatre millions ; qu'il la regardera comme un don, mais qu'il espere néanmoins être en état de la rendre un jour à votre Majesté, quand il sera mieux dans ses affaires."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, August 3, 1679.—

Charles asks four millions from France in a new treaty.—Avoids a promise not to assemble parliaments.

"TWO days ago the King of England gave me a long audience in Lady Portsmouth's apartment at Windsor. I told him how much your Majesty took part in the unfortunate situation of his affairs, and your desire to afford a remedy which might re-establish them. This Prince answered me, that he did not doubt but your Majesty was displeased to see monarchy attacked so violently as it is in England, and that it was not for your interest it should be destroyed ; but it was time your Majesty should take a resolution, and determine yourself to assist him with a sum of money which might put him in a condition not to receive law from his subjects. That if he was certain of this help, he hoped he should find means to re-establish his affairs afterwards, and not any longer depend on the caprice of the house of commons. I took this occasion to beg his Britannick Majesty to explain his intentions with regard to the sitting of parliament ; and I represented to him that it was very difficult for your Majesty to take any resolution till you were fully informed of the conduct which would be followed here with regard to the meeting of parliament, and without knowing if he designed to go on without one for a long time, or only to put off the session by frequent prorogations. The King of England answered, that I saw what he had just done ; and that, without having any answer from your Majesty, or knowing your intentions with regard to him, he had taken the part of dissolving the parliament ; that he could still put off the meeting of a new one, according as he knew the good or bad dispositions of those who composed it ; that however he could not engage or promise to dispense altogether with parliament, because he had no hopes that your Majesty would furnish the sums necessary for sustaining the expences of the State, and supporting him long without the

assistance of parliament; that he only expected some present marks of your Majesty's good will, which might put him in a condition of gaining time, and shewing the malecontents that he was not reduced to put himself into their hands: That nobody knew better than him how important it was that what your Majesty may do for him should remain secret and impenetrable. This Prince afterwards entered into a detail of his affairs, and explained to me how much his revenues are diminished. He made me understand that the loss he suffers cannot be entirely repaired but by parliament; but to bring this about, it was necessary his subjects should know that he could do without them; and that then they will be more tractable, and follow a different conduct from that they have lately held. I told him, that the meetings of parliament always appeared to me very dangerous, and that it was difficult to promise himself any thing from it favourable to his interests; and that he would be always exposed to see the parliament carry itself in every thing contrary to France, and perhaps force him to enter into such measures himself. The King of England interrupted me upon this and said: I see the state to which I am at present reduced; don't believe I will let myself be constrained to do any thing that can deprive me of the only prop which can support me. The obligation I shall be under to the King your master, will retain me all my life in his interests, even though I did not know by experience how dangerous it would be for me to lose his friendship: he must trust to me and believe that nothing will be capable to make me forget what I shall owe to him. I will not let affairs go so far, as that parliament shall be able to compel me: And for this I will form every engagement, and give every security that can be desired.

After this general discourse, he told me he begged to be soon informed of your Majesty's intentions, and that I would use my endeavours to get a precise and formal answer; that he was ashamed to speak to me so presingly, and to be reduced to ask a present supply from your Majesty without being able to offer any thing on his own part: that if your Majesty will give him a supply that may be serviceable to him, it must be a sum of four millions; that he shall consider it as a gift; but that he hopes nevertheless to be in a condition one day of returning it to your Majesty, when his affairs shall be in a better way."

Barillon adds in this dispatch, that he suspects Charles will not keep faith with France after he has touched the four millions.

There are in the *Depot* at Versailles many letters from Barillon In the Depot. concerning the adjusting the terms of the treaty, the conduct of which was committed to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland. The dispatches shew the intention of it was, that the Duke of York should return, that the King should assemble no parliament for three years, that neither party should enter into treaties prejudicial to the other, that France should not attack Flanders, and that Charles should have a pension. Lord Sunderland asked six millions of livres the first year, and four millions the two next. The Dutchess of Portsmouth came down to four millions for each year. The King himself went lower, offering to take nine millions for the three years, provided four were paid the first year; and haggled hard for these terms. Barillon writes Oct. 2, 1679, that the Duke of York offered In the Depot. to lend his own money to Louis as a mark of his confidence, and to facilitate the money part of the treaty; and Barillon in his letter of 2d Nov. suggests to his court that the first payment shall be made to Charles out of his brother's money. In the middle of the treaty, Barillon proposed instead of a pension for three years, to give 500,000 crowns if Charles would engage to call no parliament before the end of March then next: Charles enraged at this shifting of ground, threatened instantly to assemble his parliament and trust himself to it. At last both parties agreed in a pension of one million of livres per annum for three years.

In the course of this treaty the following expressions relative to it were made use of by the King, Lord Sunderland, the Dutchess of Portsmouth, the Duke of York, and Barillon separately.

Charles's words were: "Que votre Majesté pouvoit cependant demeurer In the Depot. dans l'état le plus glorieux ou aucun Roi ait été depuis plusieurs siècles, et mettre pour toujours l'Angleterre hors de pouvoir de lui nuire."—"That your Majesty might remain in the most glorious state that any King has been in for many ages, and put it out of the power of England ever to hurt you." And again: "Ce Prince (Charles) ensuite m'a repeté tout ce qu'il m'a dit souvent, des avantages que votre Majesté retirera d'avoir l'Angleterre dans sa dependance pour toujours."—"This Prince

(Charles) repeated afterwards all that he had so often said to me, of the advantages which your Majesty might derive from having England always dependant on you."—With regard to Sunderland, Barillon says: "M^rlord S^rnderland s'est fort etendu sur les avantages que votre Majesté retireroit d'avoir le Roi d'Angleterre dans sa dependance."—"My Lord Sunderland enlarged very much upon the advantages which your Majesty might reap from having the King of England dependant upon you." The Dutchess of Portsmouth said: "Si votre Majesté vouloit quatre millions par an, pendant trois années, le Roi d'Angleterre prendroit toutes les engagements que votre Majesté desireroit."—"If your Majesty will give four millions a year, for three years, the King of England will enter into all the engagements your Majesty can desire." The Duke of York, who had come over to England in the course of the treaty, said: "Il espere que votre Majesté considerera, que sa religion et son attachement pour la France sont les sources des oppositions qu'il trouve en Angleterre."—"He hopes your Majesty will consider, that his religion and his attachment to France are the sources of the opposition which he meets with in England." Barillon says: "Je connois par tout ce que m'a été dit, que si on étoit d'accord sur la somme, il n'y auroit aucune difficulté sur le reste; c'est à dire, qu'on donneroit la carte blanche à votre Majesté sur toutes les choses qu'elle pourroit desirer; et qu'on prendroit ici tous sortes d'engagemens de ne faire aucune traité avec les Princes etrangeres sans son consentement; on s'obligerait même à entrer dans toutes les interêts de votre Majesté, et de favoriser toutes ses desseins."—"I know by all that has been said to me, that if the sum was agreed upon, there would be no difficulty about the rest; that is to say, they would give your Majesty a carte blanche upon every thing you could desire; and they would enter into all sorts of engagements not to make any treaty with foreign Princes without your consent, and even oblige themselves to enter into all your interests, and to favour all your designs."

King Charles having communicated to his brother his intention of a treaty with France, the Duke immediately dispatched colonel Churchill from Brussels to Paris to forward it. In the *Depot* there are the two following letters from the Duke to Louis the XIVth, and Mon^s. de Pomponne, upon this occasion.

Lettre du Duc de York au Roi, du 4 Septembre, 1679.

Monfieur,

“ **L** E Roi mon frere m’ayant fait part de ce qui s’est paſſé entre lui et In the Depot.
 Mr. de Barillon, pour renouveler l’union et l’ancienne bonne
 correfpondence qu’il y a eû autrefois entre vous, j’ai crû qu’il étoit néceſ-
 faire de faire ſavoir à votre Majeſté mes ſentimens là deſſus ; ce qui m’a
 obligé d’envoyer ce porteur le Sieur Churchill, maître de ma garderobe, à
 qui elle peut donner entiere croyance, pour aſſûrer votre Majeſté de la
 joie que j’ai eue de trouver le Roi mon frere dans ces ſentimens là, croyant
 qu’il n’y a rien de plus utile et pour l’un et pour l’autre. Et pour ce qui
 eſt de moi, à moins que le traité ne ſoit conclu, et la bonne correfpon-
 dence établie devant l’aſſemblé du parlement, mes affaires ſeront en un
 très méchant état. J’eſpere que votre Majeſté aura la bonté d’y ſonger,
 et de donner les mains à ce qui lui ſera propoſé ſur ce ſujet. C’eſt d’elle
 que j’attends tout, et c’eſt par elle ſeule que je puis attendre mon rétabliffe-
 ment en ce pays ci. En fin, ce porteur vous parlera plus au long ſur
 toutes ces affaires ici, et vous fera connoitre que j’aurai une reconnoiſſance
 éternelle pour les bontés que votre Majeſté aura pour moi, et que j’ai
 tout le reſpect imaginable pour vous, étant plus que qui que ce ſoit,
 Monſieur, de votre Majeſté le très affectionné frere, couſin, et ſerviteur.

(Signé) J A C Q U E S.”

Translation.

*Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 4th September, 1679.—Sends colonel
 Churchill to Paris to forward a treaty between Louis and Charles.—Begs
 the proteſtion of France.*

Sir,

“ **T** H E King my brother having communicated to me what has
 paſſed between him and Mr. de Barillon, for renewing the union
 and good correfpondence that was formerly between you, I thought it
 neceſſary to let your Majeſty know my ſentiments upon that head ; and
 this has obliged me to ſend the bearer, Mr. Churchill, maſter of my
 wardrobe, to whom you may give entiere credit, to aſſure your Majeſty of
 the joy I had to find the King my brother in this way of thinking, as I

believe there can be nothing more advantageous for both. With regard to myself, unless the treaty is concluded, and a good correspondence established before the meeting of a parliament, my affairs will be in a very bad condition. I hope your Majesty will have the goodness to think of it, and forward what may be proposed to you upon it. It is from you I expect all, and by you alone I can attain my re-establishment in this country. In fine, the bearer will speak to you more at large upon all affairs here, and make known to you that I shall have an eternal gratitude for all your Majesty's goodness to me, and that I have all imaginable respect for you, being more than any one, Sir, your Majesty's very affectionate brother, cousin, and servant.

(Signed) JAMES."

Lettre du Duc de York à Mr. de Pomponne, du 4 Septembre, 1679.

In the *Depot*. "COMME j'envois ce porteur, le Sieur Churchill, maitre de ma garderobe, pour parler au Roi votre maitre sur le sujet des propositions qui ont été faites à Mr. de Barillon, et pour lui témoigner la joie que j'aie de trouver le Roi mon frere souhaitant de renouveler les anciennes bonnes correspondences qui ont été autre fois entre eux; je l'ai chargé de vous parler tout au long là dessus; et vous pouvés lui donner entiere croyance en tout ce qu'il vous dira de ma part; c'est pourquoi je ne vous dirai plus rien que de vous prier de me continuer vos bons offices auprès le Roi votre maitre, et de croire que je ferai toujours tout à fait de vos amis.

(Signé) JAQUES."

Translation.

The Duke of York to Mons. de Pomponne, 4th September, 1679.—To the same purpose.

"AS I send the bearer, Mr. Churchill, master of my wardrobe, to speak to the King your master upon the subject of the proposals which have been made to Mr. Barillon, and to testify my joy that the King my brother is desirous of renewing the ancient good correspondence that heretofore was between them; I have charged him to speak to you at large thereupon; and you may give entire credit to every thing he shall say on my part; therefore I shall say nothing more to you than to

beg you to continue your good offices for me with the King your master, and to believe that I shall always be entirely one of your friends.

(Signed) JAMES."

The French court believing that the treaty would go easier on if the Duke of York was in England, advised King Charles to recall his brother. In the *Depot* there is the following letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, thanking him for this.

Lettre de Duc d'York au Roi, du 18 Octobre, 1679.

Monsieur,

"JE ne puis pas exprimer à votre Majesté avec quelle joye j'ai reçu In the Depot. deux de ses lettres qu'il lui a plu m'écrire, que j'eûs la satisfaction de recevoir à mon retour à Bruxelles, puisqu'elles m'ont fait voir que votre Majesté a encore de la bonté pour moi : Je la supplie de croire que j'en ai toute la reconnoissance imaginable, et que je regarde comme les effets des ordres qu'elle a donnés à Mr. de Barillon les ordres que j'ai reçus du Roi mon frere de repasser la mer. Je prétends m'embarquer demain, et veux espérer que votre Majesté me continuera sa protection. C'est d'elle que j'attends mon entier établissement auprès du Roi mon frere, et ferai tout mon possible pour faire voir à votre Majesté, que je ferai toute ma vie dans ses intérêts, et chercherai les occasions de faire paroître à votre Majesté, que j'ai tout le respect imaginable pour elle, et que je ferai tout ma vie, Monsieur, de votre Majesté le très affectionné frere, cousin, et serviteur.

(Signé) JACQUES."

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Louis the XIVth, 18 October, 1679.—Thanks him for having prevailed with King Charles to recall him from abroad.—Begs his protection.

Sir,

"I CANNOT express to your Majesty with what joy I received the two letters which you were pleased to write to me, which I had the satisfaction to find at my return to Brussels, as they shew me that your Majesty has still a kindness for me : I beg you to believe that I have all imaginable gratitude for it, and that I look upon the orders I have received from the King my brother, to repass the sea, as the effects of

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those which you gave to Mr. Barillon. I intend to embark to-morrow, and hope your Majesty will continue to me your protection. From you it is that I expect to be again solidly settled near the King my brother, and shall use my endeavours to shew your Majesty that I shall be all my life in your interests, and seek opportunities of making it appear to you, that I have all the respect imaginable for you, and that all my life I shall be, Sir, your Majesty's very affectionate brother, cousin and servant.

(Signed) J A M E S."

In the *Depot*. It appears from Barillon's letter to his court, of 9th October, 1679, that the secret of the intended treaty was then, and not till then, communicated to Lord Hide. After this the treaty moves slowly on; the King hesitates about that part which relates to parliament; the ministers desire the treaty may be verbal, or at least only signed by the King; the dispatches describe in strong terms the terrors of Lord Hide and Lord Sunderland in making themselves parties to the treaty at all; and at length an alteration made by the French court upon one of the conditions of the treaty, afforded them an opportunity of breaking it off in the end of November, 1679. The alteration was upon that part which provided that neither Prince should enter into alliances prejudicial to the other. Barillon, upon the margin of the King of France's part of this engagement, added these words: "That is to say, to make no offensive treaty against his Britannick Majesty." Charles's ministers saw, and, as Barillon relates, represented to the French court, but in vain, that the obligation upon the King of France was not so extensive as upon the King of England; that the ministers who submitted to such an inequality might lose their heads if it was ever discovered; and that under the words of the alteration, the French were at liberty even to guarantee the right of fishing disputed between the English and the Dutch, and then draw England into a war with Holland, in which France would not only not be on the side of England, but be obliged to act against her.

A copy of the intended treaty, with the marginal note which was the cause of breaking it off, is in the *Depot* as follows. It will not escape the observation of the reader in perusing it, that the French part of it was to be sealed by the great seal of France, whereas the English part of it was to be signed by the King of England alone, without any of his ministers, and to be sealed by his privy seal.

Projet de Traité.

“ **L** E Roi très Chrétien et le Roi de la Grande Bretagne ayant toujours *In the Depot.*
souhaité de conserver une union étroite, et une entière liaison entre leurs personnes, états et royaumes, dont ils se sont donnés des marques réciproques et infaillibles dans les derniers tems, leur intention est de renouvellement présentement les engagements qu'ils ont pris depuis longtems d'une amitié ferme et inviolable. Pour cet effet sa Majesté très Chrétienne a donné un plein pouvoir au Sieur de Barillon, conseiller ordinaire en son conseil d'état, et son ambassadeur extraordinaire en Angleterre, pour convenir avec sa Majesté Britannique (ou telles personnes qu'il lui plairoit commettre) des conditions d'un traité : Sa Majesté Britannique de sa part a consenti de s'engager elle même, et de signer les articles suivans.

I. Sa Majesté très Chrétienne ayant une intention sincere et véritable de conserver la paix qui a été conclue à Nimegue, promet de n'attaquer point pendant trois ans les Pays-bas qui sont sous la domination d'Espagne, ni ceux qui sont sous la domination des Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies.

II. Sa Majesté Britannique promet pendant le dit terme de trois ans de ne faire aucun traité ni alliance avec quelque Prince ou état que ce puisse être, sans la participation et le consentement de sa Majesté très Chrétienne ; et sa dit Majesté Britannique renonce dès à présent à tout ce qu'elle pourroit avoir ci devant fait avec aucun Prince ou état, qui se trouveroit contraire à l'amitié et à la bonne intelligence qu'elle desire entretenir avec sa Majesté très Chrétienne ; et consent sa dit Majesté Britannique que tout ce qui auroit été traité demeure nul à cet égard.

Article proposé par le Roi d'Angleterre.

III. Sa Majesté très Chrétienne promet pareillement de ne faire aucun traité pendant le tems de trois ans, avec quelque Prince ou état que ce soit, au préjudice de sa Majesté Britannique.*

* L'Ambassadeur de France se proposoit d'ajouter à cet article les mots suivans, c'est à dire, de ne faire aucune ligue offensive contre sa Majesté Britannique.

Tout ce que dessus a été consenti, et accordé entre le Roi d'Angleterre et le dit Sieur Ambassadeur, et a sa Majesté Britannique signé de sa main,

et promis garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité, sans y contrevenir, et s'oblige d'en fournir la ratification, scellée de son sceau secret, dans trois semaines, à compter d'aujourd'hui. Et a pareillement le dit Sieur de Barillon, ambassadeur de sa Majesté très Chrétienne auprès du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, signé, et promis au nom de sa Majesté très Chrétienne, de garder et observer tout ce qui est contenu dans le présent traité sans y contrevenir, et d'en fournir la ratification du Roi son maître, scellée du grand sceau, dans le même tems de trois semaines. Fait à Londres ce, &c."

Article secret.

" I. **S**A Majesté très Chrétienne promet de faire payer à sa Majesté Britannique la somme d'un million de livres tournois par an pendant trois ans, à compter d'aujourd'hui, laquelle somme d'un million fera payée par chacune année à Londres, en quatre payemens égaux, de trois mois en trois mois, à condition toutesfois que sa Majesté Britannique n'assemblera point son parlement pendant trois ans ; et en cas que pendant les dits trois ans le parlement fût assemblé, sa Majesté très Chrétienne pourra faire cesser les payemens qui resteront à faire.

II. Sa Majesté Britannique considérant que pour plusieurs raisons qui ne regardent que le dedans de son royaume, et que ne peuvent être prévues, il pourroit être nécessaire d'assembler son parlement pendant trois ans, se réserve la liberté de la faire, promettant, en cas qu'elle s'y trouve obligée, de ne pas souffrir qu'il se traite aucune chose au prejudice de son alliance avec sa Majesté très Chrétienne ; mais plutôt de proroger ou de casser le parlement, si elle ne le pouvoit empêcher autrement ; et consent sa dit Majesté Britannique, que sa Majesté très Chrétienne soit juge elle même, si les payemens qui resteront à faire d'un million par an devront être continués.

Les dits articles secrets auront même force que s'ils étoient expressément contenus dans le traité signé ce jourd'hui entre sa Majesté Britannique et le Sieur de Barillon, ambassadeur de France ; et la ratification en sera fournie en la même maniere et en même tems. Fait à Londres ce, &c."

Translation.

Draught of a Treaty.—France is not to attack the Low Countries.—Neither party is to make alliances without consent of the other.—Charles is not to assemble a parliament for three years.—And to get a pension of a million of livres per annum for that time.

“THE most Christian King and the King of Great Britain having always wished to preserve a strict and entire union between their persons, states, and kingdoms, of which they have given reciprocal and infallible marks in late times, their intention is now to renew the engagements they entered into a long time ago for a firm and inviolable friendship. To effect this, his most Christian Majesty hath given full powers to the Sieur Barillon, Counsellor in ordinary in his Council of State, and his Ambassador Extraordinary in England, to agree with his Britannick Majesty (or such persons as he may please to appoint) on conditions of a treaty. His Britannick Majesty on his part hath consented to stand bound himself, and to sign the following articles.

I. His most Christian Majesty having a sincere and true intention to preserve the peace which has been concluded at Nimeguen, promises not to attack the Low Countries that are under the dominion of Spain, nor those that are under the dominion of the States General of the United Provinces, during three years.

II. His Britannick Majesty promises during the said term of three years not to make any treaty nor alliance with any Prince or State whatsoever, without the participation and consent of his most Christian Majesty; and his said Britannick Majesty renounces from this time all treaties he may heretofore have made with any Prince or State which may prove inconsistent with the friendship and good intelligence he desires to keep with his most Christian Majesty; and his said Britannick Majesty consents that whatever may have been concluded shall remain null in that respect.

Article proposed by the King of England.

III. His most Christian Majesty promises equally not to make any treaty during the term of three years with any Prince or State whatsoever to the prejudice of his Britannick Majesty.*

* The French ambassador proposes to add to this article the following words: That is to say, not to make any offensive league against his Britannick Majesty.

All the above has been consented to, and agreed upon between the King of England and the said Ambassador, and signed with his Britannick

Majesty's hand, who promises to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and obliges himself to deliver the ratification of it sealed with his privy seal within three weeks to be computed from this day. In like manner the said Sieur Barillon, Ambassador from his most Christian Majesty to the King of Great Britain, has signed, and promised in the name of his most Christian Majesty, to keep and observe all that is contained in the present treaty without contravening it, and to deliver the King his master's ratification sealed with the great seal within the said time of three weeks. Done at London this, &c."

Secret Article.

" I. **H**IS most Christian Majesty promises to pay to his Britannick Majesty the sum of one million of livres tournois per annum for three years, to be computed from this day, which sum of one million shall be paid every year in London by four equal payments from three months to three months; upon condition always that his Britannick Majesty shall not assemble his parliament during three years; and in case during the said three years the parliament shall be assembled, his most Christian Majesty may cause the payments that remain to cease.

II. His Britannick Majesty considering for many reasons which regard only the interior of his kingdom, and which cannot be foreseen, that he may be under the necessity of assembling his parliament within three years, reserves to himself the liberty of doing it, promising, in case he finds himself obliged thereto, not to suffer any thing to be treated of to the prejudice of his alliance with his most Christian Majesty, but rather to prorogue or dissolve the parliament, if he cannot otherwise prevent it; and his said Britannick Majesty consents that his most Christian Majesty shall himself be judge if the payments that shall remain to be made of a million per year ought to be continued.

The said secret articles shall have the same force as if they were expressly contained in the treaty signed this day between his Britannick Majesty and the Sieur de Barillon, Ambassador from France, and the ratification shall be declared in the same manner, and at the same time. Done at London, &c."

Whilst attempts were making to adjust the terms of this treaty, the Duke of York had come over to England upon account of his brother's illness; but finding him recovered, he soon returned again to Brussels. During this visit there are in King William's box the following letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He has come to England on account of his brother's illness.—Uncertain if he shall not be obliged to return.

Windsor, Sept. 6, 1679.

“**I** HAD so much business upon my hands, and so many people to speak to on Tuesday last which was the post day, and the day I arrived here, that I could not get a moment's time to write to you to let you know of my being come safe hither. I found his Majesty upon the mending hand, who received me very kindly; and now, God be thanked, he has got so much strength that he walks into the Park. I cannot yet say what will become of me, having had no discourse with his Majesty; but by what I have had with some others, believe I may be sent back again, because they think it best to have me away when the parliament sits; for my part, I am content to do what his Majesty shall think best for his service. I am very glad to find I have so many friends left, and that his Majesty has been undeceived in one thing that had been told him, which was, that there would be a rebellion, and that the city would rise in case I came back; but neither of these have happened, and the city is very quiet, and most of the rich men there are pleased with it. By the next post I shall be able to say more to you, and be always assured of the continuance of my kindness to you.”

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to return abroad again.

Windsor, Sept. 9, 1679.

“**I** RECEIVED last night your's of the 12th, and see by it you were surprized at my coming hither; I have written to you since my being here, and though his Majesty will have me return back to Bruxells, which I shall obey, yet I am of opinion my journey hither will prove advantageous to me. By my next I shall be able to explain it to you. His Majesty is, God be praised, very well, and has quite recovered his

strength. There is yet no day set for his going to Newmarket, nor for my setting out for Bruxells; I believe they will be both at the same time. His Majesty is just a-going abroad, and I must wait on him, so that I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth disgraced.—
Lord Sunderland is to manage the department of the General's business.*

Windsor, Sept. 12, 1679.

"**I** BELIEVE you will be as much surprized with the news you will have now, as with that of my coming for England; it is, that the Duke of Monmouth is commanded to go out of England, and his command of General taken from him, which though it may make him more popular amongst the ill men, and seditious people, will quite dash his foolish hopes that he so vainly pursued. This his Majesty resolved in upon its being represented to him, that it was not reasonable to leave the Duke of Monmouth here, and send me back again into Flanders, which he thought necessary for his service. The day for my going is not yet named, for he must go first, but I believe it will be about the end of next week; he has of himself given up his command of the Horse Guards, desiring the Duke of Grafton may have that command; as for the Generallship, no body will have it more; one of the Secretaries, which will be the Earl of Sunderland, is to manage that affair, as M. de Louvois does in France. All things are very quiet in the city and country, and will continue so if his Majesty does but please. I have not time to say more now, but that you shall always find the continuance of my kindness to you.

I am told the Duke of Monmouth intends for Hamburg."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Both Dukes are to go abroad.

Windsor, Sept. 16, 1679.

"**S**INCE my last to you I have received your's of the 19th from Hounslardike, and by the last post gave you an account of what had passed concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who, as I have been informed, has not behaved himself as became him to his Majesty, for he has kept very ill company at London, and not followed his Majesty's orders in having no more to do with such kind of men. Mr. Mountagu is one

of his State Counsellors, and all the Presbyterians and dissenting people flock to him, and endeavour to persuade him to disobey his Majesty's commands, and not to go; but his Majesty sent for him to come hither yesterday, intending, as I was told, to appoint a day for his going, and to give him good advice. I am informed the day is not set, he saying he had a great deal of business to do; however, some say it will be Monday or Tuesday next, and when he is gone I am to set out a day or two after, his Majesty being still of opinion it is for his service I should go beyond sea again; and though I am not of that mind I must obey. To-morrow we go to London, and by the next post I believe I shall be able to say when I shall go, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me very kind to you."

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

London, Sept. 23, 1679.

"I SEE by your's of the 26th from Hounslardike, that you were very much surprized at the news I wrote you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; I do not at all wonder at it, for most people here were so too. He has used with his Majesty all the persuasions he could to get leave to stay but for some time longer, but could not obtain it; and to-morrow he is to go. I am told he intends for Utrecht, and to stay there, having no mind to be far from hence: I am also to go away on Thursday for Bruxells, and on Friday their Majesties go for Newmarket, where his stay will not be long, at least I hope so, for his presence here is very necessary in such troublesome times as these. So soon as I come to Bruxells you shall hear from me, for news I have not time to say more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

In the mean time the prospect of the success of the above treaty with France had given courage to Charles: He dismissed Shaftesbury from being President of the new Council; he prorogued his parliament, and recalled his brother from abroad; yet he dared not to keep him near his person, but sent him into Scotland.

Upon this occasion there is in King William's box the following letter from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—He is to go to Scotland.—Connexion between republican party in England and Holland.

London, Oct. 17, 1679.

“ **I**N my last I gave you an account of my arrival here, since when his Majesty has put out Lord Shaftesbury from being President of the Council; and this day the parliament was prorogued till the 26th of January, notwithstanding which my journey for Scotland continues, and I hope within a few days to begin my journey by land, though the ways are like to be very bad by reason of the great rains which have been of late, and still continue. I had not time in my last to let you know a piece of intelligence I had, which it is fit you should know, it is, that there is a private correspondence between Lord Shaftesbury and some parliament men of his faction, and some of those are called here the Louestin party in Holland, which I am sure cannot be to your advantage; and had the parliament set now, they would have proceeded in it. I hope the little man's being out of employment here may help to break those measures; however, you would do well to look a little after it where you are, for believe me the Presbyterians and other republicans here have as little kindness for you as the rest of our family, which is all I have to say now, but that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.”

It is one of the features of the Duke of York's character, that at all times whether when he was heir to the crown, possessed it, or had lost it, his mind was improved by misfortunes. His conduct in Scotland during his first banishment there is known both from history and tradition to have been irreproachable. He was conscious and vain of it himself, as appears from the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon Bishop Burnet's history.

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's history.

“ **I**N a letter dated the 14th of December, the Duke says, “ I live here as cautiously as I can, and am very careful to give offence to none, and

to have no partialities, and preach to them laying aside all private animosities, and serving the King his own way. None shall have reason to complain of me; and though some of either party here (i. e. in Scotland) might have hoped I should have shewed my partiality for them, and some of my friends have been of opinion it had been best for me to have done so, and by it have secured one side to me: yet I am convinced it was not fit for me to do it, it being no way good for his Majesty's service, which I can make out by many reasons which would be too long for a letter."

Secret as the attempts to a treaty between Charles and Louis had been they did not escape the vigilant eye of the Prince of Orange. He wrote his suspicions to the Duke of York; but the Duke denied the treaty, as appears from the following letter in King William's box from him to the Prince of Orange.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Denies the late attempt to a French treaty.

Edinburgh, Nov. 27, 1679.

"I RECEIVED yesterday your's of the 24th, and arrived here on Monday, and was received here as well as at the borders of this kingdom as well as I could expect, and truly I have great reason to be satisfied with my reception in this country. As for what you say you heard at your arrival at the Hague of a new league made between England and France, the same news has come here, a flying report, but not from good hands, and I do not believe it. But before this Mr. Sidney is with you, and can inform you better than I can who have been so long from London, and so little there, and so far from it, of what passes there. This place affords no news at all, but that the weather continues still very good; so that I have no more to say, but that you shall find no alteration in my kindness to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

The prospect of the success of this treaty, which was, as Charles and his ministers expressed it, to have put England into a state of dependance upon France, and to have relieved Louis for three years from all fears of

an English parliament, had had an effect in France also. It produced a parsimony in the councils of that kingdom with regard to the popular party in England. Among several instances of this in the dispatches, there is the following letter from Mr. Mountague to Mons. de Pomponne, complaining of it as affecting himself.

Lettre de Mr. de Montaigu au Ministre, du 26 Octobre, 1679.

In the *Depot*. “

QUOIQUE je sache qu'on vous importune souvent de ma part, je ne puis, Monsieur, me dispenser de vous importuner encore moi même ; on me presse d'une si étrange maniere, et j'ai affaire à des gens si intéressés, que je suis en un embarras dont je ne puis me tirer sans votre secours. Vous savés, Monsieur, qu'il y a près de huit mois que j'ai entierement satisfait à ce à quoi je m'étois engagé ; et si vous prenés la peine de relire les lettres de ce pays d'entre le 15 et le 25 Octobre, 1678, vous verrés qu'il n'y a pas la moindre difficulté à mon affaire, et même que l'événement a beaucoup passé mes espérances. La personne que le Roi emploie ici a été témoin de ma conduite : il fait que pour satisfaire à l'engagement où j'étois entré avec lui de refuser toutes les propositions qu'on me feroit, quelques avantageuses qu'elles fussent, il m'eût coûté soixante mille écus, sans compter ce que j'avois perdu auparavant, et ce que je viens de perdre depuis six semaines. Je suis persuadé, Monsieur, que je n'ai pas besoin de représenter toutes ces choses au Roi pour l'obliger à executer la promesse qu'il a eû la bonté de me faire ; je sais combien sa parole est inviolable ; mais on me persécute de tous côtés, et si le Roi n'a la bonté de donner ses ordres pour me tirer de la peine où je suis, je suis sur le point d'être réduit à la nécessité, ou de perdre mon crédit et ma réputation, ou de vendre mes terres pour dégager les paroles que j'ai données sur celle du Roi. Il n'y a point de jour que je ne sois exposé à des persécutions, d'autant plus désagréables que les gens qui me les font ont en droit de me les faire. L'affaire dont il s'agit est si peu considérable, que je ne doute point qu'elle ne finisse promptement, si vous me faites la grace de représenter au Roi ce que je vous mande. Vous m'avez témoigné tant de bontés en plusieurs rencontres, que j'espère que vous ne me refuserés pas votre assistance en celle ci. Je vous demande pardon de l'embarras que je vous donne, et de la maniere dont je vous écris, mais vous savés, Monsieur, les raisons que j'ai d'en user ainsi, et le danger où je me mettrois si j'écrivois de ma main. Je suis, &c.”

Translation.

Letter from Mr. Montagu to the Minister, 26 October, 1679.—Claims the French King's promise for the Money due to him for ruining Lord Danby.

ALTHOUGH I know you are often importuned on my account, I cannot, Sir, dispense with importuning you myself; I am pressed in so strange a manner, and have such interested persons to deal with, that I am in an embarrassment, from which I cannot draw myself without your help. You know, Sir, there are near eight months run since I absolutely fulfilled what I engaged myself for; and if you will be at the trouble of reading over the letters from this country between the 15th and the 25th October, 1678, you will see there is not the least difficulty in my affair, and that the event has even gone beyond my hopes. The person whom the King employs here has been a witness of my conduct: he knows, that to perform the engagement I entered into with him for refusing all proposals which might be made to me, however advantageous they might be, has cost me sixty thousand crowns, without reckoning what I lost before, and have lost within these six weeks. I am persuaded, Sir, that I have no need to represent all these things to the King, to induce him to execute the promise he had the goodness to make me; I know how inviolable his word is; but I am persecuted on all sides, and if the King is not so good as to give orders to extricate me from the trouble I am in, I am upon the point of being reduced to the necessity either of losing my credit and my reputation, or of selling my estates to disengage the promises I gave upon the promise of the King. There is not a day but I am exposed to persecutions, the more disagreeable as the people who make them have a right to do it. The affair in question is so trifling that I cannot doubt of its being speedily finished, if you will do me the favour to represent to the King what I have wrote. You have shewn me so many kindnesses on many occasions, that I hope you will not refuse me your assistance in this. I ask pardon for the trouble I give you, and the manner in which I write, but you know, Sir, the reasons I have to act thus, and the danger I should put myself in if I wrote this with my own hand. I am, &c."

Upon the breaking off the treaty with France in the end of November, 1679, Charles, to gain popularity to himself, made the most public advances to the Dutch and Spaniards; and in the Duke of York's absence in Scotland, made a defensive alliance with Spain. Louis the XIVth, had in the mean time, seen too late his error. Barillon, as appears by his dispatch of 1st February, 1680, got leave from his court to yield the disputed article upon the margin of the treaty, and to offer Charles a pension of 500,000 crowns for three years. Barillon writes to his court, on the 22d February, 1680, that he delays renewing the proposal for the treaty till the Duke shall come from Scotland, whom he expects soon. On the 14th March, 1680, he writes to his court that the Duke of York was arrived, and had complained to him that Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth had taken advantage of his absence to get the French alliance broken off, and the Spanish one formed; and that they had pressed for the last of these measures in order to gain popularity to themselves. After this, Barillon's dispatches give an account of several attempts, made by him and the Duke of York in the spring and summer of the year 1680, to set proposals on foot again for a treaty with France. Charles resisted them all; his apologies, as Barillon relates them, were reproaches of kindness. Barillon writes to his court, 27 June, 1680, that Charles used the following expressions to him upon one of those occasions. "Qu'il n'avoit tenu qu'à votre Majesté d'avoir une alliance avec lui, et que s'il osoit le dire, c'étoit la seconde faute qui s'étoit fait en France de cette nature; que quand la triple alliance se fist, il en avoit averti Mr. de Rouvigny long temps auparavant; que je sçavois ce qu'il m'avoit dit et offert."—"That the want of an alliance lay at your Majesty's door, and if he dared to say so, it was the second fault of this kind which had been committed in France; that when the triple alliance was made, he had given information of it to Mr. de Rouvigny beforehand: That I knew what he had said and offered to myself." This was a repetition of what he had said to Barillon some months before; for Barillon, on the 12th February, 1679, wrote that Charles said: "Que lorsque la triple ligue se fist, il avertit long temps auparavant Mr. de Rouvigny d'avoir des ordres de votre Majesté, et des pouvoirs pour conclure."—"That when the triple alliance was made, he gave warning to Mons. Rouvigny

a long time before, that he might receive orders from your Majesty, and powers to conclude with him."

In the mean time, upon the breaking off of the treaty with France in November, 1679, Louis had given orders to Barillon to renew his intrigues with the popular party in England, and to let him know the names and characters of the chief of those with whom he had connected himself. Barillon in answer writes the following detail.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon, du 14 Decembre, 1679.

Sire,

"**C**ONFORMEMENT aux ordres que votre Majesté m'a donnés, *In the Depot.* je suis rentré en commerce avec les gens du parlement que j'ai crû pouvoir être utiles à son service à l'avenir. J'avois toujours entretenu des liaisons avec eux pour m'en servir au besoin. Je rendrai compte présentement du détail comme sa Majesté le prescrit par sa dernière dépêche.

J'ai pris en tous les tems fort grand soin de ménager l'esprit de milord Hollis, et je crois l'avoir maintenu dans des sentimens fort favorables aux interêts de votre Majesté. C'est l'homme d'Angleterre pour qui toutes les différentes cabales ont le plus de considération. Il est généralement respecté de tous les partis, mais principalement des Presbyteriens. Rien ne m'a tant servi auprès de lui que l'offre que je lui ai faite de la part de votre Majesté d'une boîte de portrait de diamans. Il a témoigné beaucoup de reconnoissance pour cette marque de l'estime que votre Majesté fait de lui; mais il n'a point accepté le présent, et je l'ai encore entre les mains. Je l'ai pressé plusieurs fois de le prendre, il s'en est toujours défendu, et m'a dit qu'il serviroit votre Majesté avec moins de scrupule et plus utilement s'il ne l'acceptoit pas, et qu'il ne pouvoit s'y résoudre sans la permission du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, étant présentement de son conseil. J'ai combattu par de bonnes raisons la proposition qu'il m'a faite, de dire à sa Majesté Britannique que votre Majesté lui voulût faire un présent, sous un prétexte aussi peu apparent que celui de n'en avoir point reçu au sortir de son ambassade de France. Cependant je puis assurer votre Majesté que dans l'affaire de grand Trésorier et du licenciement de l'armée, personne n'a été plus utile à votre Majesté que milord Hollis.

Quoiqu'il n'aille pas souvent au parlement, il est consulté par beaucoup de gens, et ses avis sont d'une grand poids. Il est fort modéré sur le sujet de Mr. le Duc d'York, et se déclare qu'il ne peut consentir à son exclusion; mais, en même tems il feroit d'avis que le pouvoir d'un Roi Catholique fût limité. Il appréhende que la cour ne conserve toujours le dessein de gouverner plus absolument que les loix d'Angleterre ne le permettent, et il connoit que votre Majesté seule peut faciliter le succès d'un tel dessein. C'est pourquoi il voudroit que la nation ne s'emportât pas contre la France, et croit que ce seroit une grande imprudence que de donner quelque sujet de mécontentement à un Prince si puissant, et qui peut si aisément leur nuire. Je vois quelque fois milord Hollis, mais, pour ne pas rendre suspectes des visites trop fréquentes, nous avons commerce ensemble par le Sieur Beber; c'est un homme qui à un grande crédit sur l'esprit de milord Hollis, et qui est fort considéré parmi les Presbyteriens. Il m'a été fort utile en beaucoup d'occasions, et c'est par lui que j'ai été averti à tems de ce qui se passe dans les différentes cabales. J'ai eû par la même personne, une étroite liaison avec le Sieur Lidleyton, qui est un des plus considerables de la Chambre basse, et dont les avis ont été toujours les plus suivis. J'ai conservé aussi une correspondance particuliere avec le Sieur Pouele. Il a été mis dans le conseil lorsqu'on y mit dis gens opposés à la cour, il s'est ménagé depuis ce tems là, en sorte qu'il peut toujours être utile quand le parlement s'assemblera; c'est un homme propre à remplir une des premieres charges d'Angleterre. Il est très éloquent et très habile. Notre premier commerce est venu par le moyen de Mr. de Montaignu; mais je l'ai entretenu depuis cela de mon chef, et fort secrètement.

Le Sieur Harbord est encore de ceux de qui je me suis servi, et qui a beaucoup agi dans l'affaire du grand Trésorier et du licenciement des troupes; mais il seroit difficile de l'employer présentement. C'est un homme qui a assez de crédit parmi les gens des provinces. Il seroit plus propre si on vouloit attaquer un ministre, qu'il ne le sera pour parler dans le parlement contre une alliance que la cour voudroit faire et qu'on voudroit empêcher.

Ces quatre personnes ont touché ce qui leur avoit été promis quand le licenciement des troupes seroit fait, et que Mr. le grand Trésorier seroit hors des affaires.

J'envoie un mémoire à part par lequel votre Majesté verra ce qui a été donné pour cela, et pour quelques autres dépenses faites par ses ordres.

M. de Sidney m'a été d'une grande utilité en bien des occasions. C'est un homme qui a été dans les premières guerres, et qui naturellement est ennemi de la cour. On l'a soupçonné depuis quelque tems de s'être laissé gagner par milord Sonderland; mais il me paroît toujours avoir les mêmes sentimens, et n'avoir point changé de maximes. Il a beaucoup de crédit parmi les indépendans, et est ami intime de ceux qui sont les plus opposés à la cour dans le parlement; il a été élu pour celui ci. Je ne lui ai donné que ce que votre Majesté m'a permis. Il auroit bien voulu avoir d'avantage, et si on lui faisoit quelque gratification nouvelle, il seroit aisé de l'engager entièrement. Cependant il est dans des dispositions fort favorables pour ce que votre Majesté peut desirer, et ne voudroit pas que l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux fissent une ligue. Il est fort mal avec son frere qui est en Hollande, et se moque de ce que la cour s'en sert comme d'un négociateur. Je crois que c'est un homme qui seroit fort utile, si les affaires d'Angleterre se portoient à l'extrémité.

Depuis le tems qu'on a parlé d'une alliance entre les Etats Généraux et l'Angleterre, j'ai pris beaucoup de soin d'entretenir les défiances que quelques gens des plus considérables du parlement ont contre Mr. le Prince d'Orange; ils appréhendent que son union avec la cour ne rende le gouvernement plus ferme et plus autorisé: mais à dire la vérité comme elle me paroît, je ne crois pas qu'il fût possible d'empêcher que le parlement n'approuvât une ligue qui seroit faite avec les Etats Généraux pour garantir la paix. Tout ce qui pourroit se pratiquer dans la suite (si cela arrivoit) ce seroit d'empêcher le parlement de donner des sommes considérables; ainsi je ne crois pas devoir proposer à votre Majesté de faire présentement de nouvelles dépenses dont le succès seroit fort douteux. Il sera toujours tems de faire des gratifications, et d'en promettre à ceux dont on voudra se servir, lorsqu'on verra que le parlement se doit assembler.

Si votre Majesté croit que je doive encore presser milord Hollis d'accepter la boîte de diamans, je pourrois par le moyen de madame Hollis la faire accepter; et je ne présume pas qu'elle fût si difficile qu'il l'a été.

J'attendrai aussi les ordres de votre Majesté pour offrir quelque chose aux autres dont j'ai fait mention, et je ne me servirai de la permission qu'elle me donnera qu'en des occasions que je croirai essentielles pour son service.

Je dois rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qui regarde Mr. de Montaigu séparément des autres, étant engagé comme il est dans les intérêts de votre Majesté par des considérations particulières. J'ai eû assez de peine à me défendre depuis six mois des instances qu'il m'a faites pour le paiement de la somme qui lui a été promise pour la perte de Mr. le grand Trésorier. Il prétend que la condition est accomplie de sa part. J'ai toujours essayé de lui faire connoître que ce n'étoit pas une affaire entièrement finie, et qu'étant pleinement assuré de ce qui lui a été promis, il ne devoit pas s'inquiéter que le paiement se fit un peu plutôt ou plus tard. Il ne se rend point à mes raisons. Les deux voyages que le Sieur Falaiseau a faits inutilement, le feroient résoudre d'aller lui même solliciter le paiement de la somme qu'il prétend, s'il avoit pû quitter l'Angleterre dans un tems où les affaires sont dans un si grande mouvement, et aux quelles il a une très grande part. Votre Majesté se souviendra, s'il lui plait, que Mr. Montaigu me parla au mois de Janvier passé, pour essayer de faire en sorte qu'elle voulût favoriser la prétention de Mr. de Montmouth : c'étoit le principal motif de son voyage en France quand il fût arrêté à Douvres. Mr. de Montaigu connût bien dans la suite par la retenue avec laquelle je lui parlai sur cette affaire, que votre Majesté n'étoit pas disposée à soutenir un dessein si injuste, et qui paroïssoit alors fort chimérique. Nous n'avons pas laissé d'avoir un grand commerce ensemble, et de conserver beaucoup de liaison pour les autres affaires. Il m'a souvent parlé de mettre milord Schafberi dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, et prétend que ce ne seroit pas une chose impossible si on vouloit y employer une somme considérable. Je ne fais si votre Majesté jugera utile à son service d'y travailler présentement ; ce seroit un moyen fort propre pour susciter de nouveaux embarras au Roi d'Angleterre, et milord Schafberi seroit encore plus hardi, s'il se sentoît appuyé secrètement de votre Majesté ; mais il seroit difficile de le détourner des engagements qu'il a contre Mr. le Duc d'York, et de l'empêcher de travailler pour l'élévation de Mr. le Duc de Montmouth, ou pour celle de Mr. le Prince d'Orange ; car ses desseins sont assez difficiles à pénétrer, et peut être a-t'il pour but

principal de travailler à l'établissement d'une république, dont il essayeroit d'être le chef.

Si votre Majesté me permet de dire ce que je pense qui se doit faire présentement à l'égard de Mr. de Montaigu, je crois qu'elle me commandera de lui donner encore des assurances positives du paiement de ce qui lui a été promis, et qu'elle marquera un tems certain dans lequel ce paiement sera actuellement fait. Si, après cela, votre Majesté veut par son moyen, et par le moyen de madame Hervey sa sœur, gagner des membres du parlement, je puis répondre qu'on ne sauroit trouver deux personnes plus propres à traverser tous les desseins de la cour. C'est par une intrigue de madame Hervey que j'ai fait conserver à Bruxelles un nommé Bulstrode, que Mr. de Louvois me manda en ce tems là être utile au service de votre Majesté. Ma principale application a été avec tous ceux dont j'ai fait présentement mention, de leur ôter le soupçon que votre Majesté veuille faire un traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre. J'ai néanmoins observé de ne point donner sur cela de paroles positives, principalement à milord Hollis : je lui ai seulement dit en général, que votre Majesté ne prendroit jamais d'engagement avec sa Majesté Britannique qui puisse être préjudiciable à la liberté et aux privilèges des Anglois.

Je ne dirai rien à votre Majesté sur le sujet de Mr. le Duc de Bouquingham, parcequ'il n'est pas ici présentement, et que votre Majesté connoit par elle même de quel usage il peut être pour son service. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'ait été mal satisfait du refus que je fis cet été de lui donner les vingt mille écus, dont il croyoit pouvoir disposer. J'aime mieux lui laisser croire que je faisois cette épargne de mon chef, que de lui faire connoître que j'en avois l'ordre. Comme je le vis dans le dessein d'aller en France, et que je ne doute pas qu'il n'y ait été, je crois que lorsqu'il paroitra ici, je le trouverai disposé à servir votre Majesté quand les occasions s'en présenteront. Il ne me paroît pas qu'il ait un grand crédit dans le parlement, mais il pourroit être plus utile à l'égard du peuple, et dans les tems de troubles. Ce ne sont pas les esprits réglés qui font les coups les plus considérables."

Translation.

Extraēt of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth.—Names and characters of individuals of the popular party who aēt in a secret correspondence with France.

Sire,

December 14, 1679.

“**C**ONFORMABLE to the orders your Majesty has given me, I have re-entered into a correspondence with the persons in parliament who I thought might be useful to your service hereafter. I had always kept measures with them to make use of them in time of need. I shall at present give your Majesty the detail, as you order by your last dispatch.

I have at all times taken great care to manage Lord Hollis, and I believe I have kept him in very favourable sentiments for your Majesty's interests. He is the man of all England for whom the different cabals have the most consideration. He is respected in general by all parties, but principally by the Presbyterians. Nothing did me so much service with him as the offer I made him on your Majesty's part of a box with your picture set with diamonds. He made great acknowledgments for this mark of your Majesty's esteem; but he has not accepted the present, and I have it still. I have pressed him many times to take it; he has always excused himself, and told me that he should serve your Majesty with less scruple and more usefully if he did not accept it, and that he could not resolve to take it without the permission of the King of Great Britain, being at present of his council. I opposed with very good reasons the proposal he made to me of telling his Britannick Majesty that your Majesty would make him a present, under the very improbable pretence of his not having received one at the expiration of his embassy to France. In the mean time I can assure your Majesty, that in the affair of the high Treasurer and the disbanding of the army, no person was more useful to your Majesty than Lord Hollis.

Although he does not often go to parliament, he is consulted by many people, and his advice has great weight. He is very moderate upon the subject of the Duke of York, and declares he cannot consent to his

exclusion; but, at the same time, he is of opinion that the power of a Catholick King of England should be limited. He is apprehensive the court will always adhere to the design of governing more absolutely than the laws of England admit, and he knows that your Majesty alone can facilitate the success of such a design. Upon this account he wishes that the nation may not be stirred up against France; and believes it would be a great imprudence to give any cause of discontent to a Prince so powerful, and who can so easily hurt them. I sometimes see Lord Hollis, but, not to give suspicion by too frequent visits, we have correspondence together by the *Sieur Beber*; he is a man who has great credit with Lord Hollis, and who is greatly considered amongst the Presbyterians; he has been very useful to me on many occasions, and it is through him I have been informed in time of what passes in the different cabals. I have had, through the same person, a strict connexion with *M. Lyttelton*, who is one of the most considerable in the house of commons, and whose opinions have always been the most followed. I have also kept a particular correspondence with *Mr. Powle*. He was put into the council when the persons who opposed the court were put there. He has so conducted himself since that time, that he will always be useful when the parliament shall meet: he is a man fit to fill one of the first posts in England; he is very eloquent and very able; our first correspondence came through *Mr. Montagu's* means; but I have since kept it by my own, and very secretly.

Mr. Harbord is another of those whom I have made use of, and who bore an active part in the affair of the Treasurer and the disbanding the troops; but it would be difficult to employ him at present. He has considerable credit amongst people in the country; he would be more fit if a minister was to be attacked, than he will be to speak in parliament against an alliance which the court would make, and the other party hinder.

These four have touched what was promised them, when the disbanding the troops should be finished, and the high Treasurer removed from affairs.

I send a memorial apart, by which your Majesty will see what has been given for this, and some other expences laid out by your orders.

Mr. Sidney has been of great use to me on many occasions. He is a man who was in the first wars, and who is naturally an enemy to the court. He has for some time been suspected of being gained by Lord Sunderland;

but he always appeared to me to have the same sentiments, and not to have changed maxims. He has a great deal of credit amongst the independants, and is also intimate with those who are the most opposite to the court in parliament. He was elected for this present one *. I gave him only what your Majesty permitted me. He would willingly have had more, and if a new gratification was given him, it would be easy to engage him entirely. However he is very favorably disposed to what your Majesty may desire; and is not willing that England and the States General should make a league. He is upon bad terms with his brother, who is in Holland, and laughs at the court's making use of him as a negociator. I believe he is a man who would be very useful if the affairs of England should be brought to extremities.

Since the time that an alliance has been spoken of between the States General and England, I have taken a great deal of care to nourish the diffidence which some of the most considerable persons in parliament have of the Prince of Orange; they are apprehensive that his union with the court will render the government more firm, and give it more authority: but to say the truth, as it appears to me, I do not believe it would be possible to prevent the parliament from approving a league made with the States General to guarantee the peace. All that could be done afterwards (if it should happen) would be to hinder the parliament from giving considerable sums; I therefore do not think I ought to propose to your Majesty the making any new expence at present, the success of which might be very doubtful. It will be always time enough to give and promise new rewards to those whose services may be wished for, when it is seen if the parliament is to be assembled.

If your Majesty thinks I ought again to press Lord Hollis to accept the box of diamonds, I may by means of Lady Hollis make him accept it; I don't presume she will be so difficult as he has been. I shall also wait your Majesty's orders for offering any thing to the others of whom I have made mention, but shall not make use of the permission you may give unless on occasions which I shall think essential to your service.

I ought to give your Majesty an account of what regards Mr. Montagu separate from the others, being engaged as he is in your Majesty's interests

* Mr. Sidney's election was found not to be good.

by particular considerations. I have had trouble enough to defend myself for these six months against his solicitations for the payment of the sum which was promised him for the ruin of the high Treasurer. He alledges that the condition is fulfilled on his part. I have always endeavoured to make him understand that it was an affair not entirely finished, and that being fully assured of what had been promised to him, he ought not to make himself uneasy whether the payment be made a little sooner or later. He does not give way to my reasons. The two journeys which the Sieur Falaiseau has made to no purpose, would have made him resolve to go himself to solicit the payment of the sum he pretends a right to, if he could have left England at a time when affairs are in so great commotion, and in which he has acted so great a part. Your Majesty will remember, if you please, that Mr. Montagu spoke to me in the month of January last, to try if you would favour the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions: it was the principal motive of his journey to France when he was seized at Dover. Mr. Montagu knew well afterwards by the reservedness with which I spoke to him upon that affair, that your Majesty was not disposed to support so unjust a design, and which then appeared very chimerical. However upon other affairs we have always had a good correspondence, and have preserved the greatest union. He has often spoken to me of getting Lord Shaftesbury into your Majesty's interests, and alledges that it would not be impossible if a considerable sum were employed. I don't know if your Majesty will judge it useful to your service to endeavour at it at present; it would be a very proper means to stir up new embarrassments to the King of England, and Lord Shaftesbury would be still more bold, if he found himself secretly supported by your Majesty: but it will be difficult to turn him from his engagements against the Duke of York, and to prevent his bestirring himself for the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth, or for that of the Prince of Orange; for his designs are difficult enough to penetrate: And perhaps his principal end is to endeavour the establishment of a Republick, of which he would aim at being chief.

If your Majesty will give me leave to say what I think ought to be done at present with regard to Mr. Montagu, I think you might command me to give him positive assurances of the payment of what was promised

him, and that a certain time be named on which this payment shall be actually made: if after this your Majesty will, by his means and those of Mrs. Hervey his sister, gain any members of parliament, I can answer that two persons cannot be found more proper to traverse all the designs of the court. It was by an intrigue of Mrs. Hervey that I caused to be continued at Brussels a certain person named Bulstrode, who, as Mons. de Louvois at that time informed me, was useful to your Majesty's service. It has been my principal application with those whom I have at present mentioned, to take away from them the least suspicion that your Majesty will enter into a treaty with the King of England. I have, however, taken care not to use positive words upon this, especially to my Lord Hollis; I have only told him in general that your Majesty will never enter into any engagement with his Britannick Majesty which might be prejudicial to the liberties and privileges of the English.

I will say nothing to your Majesty upon the subject of the Duke of Buckingham, because he is not here at present, and your Majesty knows of yourself of what use he may be to your service. I don't doubt but he is dissatisfied with the refusal I gave him this summer of the twenty thousand crowns, which he wanted the power of disposing of; I would rather let him think that I made this saving of myself, than let him know that I did it by order. As I saw he had a design of going to France, and doubt not he has been there, I imagine, when he appears here, I shall find him disposed to serve your Majesty when occasions shall present. It does not appear to me he has great credit in parliament, but he may be useful with regard to the populace, and in times of troubles. It is not the most regular minds which always strike the most considerable strokes."

As there was no parliament, and no traffick for money between Louis and Charles, in the summer of the year 1680, Barillon's dispatches are not very interesting during that period; yet it appears from them that the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland had quitted the interest of the Duke, and were anxious to bring about a reconciliation between the parliament and the King; that the Duke was extremely averse from this, and thought a civil war the preferable way of extricating the King from the difficulties he was under.

Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 19th August, 1680. *In the Depot.*
 “ Le dessein de Mons. le Duc d'York seroit que les affaires se portassent à l'extrémité, et qu'on en vint à une rupture ouverte. Il est persuadé que l'autorité royale ne se peut retablir en Angleterre que par une guerre civile. Il croiroit prevenir par là le peril dont il est menacé.”—“ The Duke of York's design is that things should be brought to extremities, and come to an open rupture. He is persuaded that the royal authority can be established in England only by a civil war. By this he thinks to prevent the danger with which he is threatened.”

Charles, however, chose a less dangerous experiment, and to get supplies at home, since he got them no longer from France, assembled his parliament on the 21st of October, 1680.

Before it met he was under an extreme embarrassment whether to send his brother again into Scotland. The following dispatch gives an account of this, as well as of the suspicions which the Duke of York entertained of his brother's advisers.

Extrait d'une dépêche de Mr. de Barillon au Roi, 28 Octobre, 1680.

“ **M**R. le Duc d'York m'envoya chercher il y a deux jours par Mr. *In the Depot.*
 Churchell: il me dit que je voyois les affaires dans une grand agitation; qu'il ne désespéroit pas tant de pouvoir de se sauver, et que le Roi son frere n'est pas encore entierement déterminé à l'abandonner à son parlement; que les avis avoient été presque partagés au conseil, que sa resolution à lui étoit d'attendre ce que le parlement feroit; qu'il ne croioit pas que le Roi son frere voulût le livrer à ses ennemis, et qu'il auroit toujours le tems de se retirer; que milord Sunderland et madame de Portsmouth étoient embarrassés de ce que leur avis n'avoit pas été suivi, et que l'on reconnoitroit peutêtre que son depart seroit inutile.

Ce Prince me dit ensuite qu'il connoissoit présentement comment il avoit été trahi. Que Mr. Temple, milord Sonderland, et Mr. Henri Sidney avoient concerté avec Mr. le Prince d'Orange le traité avec l'Espagne, et de conduire ensuite les affaires au point où elles sont. Que Mr. Vanleuve venoit pour essayer de faire que Mr. le Prince d'Orange profitât de sa

ruine ; et qu'il avoit été trompé par tous ceux en qui il devoit plus se fier ; que je ne le devois pas croire assez mal-habile pour ne s'être pas apperçu depuis quel que tems d'une partie de ce qu'il voit présentement, mais qu'il n'étoit pas en son pouvoir de l'empêcher, et qu'il ne vouloit pas donner à ceux qui l'ont trompé un pretexte de se plaindre par la defiance qu'il leur auroit temoignée ; qu'on auroit essayé de le rassurer par toutes sortes de sermens ; qu'il s'étoit encore rassuré sur l'expérience du passé, qui avoit du faire connoître au Roi son frere, et à ceux qui ont sa principale confiance, combien il avoit été inutile au Comte de Damby de le faire sortir du royaume, et le peu de gré que le parlement lui en avoit scu. Qu'il me prioit de faire connoître à votre Majesté ce qui se passe, et de lui représenter que sa seule protection peut garantir le Roy de la Grande Bretagne d'une ruine entière. Que ceux qui sont auprès de lui le veulent livrer au parlement pour se sauver, et que le gouvernement sera entièrement changé dès que le parlement sera venu à bout de le faire sortir et de l'exclure. Il ajouta que Monf. Heyde avoit parlé au Roi de la Grande Bretagne avec beaucoup de fermeté et de vigueur, pour le faire connoître qu'il ne pouvoit abandonner son frere sans se perdre ; que cela l'avoit embarrassé ; que d'autres gens du conseil avoient encore parlé à sa Majesté Britannique, et qu'il ne desespéroit pas qu'on ne put lui faire connoître combien les conseils qu'on lui donne sont dangereux ; qu'avec cela il ne seroit point surpris si le Roy son frere le faisoit partir dans deux jours."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, October 28, 1680.—The Duke uncertain if he is to be sent to Scotland.—His suspicion of his brother's advisers.—The Duke begs the support of France.

"THE Duke of York sent for me two days ago by Mr. Churchill ; he said, that I saw matters in a great agitation ; that he did not despair of being able to save himself, and that the King his brother is not yet entirely determined to abandon him to his parliament ; that the opinions of the council had been almost equally divided, and the resolution of it as to him was to wait to see what parliament would do ; that he did not believe that the King his brother would deliver him to his enemies, and that he should always have time to retire ; that Lord Sunderland and

Lady Portsmouth were embarrassed from their opinion, not having been followed, and perhaps they might yet acknowledge that his departure would be unnecessary.

This Prince then told me that he knew now how he had been betrayed. That Mr. Temple, Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Henry Sidney had concerted with the Prince of Orange the treaty with Spain, and afterwards to bring affairs to the point they are at. That Mr. Vanleuve was come to try to make the Prince of Orange a gainer by his ruin; and that he had been cheated by all those in whom he had the most reason to have confided; that I should not think him so weak as not to have seen for some time past a part of what he sees at present, but it was not in his power to hinder it; and that he was unwilling to give those who had deceived him a pretence to complain of the diffidence he might have shewn of them; that they would have tried to make him easy again by all sorts of oaths; that he still comforted himself upon the experience of the past, which ought to make his brother know, and those who have his principal confidence, how unserviceable to the Earl of Danby it had been, to make him (the Duke) go out of the kingdom, and what small thanks the parliament had given him for it; that he begged me to let your Majesty know what is passing; and to represent that your protection alone can save the King of Great Britain from utter ruin; that those who are about him will give him up to parliament to save themselves; and that the government will be entirely changed as soon as the parliament shall obtain his (the Duke's) banishment and exclusion. He added, that Mr. Hyde had spoken to the King of Great Britain with much firmness and vigour, to convince him that he could not abandon his brother without being ruined himself: that this had embarrassed him; that others of the council had again spoken to his Britannick Majesty, and he did not despair but they might make him sensible how dangerous are the councils that are given him; that notwithstanding all this he should not be surpris'd if the King his brother made him depart in two days."

The Duke of York judged right in his suspicions of his brother's steadiness, expressed in the end of this last letter; a few days after he received an order for retiring to Scotland; but this created a new embarrassment to Charles, for the Duke fearing a personal attack from parliament in his absence, insisted, before he went, to have a pardon for his protection.

The following is a note in Lord Anglesea's hand-writing of the debates in council upon that subject.

Earl of Anglesea (Lord Privy Seal) his minutes at the council, Oct. 15, 1680.

Among the
Clarendon
papers, but
not published.

“ **A**T the council, October 15, 1680, till late at night: Never any yet condemned for reconciling to the church of Rome; shall your brother be the first?

The Duke's flight takes away possibility of baile; the Tower then followes when he is caught; the Lords power of bail is lost, which yet is left to the judges of the King's Bench.

The parliament, which knew all that is yet knowen, instead of accusing him gave him priviledge above all other subjects: It seems the accusation against him dyed then with your Majesty and them; will your Majesty now revive it alone, upon the noise of a clandestine practice, before the parliament sits to accuse him?

And all this after your Majesty declares your resolution to stick to the church.

If they impeach or bring an attainder, is your Majesty to be advised to dissolve? then its better after a pardon, if they accuse, to dissolve, for this is in maintenance of the prerogative; the other is in maintenance of popery.

If there is not one Lord that would advise execution, which is the end of the law, how can any one advise what leads thereunto?

Tell the parliament you have pardoned him, yet dislike his religion so much that you have forbid him, and you will not have him come near your councils.

Those that presse his removal, which will draw on his impeachment, yet would not have him suffer.

Lord Essex observed: Good counsel to pardon, if we were the Duke's counsellors, but we are your Majesty's.

The act of the test hath led you to a pardon.

No honest man believes your majesty a Papist; for he that believes it and dares not say so is a knave.

Not to give a pardon is to necessitate a dissolution; take courage, for without rebellion you are safe from the suspicion of popery.

If not execute, but dissolve, rather why not pardon. I saw the K. (i. e. King) was turned against his B. (i. e. brother) but I and most of the council did our duties."

The King having refused a pardon to the Duke, he became desperate. *In the Depot.* Barillon had written his court on the 24th October, 1680, that the Duke refused to go to Scotland, that the two Secretaries of State and Lord Halifax and Lord Essex had intreated him in vain, and that the King was under great perplexity, because it was against law to compel the Duke to leave the kingdom without his consent.

Among other schemes of revenge, the Duke of York about this time told Barillon, that he would defend himself by a civil war from Scotland and Ireland. An account of this, and of the state of parties in England, is to be found in the following dispatch.

Extrait d'une Dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 31 Octobre, 1680.

"**M**R. le Duc et Madame la Duchesse d'York s'embarquerent hier *In the Depot.* matin dans la rivière pour aller en Ecosse. Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne les alla conduire jusques au Lich. J'ai eu un long entretien avec M. le Duc d'York dans lequel ce Prince m'a laissé voir de grandes marques de douleur; il se croit entièrement abandonné, et ne compte pas d'être longtems en Ecosse. Le Roi son frere leur a pourtant donné de belles paroles, et lui a dit que la seule nécessité l'obligeoit à l'éloigner; qu'il lui auroit été impossible de le soutenir contre les efforts de la chambre basse, et qu'il étoit bien plus à propos de casser le parlement sur quelque autre sujet, comme sur celui des évêques, que sur l'accusation qui se poursuivroit contre lui; qu'il n'auroit pas été en son pouvoir de l'empêcher d'aller à la Tour; qu'il lui promettoit cependant de ne le jamais abandonner, et qu'il en connoit les conséquences.

Mr. le Duc d'York croit que M. le Prince d'Orange viendra bientôt icy, dans le dessein de profiter de ce qui se fera contre lui.

Je ne repeterai pas à votre Majesté tout ce que Mr. le Duc d'York m'a dit sur le passé: il est entré dans les détails des premiers traités qui ont été faits entre votre Majesté et le Roy son frere; et se plaint en termes fort véhémens du traitement qu'il recoit pour une affaire dans laquelle il n'a fait qu'obeir et se conformer aux volontés du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Il me fit entendre que quelques uns des Seigneurs qui sont prisonniers à la Tour avoient été dans le secret de tout ce qui avoit été projeté, et qu'il ne comprenoit pas que le Roi son frere voulût mettre tous les Catholiques au desespoir, et les persécuter sans aucunes mesures. Il ajouta à cela en termes pleins de colere et de ressentiment, que si on le pouffoit à bout, et qu'il se voye en état d'être entierement ruiné par ses ennemis, il trouvera les moyens de les en faire repentir, et se vengera d'eux en vangeant aussi votre Majesté de la conduite qu'on a tenue icy a son égard; cela veut dire qu'il espere pouvoir exciter des troubles en Ecosse et en Irlande, et qu'il pretend même avoir un parti en Angleterre plus considérable qu'on ne se l' imagine. Il finit son discours par de grandes protestations d'être éternellement attaché à votre Majesté, et par une très humble priere de lui accorder sa protection.

Je répondis à tout cela dans les termes qui me parurent les plus convenables à l'état au quel ce Prince est réduit, sans entrer en rien de particulier.

Si M. le Duc d'York demeure en Ecosse, il prétend pouvoir réunir les factions qui divisent ce royaume, et se mettre en état de n'y être pas opprimé: il ne paroît pas qu'on ait aucune intention icy de lui en donner le loisir, et je ne doute pas qu'on ne l'en fasse sortir aussitôt que le parlement l'aura demandé à sa Majesté Britannique. Tout cela me paroît déjà concerté, et il est fort vraisemblable que milord Sunderland et Madame de Portsmouth sont d'accord avec M. le Duc de Monmouth et avec milord Schafberi. Il n'y a aucun doute que M. le Duc de Monmouth n'ait vu le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et qu'il n'y ait entre eux un racommodement secret. Je ne vois personne qui ne soit persuadé que M. le Duc de Monmouth rentrera bientôt dans toutes ses charges: on parle de lui faire avoir celle de grand maitre de la maison qu'a le Duc d'Ormond. Il est assez difficile de comprendre comment l'interêt de M. le Prince d'Orange et celui de Mr. le Duc de Monmouth peuvent s'accorder. Mr. de Montaigu dit, que M. le Duc de Monmouth ne témoigne point presentement d'avoir d'autre dessein que celui de procurer le bien et l'avantage de toute la nation par l'exclusion de Mr. le Duc d'York, mais que dans le fonds il suivra sa pointe, et hazardera tout plutôt que de se soumettre volontairement à M. le Prince d'Orange. Il prétend avancer ses affaires et réussir plus aisé-

ment, étant rentré a la cour, par le moyen du parlement, et se tenant toujours uni avec ceux qui ont le plus de crédit parmi le peuple.

Les ministres paroissent fort portés pour M. le Prince d'Orange ; mais on croit qu'ils se réservent la liberté de l'abandonner s'ils rencontrent trop de difficultés à faire réussir ses prétentions, et que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne fera généralement tout ce qu'il faudra pour plaire au parlement. J'ai scu que ce Prince avoit dit en secret à une personne confidente, qu'il étoit assuré que M. le Prince d'Orange l'assisteroit d'hommes et d'argent si les affaires se poussent icy à l'extrémité, et qu'elles en viennent au point d'être décidées par la force. Je n'ai pas manqué de faire savoir tout cela à des gens qui en feront un bon usage.

J'observe cependant exactement la conduite que votre Majesté m'a prescrite : je me suis tenu fort réservé avec M. de Montaigu sur le sujet de M. le Duc de Monmouth : j'ai essayé de lui faire comprendre que l'intérêt de votre Majesté se renfermoit à empêcher que le parlement ne donnât de l'argent au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de quoi soutenir les alliances, mais que votre Majesté ne pouvoit entrer dans d'autres affaires entièrement séparées de ce qui s'agite présentement ; que je voyois votre Majesté fort éloignée de favoriser le parti du Prince d'Orange, et qu'elle jugeoit même fort important pour son service d'empêcher qu'il ne s'établît sur la ruine de Duc d'York ; qu'en cela il me paroissoit que M. le Duc de Monmouth trouvoit une grand avantage parcequ'il auroit le même ennemi que la France, tant que Mr. le Prince d'Orange tiendrait la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis quelques années, et que vraisemblément il n'a pas dessein de changer.

J'ai crû, Sire, que je devois parler en ce sens à M. Montaigu pour empêcher que M. le Duc de Monmouth ne perde entièrement l'espérance d'avoir la protection de votre Majesté, et que cela ne facilite son racommodement avec le Prince d'Orange.

J'envoie à votre Majesté un memoire de la dépense que j'ai faite, jusques à présent ; les affaires sont trop mêlées, et les intérêts trop opposés et trop difficiles pour pouvoir prendre des mesures entièrement sûres ; ainsi j'ai crû ne devoir pas employer des sommes considérables, avant que je puisse

voir (par ce qui se passera dans les premières séances du parlement) quel chemin les affaires prendront. Tout ce que j'apprends de divers endroits me fait juger, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne a résolu de faire ce que le parlement voudra ; mais ce Prince pourra bien encore changer de résolution, car assurément on lui demandera des choses qui anéantiront entièrement l'autorité royale. Il y en a une que je sçai qui est agitée dans les cabales, c'est de demander un parlement tous les ans, et qu'il puisse être assis pendant un tems assez considérable pour régler les affaires qui regarderont l'intérêt de la nation : si cela étoit établi, la forme du gouvernement seroit entièrement changée ; car quand le parlement ne seroit pas assemblé, il gouverneroit par le moyen d'un conseil qui ne feroit rien que ce qu'il croiroit devoir être approuvé du parlement dans la suite.

Je vis hier au soir M. de Montaigu, il ne me cacha point que M. le Duc de Monmouth étoit raccommodé avec Madame de Portsmouth et milord Sonderland, et qu'il se faisoit diverses propositions pour l'avenir, et qu'il y auroit de grands changemens à la cour. Si cela est comme je n'en doute pas ; M. le Duc d'York sera entièrement abandonné et exclu. On m'a dit aujourd'hui qu'il ne demeurera pas à Edinbourg, mais dans une maison de campagne de Duc de Rothez. Il est aisé de voir que c'est une préparation pour ne le pas laisser en Ecosse.

J'ai sçu qu'au sortir d'un conseil, dans le quel il y eut onze voix à ne point faire sortir le Duc d'York contre sept qui en étoient d'avis, le Roi de la Grande Bretagne dit, " il faut qu'il sorte puisqu'il a tant de gens pour lui."

Le Sieur Seymer, ancien Speker, dit dans le même conseil, que ceux qui opinoient si facilement à la sortie de M. le Duc d'York opineroient une autre fois avec la même facilité pour faire sortir le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, si le peuple le vouloit. Mr. Godolfin repliqua à cela, et dit, " si le Duc ne sort pas présentement, il faudra qu'il sorte dans quinze jours, et le Roi avec lui." La vérité est, que le dedans de la cour, c'est à dire, ceux qui ont la confiance de sa Majesté Britannique, parurent plus ardens pour faire sortir M. le Duc d'York que les plus emportés du parlement. Tout cela fait croire que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne ne veut pas le soutenir, mais profiter, de son abandonnement, s'il est possible."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, Oct. 31, 1680.

—State of the court.—The Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given up the Duke of York.—The Duke's desperate schemes of revenge.

“THE Duke and Dutchess of York embarked yesterday morning in the river for Scotland. The King of Great Britain conducted them to Leigh. I had a long conversation with the Duke of York, in which that Prince shewed great marks of misery; he thinks himself entirely abandoned, and does not reckon upon being long in Scotland. The King his brother however gave them fine words, and told him that necessity alone obliged him to send him away: that it would have been impossible for him to support him against the efforts of the Lower House, and that it was much more proper to dissolve the parliament upon any other account (as that of the Bishops) than upon an accusation which might have been prosecuted against him; that it would not have been in his power to have prevented his going to the Tower; that he promised him however never to abandon him, and that he knows the consequences.

The Duke of York believes that the Prince of Orange will come here soon, with a design to draw advantage from what may be done against him the Duke.

I will not repeat to your Majesty all the Duke of York said about things past: he entered into a detail of the first treaties which were made between your Majesty and the King his brother; and complained in very vehement terms of the treatment he receives for an affair in which he had only obeyed and conformed himself to the will of the King of Great Britain.

He informed me that some of the Lords who are prisoners in the Tower had been in the secret of all that had been projected, and that he did not understand how the King his brother could chuse to drive all the Catholics to despair, and persecute them without measure. To this he added, in terms full of rage, that if he was pushed to extremity, and saw himself like to be entirely ruined by his enemies, he would find means to make them repent it, and revenge himself of them by giving your Majesty

also your revenge for the conduct they had held here with regard to you; the meaning of which is, that he hopes to be able to excite troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and he even alledges he has a party in England more considerable than is thought of. He finished his discourse with great protestations of being eternally attached to your Majesty, and by a very humble prayer to grant him your protection.

To all this I answered in terms which appeared to me the most suitable to the condition this Prince is reduced to, without entering into any thing particular.

If the Duke of York remains in Scotland, he alledges he may be able to re-unite the factions which divide that country, and to put himself in a condition not to be oppressed there: it does not appear that they have any intention here to give him leisure to do it; and I do not doubt but they will oblige him to quit it as soon as the parliament demands it of his Britannick Majesty. All this appears to me to be already concerted; and it is very probable that Lord Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth are agreed with the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury. There is no doubt but the Duke of Monmouth has seen the King of Great Britain, and that there is a secret reconciliation between them. I don't see a person who is not persuaded that the Duke of Monmouth will soon be replaced in all his employments: they talk of giving him the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which the Duke of Ormond has. It is difficult to comprehend how the interest of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of Monmouth can agree. Mr. Montagu says, the Duke of Monmouth at present shews no other design than that of procuring the good and advantage of all the nation by the Duke of York's exclusion; but at the bottom that he will pursue his point, and hazard all rather than submit willingly to the Prince of Orange. He alledges, that when he is once re-established at court, he will advance his affairs, and succeed more easily by the means of parliament, and by keeping himself always united with those who have the greatest credit among the people.

The Ministers appear much inclined to the Prince of Orange; but it is believed they reserve to themselves the liberty of abandoning him if they meet with too many difficulties in making his pretensions succeed; and

that the King of Great Britain will in general do what he can to please his parliament. I know that this Prince said privately to a confidant, that he was assured the Prince of Orange would assist him with men and money if affairs here were pushed to extremities, and came to the point of being decided by force. I have not failed to make all this known to persons who will make a good use of it.

I observe exactly, however, the conduct your Majesty has prescribed to me. I keep myself very reserved with Mr. Montagu upon the subject of the Duke of Monmouth: I have endeavoured to make him understand that your Majesty's interest is confined to preventing the parliament from granting money to the King of Great Britain wherewith to support his alliances, but that your Majesty could not enter into other affairs entirely separate from what is at present in agitation; that I perceived your Majesty was far from favouring the Prince of Orange's party, and that you even judged it very important for your service to prevent him from establishing himself upon the Duke of York's ruin; that in this it appeared to me the Duke of Monmouth would find a great advantage, because he would have the same enemy with France as long as the Prince of Orange kept the same conduct he had done for some years, and which in all appearance he has no design to change.

I thought, Sire, I ought to speak in this manner to Mr. Montagu to prevent the Duke of Monmouth from losing altogether the hopes of having your Majesty's protection; for this would facilitate his reconciliation with the Prince of Orange.

I send your Majesty a memorial of the expence I have laid out till this time. Affairs are too confused, and the interests too opposite and too difficult for me to be able to take any measures that are certain. I have therefore thought it my duty not to employ considerable sums, till I can see (by what shall be done during the first day of the session of parliament) the turn which affairs will take. By all I can learn from different places, I judge that the King of Great Britain has resolved to do whatever the parliament shall incline; but he may yet change his resolution, for they will assuredly ask things of him which will entirely annihilate the royal authority. There is one I know is agitated in the cabals, which is to

demand an annual parliament, and that it shall sit a sufficient time to regulate those affairs which regard the interest of the nation: if this were established, the form of the government would be entirely changed; for though the parliament should not be sitting, they would still govern by means of a council *, which would do nothing but what they believed would be afterwards approved of by parliament.

Yesterday evening I saw Mr. Montagu; he did not conceal from me that the Duke of Monmouth was reconciled with Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland, and that various proposals were making for the future, and that there would be great changes at court. If it be so, as I do not doubt it is, the Duke of York will be entirely abandoned and excluded. I was told to-day that he will not continue at Edinburgh, but in a country house of the Duke of Rothes. It is easy to see this is a preparation for his not continuing in Scotland.

I know that at the breaking up of a council in which there were eleven voices for the Duke of York's not leaving the kingdom against seven who were for it, the King of Great Britain said, "he must leave it then, since there are so many people for him."

Mr. Seymour, formerly Speaker, said in the same council, that those who so readily gave their opinions for the Duke of York's going away, would as readily vote another time for the King to quit the kingdom, if the people would have it so. Mr. Godolphin replied to this; "If the Duke of York does not leave it at present, he will be obliged to go in a fortnight, and the King along with him." The truth is, the interior of the court, that is to say, those who have his Britannick Majesty's confidence, appear more keen for the Duke of York's leaving the kingdom than the most violent of the parliament. All this makes it believed that the King of Great Britain has not a mind to support him, but to get some advantage to himself, if possible, by abandoning him."

The intelligence of the Duke of York's project for a civil war, was received by Louis the XIVth, as might have been expected: He instantly gave Barillon orders to encourage the Duke in it.

* Perhaps he means committee.

On the 8th November, 1680, Louis the XIVth writes thus to Barillon : In the *Depot*.
 “ Si vous le (i. e. the Duke) voyez resolu à tacher de se maintenir par le moyen de l'Ecosse et d'Irlande, vous pourriés lui temoigner que je ne lui refuserai pas en ce cas des secours secrets.”—“ If you see him resolved to support himself by means of Scotland and Ireland, you may assure him that in that event I will not refuse him secret supplies.”

On the 15th November, Louis the XIVth writes to Barillon thus. In the *Depot*.
 “ Mais bien pour encourager ce Prince, et pour lui faire voir que s'il se sent asses des amis et asses des forces pour se maintenir dans le lieu ou il est, malgre tous les efforts que ses ennemis feront pour l'en chasser, je ne lui refuseray pas dans ce cas là les assistances secretes, ni la protection que mon inclination me porte à donner a la justice de sa cause.”—“ But to encourage this Prince, and to make him see that if he finds he has friends enough and forces enough to maintain himself in the place where he is, against all the efforts which his enemies may make to drive him from it, I will not refuse in that case secret aids, nor the protection which my inclination leads me to give to the justice of his cause.”

And Barillon's letter, of 30th December, 1680, to his court, mentions Louis's having sent a trusty messenger to Scotland with an assurance of his services to the Duke of York. Colonel Churchill, as will be seen in a dispatch below, was the person whose cautious temper prevented these fallies of the Duke from being attended with consequences ; for he informed Barillon that the Duke was not able to make a stand for himself in Scotland.

The Duke of York was the more irritated at this time, because his brother had renewed his application to him to conform to the church of England. Barillon writes thus to his court, on the 14th October, 1680. In the *Depot*.
 “ J'ai sceu d'un bon endroit que le Roi d'Angleterre presse toujours fortement Monf. le Duc d' York de prendre les serments de Protestants, et qu'il lui a declare que c'étoit le seul moyen de le faire demeurer en Angleterre, et de le garentir d'une ruine entiere.”—“ I know it from a good quarter that the King of England presses the Duke of York strongly to take the Protestant tests, and that he has declared to him it is the only means of bringing about his continuance in England, and preventing his utter ruin.”

This is confirmed by the following note of Lord Dartmouth upon bishop Burnet's history.

One of Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Bishop Burnet's history.

P. 517. "I have a letter of the Duke's in which are these words: 'What you hint to me in your letter, and what Lord Hallifax in his has more plainly said, and has been prest by Lord Hyde concerning my going to church, has mortified me very much, since I cannot do it; for indeed I see nothing but ruin, when such measures are taken as produced such a message to me, when there was no reason to believe I would comply.'"

While Louis was endeavouring to raise commotions, by means of the Duke of York, in Scotland and Ireland, he was making preparations to sow divisions between the King and his subjects in England. Dreading the session of a new parliament, he gave orders to Barillon, before it met, to tempt the King with a money treaty, on the one hand, and to intrigue with the popular party, on the other.

The same letter of Louis the XIVth, to wit, that of 15th November, In the *Depot.* 1680, which ordered Barillon to encourage the Duke of York to make a stand in Scotland, ordered him to assure the republican party in parliament, that he would protect the privileges of the nation.

In the *Depot.* On the 23d November, 1680, Louis writes Barillon, to encourage Charles to follow a firm and bold conduct to his subjects in his present situation.

In the *Depot.* On the 13th December, 1680, Louis's letter to Barillon expresses his satisfaction at the divisions in England, and orders him to assure the republican party that it is not his intention to suffer their liberties to be hurt.

The two following dispatches show, in a strong light, the distracted state of the kingdom, and that versatility of politicks by which Louis the XIVth accommodating his conduct to the variation of circumstances, played at that time the King and parliament against each other, deceiving both separately, while he pretended to be a friend to both separately.

Extrait d'une dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 4 Novembre, 1680.

“ JE recus avant hier la dépêche de votre Majesté du 29 Octobre, qui m'a été apportée par un courrier exprès : elle m'instruit pleinement de ce que j'aurois à faire, si le Roi de la Grande Bretagne prenoit la résolution d'avoir recours a votre Majesté, qui est le seul bon parti qui lui reste : cela peut arriver tous les jours. Mais il ne paroît pourtant pas que ce Prince connoisse encore le peril ou il est dans toute son étendue, et qu'il se mette en devoir de s'en tirer : au contraire tout ce qui ce passe fait juger que son intention est de contenter le parlement, à quelque prix que ce soit, et d'essayer s'il peut par cette voye de se mettre en repos, et retablir ses affaires ; mais Sonderland et madame de Portsmouth ont promis à M. le Duc de Montmouth, à milord Schafbery, et à milord Rouffel, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne accordera tout ce que le parlement demandera, pourvu qu'on le mette en état de subsister.

J'ai su qu'il y a une condition secrette dont on est convenu, et qui fait le fondement de toute la conduite présente des deux partis ; c'est, que le parlement donnera pouvoir au Roi de la Grande Bretagne de nommer son successeur tel qu'il lui plaira, à l'exemple de ce qui a été pratiqué du tems de Henri huit. M. le Duc de Montmouth se flatte d'être nommé ; je ne doute pas que madame de Portsmouth et milord Sonderland ne lui aient donné des esperances. Madame de Portsmouth a des prétentions aussi pour son fils. Ce que je mande à votre Majesté lui paroitra sans doute fort extraordinaire, mais l'Angleterre ne ressemble point aux autres pays.”

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 4th November, 1680.—Has got orders how to act if the King makes advances to France.—Distractions of England.

“ THE day before yesterday I received your Majesty's dispatch of the 29th October, which was brought me by an express messenger : It instructs me fully in what I have to do, if the King of Great Britain takes the resolution of having recourse to your Majesty, which is the only good step that remains for him : this may happen every day. It

does not however appear that this Prince is sensible as yet of the danger he is in in all its extent, and how much he ought to endeavour to get out of it; on the contrary, all that passes makes one judge that his intention is to satisfy his parliament at whatever price it may be, and to try if he can by this means obtain some ease, and re-establish his affairs; but Sunderland and Lady Portsmouth have promised the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Shaftesbury, and Lord Russell, that the King of Great Britain shall grant all that the parliament will ask, provided they put him in a condition of subsisting.

I know that there is a secret condition agreed on, and which makes the foundation of all the present conduct of both parties; to wit, that the parliament shall give the King of Great Britain power to name for his successor whom he pleases, as was practised in the time of Henry the eighth. The Duke of Monmouth flatters himself with being named; I don't doubt but Lady Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland have given him hopes of it. Lady Portsmouth has also pretensions for her son. What I write to your Majesty will appear without doubt very extraordinary, but England has no resemblance to other countries."

Extrait d'une dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 5 Decembre, 1680.

"J'ENVOYE à votre Majesté, dans un memoire apart, les noms des membres du parlement que j'ai engagés dans ses interets. Le fondement de tous ces engagements est que le parlement n'entrera point dans l'alliance faite avec l'Espagne, ni dans celles qui se pourroient proposer avec les Etats Généraux, ou avec l'Empereur et d'autres Princes de l'Empire, et ne donnera point d'argent à sa Majesté Britannique pour les soutenir; la plus grande partie de ces liaisons n'a pu se faire par moi même; il se trouveroit peu de gens qui voulussent traiter directement avec moi, ny avoir un commerce, par lequel ils exposeroient leur fortune et leur vie. Je me suis servi de M. de Montaigu et de Madame Hervé sa sœur, du Sieur Herbert, du Sieur Algernon de Sydney, et du Sieur Beber, de tous lesquels j'ai reçu déjà de grands secours dans l'affaire du Compte de Dambi. Les interêts de ceux avec qui j'ai commerce sont fort differens et fort opposés. M. de Montaigu voudroit rentrer à la cour, et avoir s'il étoit possible une grande charge; il feroit bien aisé auparavant d'aller Ambassa-

deur Extraordinaire en France pour quelque tems. Il s'est déclaré ouvertement contre M. le Duc d'York, et est entré avec M. de Monmouth dans une confidence intime ; il s'est lié aussi avec milord Roussel et milord Scafbery. Quoique M. de Montaigu soit dans les intérêts de votre Majesté depuis longtems, et que la somme dont il attend le paiement soit seule suffisante pour l'empêcher de faire aucune démarche contraire, il auroit bien voulu que je fusse entré plus avant dans l'affaire de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et la retenue qu'il m'a vu avoir sur cela lui fait quelque fois soupçonner que sa Majesté soutient M. le Duc d'York, et qu'elle le veut protéger à l'avenir. Je le rassure en lui disant, que la resolution de soutenir une prétention telle qu'est celle de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne se prend pas legerement. Qu'il lui doit suffire que M. le Prince d'Orange est son plus grand ennemi, qu'il l'est aussi de la France ; que votre Majesté se determinera selon qu'elle le trouvera plus à propos quand le couronne d'Angleterre sera disputée entre plusieurs prétendans ; mais que cependant elle ne se doit point mêler dans les affaires du dedans de l'Angleterre, si ce n'est pour empêcher qu'il ne se fasse rien à l'égard du dehors qui soit opposé à ses intérêts : que pour ce qui regarde M. le Duc d'York, sa conduite passée dispense votre Majesté de tout ce qu'elle auroit fait, s'il avoit persisté dans les premieres engagements qu'il avoit pris. Que présentement votre Majesté a trop de prudence pour se charger de protéger un Prince contre le quel toute l'Angleterre paroît unie : qu'à l'égard du Roi de la Grande Bretagne, tout ce qui s'est fait depuis quelques années détourneroit votre Majesté de le soutenir pour augmenter son autorité, et gouverner plus absolument, quand même le véritable intérêt de votre Majesté ne se trouveroit pas à maintenir le gouvernement d'Angleterre dans la forme qu'il est établi. Tout ce que je dis ne persuade pas M. de Montaigu ; mais l'argent que je lui ai payé par ordre de votre Majesté le rassure fort. Je crois qu'il seroit necessaire de lui faire un second paiement de cinquante mille francs ; car l'excuse des lettres de change qui ne viennent pas assez vite n'est pas suffisante, et dans la conjoncture présente il peut m'être d'une grande utilité pour les affaires de votre Majesté. Madame Harvé sa sœur est aussi avant que lui dans toutes les intrigues : c'est une femme d'un esprit hardi et entreprenant, et qui a des liaisons et des commerces avec un grand nombre de gens de la cour et du parlement. C'est par elle que j'ai

engagé le Sieur Hamden et le Sieur Harbord, qui sont deux des plus considerables membres du parlement.

Le Sieur Algernon Sidney est un homme de grandes vues et de desseins fort elevés qui tendent tous à l'établissement d'une Republique. Il est dans le parti des indépendans et des autres sectaires; et ce parti là fut le maitre dans les défordres passés: ils ne sont pas fort puissans présentement dans le parlement, mais ils le sont fort dans Londres; et c'est par l'intrigue du Sieur Algernon Sydnei que l'un des deux Echevins nommé Bethel a été élu. Mr. le Duc de Boukinquam est dans ce même parti, et croit être à la teste. Il y est en effet quant à l'apparence; mais dans le fonds, c'est le Docteur Hoen, qui est comme le patriarche des sectaires, et le Sieur Pen, est le chef des Trembleurs. Ce dernier est une homme de beaucoup d'esprit, fils d'une Vice-Admiral d'Angleterre, et est fort riche: il est assurément à la tête d'un fort grand parti quoiqu'il ne paroisse pas dans les assemblées publiques dont ils sont exclus. Il s'agit présentement de moderer les loix penales à leur égard; c'est la chose la plus importante qui puisse être agitée pour le dedans de l'Angleterre, et qui va à la destruction entiere de l'Episcopat et de la religion Anglicane.

Le service que je puis tirer de M. Sidnei ne paroît pas, car son commerce est avec des gens obscurs et cachés: mais il est intime ami du Sieur Jonnes, qui est l'homme le plus sçavant dans les loix d'Angleterre; il fera Chancelier si le parti opposé à la cour est superieur, et que le Compte de Scafbery se contenté de quelqu'autre place.

Mr. Harbord est le même que j'engageai dans l'affaire du grand Trésorier, il est ami de M. de Montaigu, mais ils n'ont pas les mêmes liaisons avec M. le Duc de Monmouth; au contraire celui ci a paru être dans les interêts de M. le Prince d'Orange: j'ai engagé par lui beaucoup de gens fort accredité dans le parlement et dans Londres. C'est un homme actif et vigilant, par qui j'ai de fort bons avis, et qui a fort envie de faire sa fortune par le moyen de la France. Mr. de Montaigu ne scait qu'une partie des liaisons que nous avons.

Le Chevalier L. est celui par qui j'ai commerce avec les Presbitériens; c'est un homme riche, et qui craint les défordres; il est dans le fonds attaché a M. le Duc d'York. Je vois bien que les soins qu'il a pris

n'ont pas été inutiles ; car les Presbitériens sont entièrement opposés à M. le Prince d'Orange, et je crois qu'il feroit fort difficile de raccommoder ce qui a été fait contre lui.

Il y a d'autres gens dont je tire quelques services. Le Baron de Wites en est un. Je l'ai connu à Cologne, et il m'a donné d'assez bons avis depuis que je suis icy ; le Roy de la Grande Bretagne et M. le Duc d'York ont de la confiance en lui ; il paroît mécontent des Espagnols dont il prétend avoir été fort maltraité : je ne voudrois pas me fier à cela, mais je m'en fers sans lui rien confier d'important.

Le Sieur Ducros, Résident du Duc de Holstein, me donne aussi de fort bons avis ; il est fort ami de milord Cavendish, et a pouvoir sur son esprit. Il a fait l'écrit que j'envoie à votre Majesté ; je l'ai fait traduire en Anglois, pour en faire distribuer des copies : ces sortes de libelles sont d'une grande utilité en ce pays cy. C'est ce même Ducros, qui fit cet esté les remarques sur l'Alliance avec l'Espagne, dont les ministres furent fort fachés, et auroient fort souhaité en decouvrir l'auteur.

J'ai gagné un commis de milord Sonderland nommé le Pin, qui me donne quelque fois de bons avis. Je conserve toujours un commerce avec M. le Duc de Bouquingam ; il a été assez malade, il se porte mieux à present. Si les affaires s'aigrissent, comme il pourra bien arriver, il aura beaucoup de crédit dans Londres ; il fera plus de figure que l'on ne se l' imagine ; il a été à la chambre haute un fois ; il est ennemi de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et par là il est en quelque façon pour M. le Duc d'York.

Mon principal soin et ma première application ont été d'engager des gens accredités dans le parlement pour empêcher que les alliances ne fussent approuvées, et qu'on ne donnât de l'argent pour les soutenir ; c'est l'intérêt présent de votre Majesté ; mais à l'égard de l'avenir, je vois que ce que votre Majesté a le plus à cœur, est d'empêcher qu'il ne se fasse une réunion de l'Angleterre, par un raccommodement de sa Majesté Britannique et de son parlement.

Votre Majesté croit avec fondement que l'élévation de Mr. le Duc de Montmouth y peut contribuer beaucoup ; ainsi j'ai cherché les moyens de le traverser et de reculer ses prétentions, sans m'exposer à être soupçonné

de favoriser M. le Duc d'York. Il fût averti il y a deux jours par M. Herbert, qu'il étoit venu un courrier exprès de M. le Prince d'Orange pour offrir à sa Majesté Britannique, son secours et tout ce qui est en son pouvoir, en cas que les affaires se brouillent ici. C'est ce qui a fondé le bruit que les Etats Généraux offroient d'entrer dans tous les intérêts de sa Majesté Britannique ; cela est assez répandu dans le parlement, et produit un mauvais effet pour eux. J'ai cru que je devois prendre ce tems là pour fortifier encore le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, en cas qu'il soit capable de prendre une bonne résolution, et lui ôter le scrupule que votre Majesté fût refroidie de l'aider, s'il étoit en une trop étroite liaison avec le Prince d'Orange : Pour cela j'ai chargé milord St. Albans de lui dire, que le desir sincere que votre Majesté a de la conservation de sa Majesté Britannique, ne fera point retardé par la considération des intérêts de M. le Prince d'Orange ; et que votre Majesté consentira, que les mesures qui seront prises entre elle et sa Majesté Britannique ne soient point contraires aux intentions de M. le Prince d'Orange ; en un mot, que l'union de la maison royale d'Angleterre ne sera point traversée par votre Majesté, et que s'il y a des expédiens qui puissent faire subsister sa Majesté Britannique sans se soumettre entierement a ses sujets, votre Majesté les facilitera de sa part autant qu'il sera en son pouvoir. J'ai bien chargé milord St. Alban's de faire valoir au Roi de la Grande Bretagne la considération que votre Majesté a en cela pour ses intérêts, preferablement à toutes les raisons qu'elle pourroit avoir de s'opposer à la grandeur de M. le Prince d'Orange. Milord St. Alban m'a dit, que le Roi de la Grande Bretagne avoit reçu cette ouverture avec beaucoup de joie, et qu'il l'avoit chargé de m'en remercier ; mais ce Prince ne s'est point encore ouvert sur la conclusion d'un traité, et par là il paroît qu'il n'est pas encore déterminé à casser le parlement.

J'ai cru, Sire, que l'avance que j'ai fait à sa Majesté Britannique ne pouvoit produire qu'un bon effet. Votre Majesté m'a donné ordre de favoriser plutôt la prétention de M. le Prince d'Orange que celle M. le Duc de Montmouth ; je ne le pouvois faire dans le parlement sans me discréditer entierement, et perdre le fruit de toutes les liaisons que j'y ai faites ; mais les intentions de votre Majesté auroient leur effet, si M. le Prince d'Orange emportoit la balance dans l'esprit de sa Majesté Britannique sur M. le Duc de Montmouth.

Après ce que votre Majesté m'a mandé sur cela, je ne me donne plus la liberté de penser que l'élévation de M. le Duc de Montmouth seroit une occasion de trouble pour longtems en Angleterre, entre deux familles qui prétendroient à la couronne. Je me renferme à ce que votre Majesté m'a prescrit, et je ne perdrai point d'occasion de traverser les prétentions de M. le Duc de Montmouth quand je le pourrai faire avec succès. Je reconnois que votre Majesté doit empêcher qu'il ne serve de prétexte à une réunion, et qu'il ne s'établisse en sa personne une royauté si foible, que ce seroit dans le fonds une république. C'est sur cela que je dirigerai ma conduite : Cependant je crois qu'il est de la prudence de ne rien faire paroître d'une telle intention, et de laisser toujours cette cabale se flatter que votre Majesté est plus disposée à favoriser M. le Duc de Montmouth que Monsieur le Prince d'Orange."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 5th December, 1680.—His intrigues with the popular party and with the King to continue the divisions of England.

"I SEND your Majesty, in a memorial apart, the names of the members of Parliament whom I have engaged in your interests. The foundation of all these engagements is, that the parliament shall not enter into the alliance made with Spain, nor into those which may be proposed with the States General, the Emperor, and other Princes of the empire, nor give any money to his Britannick Majesty to support them. The greatest part of these connections could not be made by myself; few were to be found who would directly treat with, or have any commerce with me, by which they might have exposed their fortunes and their lives. I made use of Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Hervey, his sister; of Mr. Harbord, Algernoon Sidney, and the Sieur Beber, from all of whom I had already received great help in the affair of the Earl of Danby. The interests of those with whom I am in commerce are very different and very opposite. Mr. Mountagu would willingly be well with the court, and have a great place if it were possible; he would be very glad first to go ambassador extraordinary to France for some time. He has declared himself openly against the Duke of York, and is entered into an intimate

confidence with the Duke of Monmouth; he is also united with Lord Ruffel and Lord Shaftesbury. Although Mr. Mountagu has been in your Majesty's interests a long time, and the sum of which he expects the payment is alone sufficient to prevent his taking any contrary step, he wishes that I would enter farther into the Duke of Monmouth's affairs and the reserve which he observes in me upon that head, makes him sometimes suspect that your Majesty supports the Duke of York, and that you will protect him hereafter. I make him easy by telling him that the resolution to support such a pretension as the Duke of Monmouth's is not lightly to be taken; that it ought to suffice that the Prince of Orange is his greatest enemy, as he is also of France; that your Majesty will determine according to what you think most proper, when the crown of England shall be disputed among many pretenders; but in the interim it is not your province to meddle with the domestic affairs of England, except to prevent any steps being taken with regard to foreign ones, which may be contrary to your interests. That as to what regards the Duke of York, his past conduct frees your Majesty from all you might have done for him, if he had persisted in the first engagements which he formed; that at present your Majesty had too much prudence to charge yourself with the protection of a prince against whom all England seemed to be united. That with regard to the King of Great Britain, all he has done for some years past would put it out of your Majesty's thoughts to assist him in augmenting his authority, and governing absolutely, even though your Majesty's true interest was not to maintain the government of England in the form now established. All I said did not persuade Mr. Montagu, but the money I paid him by your Majesty's order makes his mind very easy. I believe it will be necessary to make him a second payment of fifty thousand livres, for the excuse of the bills of exchange not coming fast enough is not sufficient, and in the present conjuncture he may be of great use to me in your Majesty's affairs. Mrs. Hervey, his sister, is as deep as him in all the intrigues: She is a woman of a bold and enterprising spirit, and has interest and connections with a great number of people of the court and parliament. It was through her I engaged Mr. Hamden and Mr. Harbord, who are two of the most considerable members of parliament.

The *Sieur* Algernoon Sidney is a man of great views and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republick. He is in the party of the independants and other sectaries; and this party were masters during the last troubles: they are not at present very powerful in parliament, but they are strong in London; and it is through the intrigues of the *Sieur* Algernoon Sidney that one of the two sheriff's, named Bethel, has been elected. The Duke of Buckingham is of the same party, and believes himself at the head; he is so in effect as to the appearance, but at the bottom it is Doctor Owen who is the patriarch of the sectaries, and Mr. Pen, who is the chief of the Quakers. This last is a man of great parts, son of a vice-admiral of England, and very rich: he is certainly at the head of a very great party, although he does not appear in public assemblies, from which his sect are excluded. The moderating of the penal laws, with regard to them, is at present upon the carpet; it is the most important thing that can be agitated with regard to the domestic affairs of England, and leads to the entire destruction of episcopacy and of the English religion.

The service which I may draw from Mr. Sidney does not appear, for his connections are with obscure and concealed persons; but he is intimate with the *Sieur* Jones, who is a man of the greatest knowledge in the laws of England, and will be chancellor if the party opposed to the court shall gain the superiority, and the Earl of Shaftesbury be contented with any other employment.

Mr. Harbord is the same whom I engaged in the affair of the high Treasurer; he is a friend of Mr. Montagu's, but has not the same connections with the Duke of Monmouth; on the contrary, he appears to be in the Prince of Orange's interest: through him I have engaged many persons of great credit in parliament, and in London. He is an active vigilant man, from whom I have very good informations, and who has a great desire to make his fortune by means of France. Mr. Montagu knows only a part of the connexions which we have.

The Chevalier Beber is he through whom I have a connexion with the Presbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I see plainly that the pains he has

taken have not been useless, for the Presbyterians are entirely against the Prince of Orange, and I believe it will be very difficult to set to rights what has been done against him.

There are other people from whom I got some services. The Baron de Wites is one of them. I knew him at Cologne, and he has given me pretty good advice since I came here; the King of Great Britain and the Duke of York put confidence in him; he appears discontented with the Spaniards, by whom he alleges he has been very ill treated. I would not trust to that, but make use of him without confiding any thing important to him.

The Sieur Ducros, Resident from the Duke of Holstein, gives me also very good intelligence; he is a great friend of Lord Cavendish, and has much influence upon his mind. He is author of the Writing which I send your Majesty; I have had it translated into English to distribute copies of it. Libels of this kind are of great use in this country. It is the same Ducros, who, this summer, composed the Remarks upon the Spanish Alliance, with which the ministers were very angry, and wished much to discover the author.

I have gained one of Lord Sunderland's clerks, named le Pin, who sometimes gives me good information. I keep always a connexion with the Duke of Buckingham; he has been very ill, but is at present better. If affairs grow worse, as it may very well happen, he will have a great deal of credit in London; he will make a greater figure than is imagined; he has been once at the upper house; he is an enemy to the Duke of Monmouth, and is thereby in some measure for the Duke of York.

My principal care and my first application has been to engage persons of credit in parliament to hinder the alliances being approved, and the granting of money to support them. This is the present interest of your Majesty; but with regard to the future, I see what your Majesty has most at heart is to prevent England from being re-united by an accommodation between his Britannick Majesty and his parliament.

Your Majesty has grounds for thinking that the Duke of Monmouth's elevation might contribute much to that union. Upon this account I have sought

for all means of traversing and throwing back his pretensions, without exposing myself to be suspected of favouring the Duke of York. He was informed two days ago by Mr. Herbert that a courier was come express from the Prince of Orange to offer his help to his Britannick Majesty, and every thing in his power in case affairs should be embroiled here. This is the foundation of the report that the States General offer to enter into all his Britannick Majesty's interests: this offer is sufficiently spread in parliament, and produces a bad effect for them. I thought it my duty to take this opportunity again to embolden his Britannick Majesty in case he is capable of taking a good resolution; and to remove the doubt he has that your Majesty will be backward to assist him, if he was too strictly united with the Prince of Orange. For this purpose, I charged my Lord St. Alban's to tell him that the sincere desire your Majesty had for the preservation of his Britannick Majesty would not be impeded by the consideration of the Prince of Orange's interests; and that your Majesty will consent that the measures to be taken between you and his Britannick Majesty shall not be contrary to the intentions of the Prince of Orange: in a word, that the union of the royal house of England shall not be opposed by your Majesty; and that if there are any expedients which can enable his Britannick Majesty to subsist himself without entirely submitting to his subjects, that your Majesty will facilitate them on your part as much as may be in your power. I particularly charged Lord St. Albans to point out to the King of Great Britain the regard your Majesty had for his interests in preference to all the reasons which you might have to oppose the Prince of Orange's greatness: Lord St. Albans told me, that the King of Great Britain had received this overture with a great deal of joy, and that he had ordered him to thank me; but this Prince has not yet opened himself upon the conclusion of a treaty, from whence it appears that he is not yet determined to dissolve his parliament.

I thought, Sire, that this advance which I have made to his Britannick Majesty could not but produce a good effect. Your Majesty gave me orders to favour the Prince of Orange's pretensions rather than those of the Duke of Monmouth; I could not do it in parliament without discrediting myself entirely, and losing the fruits of all the connexions I have made there; but your Majesty's intentions will have their effect, if

the Prince of Orange sinks the balance in his Britannick Majesty's mind against the Duke of Monmouth.

After your Majesty's commands upon this head, I shall not permit myself any more to reflect how the Duke of Monmouth's elevation would be the occasion of troubles, for a long time, in England, between two families pretending to the crown. I shall confine myself to what your Majesty prescribes me, and will lose no occasion to thwart the Duke of Monmouth's pretensions whenever I can do it with success. I acknowledge your Majesty ought to prevent his serving for an instrument of a re-union, and establishing in his person so weak a Monarchy, as at the bottom to be only a Republick. I shall direct my conduct on this ground; however I believe it is prudent not to let any thing appear of such an intention, and always to let this cabal flatter itself, that your Majesty is more disposed to favour the Duke of Monmouth than the Prince of Orange."

Some of the foregoing French dispatches shew a belief in the French court at this time of the probability of the Duke of Monmouth's success in his pretensions, and their fear lest this success might prove the instrument of restoring harmony between the King and the popular party in parliament. To prevent this, Barillon received the strange instructions mentioned in his last letter for bringing about a junction of the French and the Prince of Orange's interests in defence of the royal family of England. But the Prince of Orange was too wise to expect favours from Louis the XIVth; he trusted to the good sense of the English, that if they excluded the Duke of York from the succession on the principle of his being a Papist, they must admit his daughters to it on that of their being Protestants; he knew his own personal interest in England, and even in the King's court, to be great; for Barillon writes on the 4th Nov. 1680, that Godolphin, and also Sunderland, notwithstanding his pretended friendship with the Dutchess of Portsmouth, were entirely in his interests. He probably knew too the private sentiments of Charles with regard to the irregular ambition of his son; for Barillon relates in his dispatch of 21 Nov. 1680, that Monmouth having said in his speech in the house of Lords upon the exclusion, that he would vote for it because he thought the King's safety involved in it; Charles, who was present, said aloud: "It

is a Judas kiss which he gives me." Presuming on all these circumstances, the Prince of Orange got the famous Dutch and Spanish memorials sent over, which pressed the King to consent to the exclusion of his brother.

In the mean time, Charles was listening, though without precipitation, to the advances made by Barillon through means of Lord St. Albans for a new money treaty between the two Kings. The intentions of the French with regard to the terms of the treaty were originally, that Charles should withdraw himself from the late Spanish alliance, and recal his Ambassadors from the German and northern courts; that the Duke should return; that the Roman Catholics should be favourably treated, and the penal laws against them suspended; that Charles should never more call a parliament; and that in consideration of these things he should have a pension for three years. But the impatience of the Duke of York in his exile could not brook a delay; for as soon as he heard a treaty was thought of, he dispatched Churchill to London to press it forward.

His impatience in Scotland, his sending off Churchill, and the instructions which Barillon got relative to the terms of the intended treaty, appear in the two following dispatches.

Lettre de Mr. le Duc d'York à Mr. de Barillon, écrite d'Edinbourg, 1680, sans date.—Cette lettre est devant celle du 23 Decembre de M. Barillon au Roy.

"**C'**EST avec beaucoup de satisfaction que j'ai reçu votre lettre, puis-que vous me donnez de nouvelles assurances des bontés que le Roy votre maître a pour moi; je ferai mon devoir pour en mériter la continuation, c'est de quoi je vous prie de l'assurer.

Pour ce pays cy, la noblesse et les gens de qualité sont par intérêt attachés à la royauté, et ils sont les maîtres icy: pour ce qui est de l'Angleterre vous êtes sur les lieux, et vous savez ce qui s'y passe aussi bien que moi; si j'étois de retour auprès du Roy mon frère, je pourrois espérer de moyenner une aussi bonne correspondance que jamais il y ait eu entre lui et le Roy votre maître; mais tant que je serai éloigné cela sera difficile à faire; car vous voyez par les tours qu'ils m'ont faits, que je ne puis me fier ni à Madame de Portsmouth ni à milord Sunderland; et pour ceux qui ont ou qui peuvent avoir la confiance du Roi mon frère, à moins que je

n'y fois, ils ne donneront jamais les mains à ce que nous souhaitons. Vous pouvez m'écrire quelque fois par la même voie que vous avez fait."

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, written from Edinburgh, 1680, without date.—This letter is before that of the 23d December from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Complains of the usage he has met with.—Anxious to return to England.

"I RECEIVED your letter with a great deal of satisfaction, because you give me fresh assurances of the King your master's goodness to me; I will endeavour to deserve the continuance of it, whereof I beg you to assure him.

With regard to this country, the nobility and persons of quality are by interest attached to royalty, and they are the masters here: as to England, you are upon the spot, and know what passes there as well as myself; if I was to return to the King my brother, I might hope to pave the way for as good a correspondence as ever between him and the King your master; but as long as I shall be absent, it will be difficult to do; for you see by the tricks they have played me, that I cannot confide either in Lady Portsmouth or Lord Sunderland; and as for those who have or may have the King my brother's confidence, unless I am there, they will never lend a hand to what we wish. You may sometimes write to me by the same way you have done."

Extrait dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roy, 3 Février, 1681.

In the *Depot*. "LE Sieur Chercheil a toujours été en Ecosse avec M. le Duc d'York: Il arriva icy avant hier et m'apporta un billet de ce Prince dont j'envoye la copie à votre Majesté; ce qu'il m'a dit, m'a marqué beaucoup d'envie de la part de M. le Duc d'York de pouvoir revenir auprès du Roi son frere, mais il ne me paroît pas que les affaires se disposent encore icy à cela; ainsi je n'ai pas cru qu'il fût tems d'exécuter l'ordre que votre Majesté m'a donné de demander le retour de M. le Duc d'York; j'ai seulement dit à M. Chercheil que votre Majesté le souhaite, et qu'elle m'avoit ordonné de m'y employer, quand je croirai que cela sera possible.

M. Chercheil m'a dit, que M. le Duc d'York croyoit, qu'il trouveroit icy une négociation commencée par retablissement d'une étroite liaison entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre; et que le principal sujet de son voyage étoit pour presser sa Majesté Britannique de conclurre un traité avec votre Majesté; que je voyois qu'il me pressoit par son billet de ne point perdre de tems pour agir, et de faire des propositions qui pussent aller à une conclusion; parceque M. le Duc d'York étoit averti qu'on faisoit les derniers efforts pour empêcher le Roi d'Angleterre de prendre aucunes mesures avec votre Majesté; et qu'au contraire on vouloit lui faire prendre des liaisons très opposées à ses interêts: que l'on avoit dessein de faire venir icy M. le Prince d'Orange; c'est à dire, de le rendre maitre des affaires, et de l'établir des à présent d'une maniere qui ne pourroit être changée à l'avenir.

Je ne suis point ouvert à M. Chercheil du pouvoir que j'avois de conclure un traité, n'y de ce qui a passé par milord St. Alban; je lui ai dit seulement que votre Majesté étoit dans des dispositions très favorables pour le retablissement d'une bonne intelligence avec sa Majesté Britannique, et que la principale considération de votre Majesté étoit la conservation de M. le Duc d'York, et l'envie de le maintenir à la succession de la couronne. Que je ne perdrois pas d'occasion de témoigner au Roi d'Angleterre combien votre Majesté croit que la conservation de M. le Duc d'York est importante pour la conservation de l'autorité royale en Angleterre; que j'aurai bientôt des ordres de votre Majesté sur tout ce qui se passe ici, et que je apporterai alors tous mes soins pour faire reussir une négociation, dont je vois bien que le salut de M. le Duc d'York depend. M. Chercheil m'a avoué franchement que ce Prince n'étoit pas en état de se maintenir en Ecosse, si le Roy son frere ne le soutenoit ici. On a brulé une maison du prevôt d'Edimbourg; c'est le premier magistrat de la ville, il a la même fonction que le maire de Londres. On croit que les écoliers qui ont brulé l'effigie du Pape, ont mis le feu la nuit à cette maison du prevôt, qui n'est qu'à un mil d'Edimbourg.

Après avoir relu fort attentivement la dernière dépêche de votre Majesté, il me paroît que les conditions sur les qu'elles elle s'explique n'arrêteront pas la conclusion d'un traité, et qu'au contraire elles peuvent fort le faciliter. Votre Majesté ne demande, sur le traité d'Espagne, qu'une parole.

de s'en retirer peu à peu ; cela ne se peut refuser quand le Roi d'Angleterre voudra rentrer en liaison avec votre Majesté : Le rappel des ministres qu'il a dans toutes les cours d'Allemagne et du nord n'est pas non plus une chose qui puisse rompre un traité, et il sera aisé à sa Majesté Britannique de les rappeler sous prétexte d'économie, outre, qu'en l'état où sont les affaires d'Angleterre, peu de Princes s'empresseront à faire des alliances avec sa Majesté Britannique.

La condition du retour de M. le Duc d'York est aussi une chose qui se doit ménager avec le tems, et je ne pense pas que votre Majesté la voulût prescrire comme une condition essentielle qui dut être exécutée sans délai, non plus qu'un traitement favorable pour les Catholiques, et la suspension des loix pénales à leur égard ; ces sont plutôt des suites nécessaires d'une bonne intelligence avec votre Majesté, que des conditions sur lesquelles on put insister, et rompre la conclusion d'une alliance. Il reste seulement une difficulté, c'est celle d'éloigner pour toujours la séance du parlement. Je sçai bien que c'est une sûreté que votre Majesté a raison de demander ; mais elle me promet à l'année 1679, de consentir que le parlement s'assemblât quand le Roi d'Angleterre croiroit le devoir faire pour ses intérêts, pourvu qu' alors les subsides cessassent : Peut-être que le Roi d'Angleterre sera bien aisé de tenir le parlement assemblé quelques jours à Oxford, et qu'il voudra encore chercher les moyens de le satisfaire, en offrant les modifications qu'il a déjà offertes en cas que M. le Duc d'York vint à la couronne.

Le Comte de St. Albans m'a dit, que si le Roi d'Angleterre avoit fait un traité avec votre Majesté, ou si il étoit assuré d'en conclure un, il tiendrait une conduite bien différente à l'égard du Parlement, et seroit bien plus en état de maintenir son autorité, et de ne pas se laisser tenter par les propositions qui lui seroient faites ; il est nécessaire que je sois pleinement instruit sur cela des intentions de votre Majesté.

Je conserve les liaisons que j'ai avec plusieurs membres du parlement ; j'ai vu les principaux qui m'ont tous parus fort animés contre la cour, et fort aigris que le parlement soit convoqué hors de Londres : Ils ne sont pas sans apprehension que le Roi d'Angleterre ne veuille avoir des troupes autour d'Oxford, et rendre par là leur assemblée moins libre. Ils parlent

d'y venir assez bien accompagnés pour ne pas apprehender une insulte ; c'est une proposition qui a été fait parmi eux ; si elle s'exécutoit, ce seroit en quelque façon se mettre sous les armes de part et d'autre ; ce qui me paroît de meilleur presentement pour le Roi d'Angleterre, c'est que la ville de Londres est assez calme, et que les plus riches marchands craignent les desordres."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, 3d February, 1681.—Churchill is come from Scotland to promote a treaty with France.—Barillon conceals from him that it is begun.—Barillon's instructions with regard to the treaty.

"**T**H E Sieur Churchill has been all this while in Scotland with the Duke of York : He arrived here the day before yesterday, and brought me a billet from the Duke ; a copy of which I send your Majesty. What he says shews a great desire on the Duke of York's part to be able to return to the King his brother ; but it does not appear to me that affairs are yet disposed for it here ; therefore I did not think it time to execute the order your Majesty gave me, to ask the Duke of York's return ; I have only told Mr. Churchill that your Majesty wished it, and that you had ordered me to employ myself in it when I should believe it possible to be brought about.

Mr. Churchill said, that the Duke of York believed he should find a negociation begun here for the re-establishment of a strict alliance between your Majesty and the King of England ; and that the principal cause of his journey was to press his Britannick Majesty to conclude a treaty with your Majesty ; that I saw he pressed me by his billet not to lose any time in acting and making proposals which might lead to a conclusion, because the Duke of York was informed that the greatest efforts were making to hinder the King of England from taking any measures with your Majesty ; and on the contrary, for making him take measures very opposite to your interests : That it was designed that the Prince of Orange should come over, with a view that he might become the master of affairs, and be established now in a manner which could not be changed hereafter.

I did not open myself to Mr. Churchill upon the power I have to conclude a treaty, nor upon what had passed by means of Lord St. Alban's ;

I only told him that your Majesty was in very favourable dispositions for re-establishing a good intelligence with his Britannick Majesty, and that your Majesty's principal consideration was the preservation of the Duke of York, and your desire to support him in the succession to the throne. That I should not lose any opportunity of letting the King of England know how much your Majesty believes the preserving the Duke of York is important to the preservation of the royal authority in England; that I shall soon have orders from your Majesty upon all that passes here, and I should then bend all my cares to cause a negociation to succeed on which I well saw the safety of the Duke of York depended. Mr. Churchill frankly owned that this Prince was not in a condition to maintain himself in Scotland, if the King his brother did not support him there. They have burnt the house of the Provost of Edinburgh; he is the first magistrate of the city, and has the same functions with the Mayor of London. It is believed that the students who burnt the Pope in effigy, set fire, during the night, to the Provost's house, which is but a mile from Edinburgh.

After having read over again with attention your Majesty's last dispatch, it appears to me that the conditions upon which you explain yourself, will not stop the conclusion of a treaty, and on the contrary may much forward it. Your Majesty only asks, with regard to the treaty with Spain, an assurance to withdraw from it by degrees; this cannot be refused when the King of England shall incline to renew his connexion with your Majesty. Neither is the recalling of the ministers from all the courts of Germany and the north a circumstance which can break off the treaty; and it will be easy for his Britannick Majesty to recall them under pretence of œconomy; besides, in the condition in which the affairs of England are, few Princes will press to make alliances with his Britannick Majesty.

The condition of the Duke of York's return is also a thing that should be managed with time, and I do not imagine that your Majesty will prescribe it as an essential condition which must be executed without delay, any more than the favourable treatment of the Catholics, and the suspension of the penal laws on their account; these are rather necessary consequences of a good intelligence with your Majesty, than conditions to be insisted on, and which might break the conclusion of an alliance. There remains only one difficulty, which is that of putting off for ever the fitting of

parliament. I know very well it is a security your Majesty has reason to demand; but you promised me, in the year 1679, to consent that the parliament should assemble when the King of England believed it necessary for his own interests, provided that then the subsidies should cease: perhaps the King of England may be inclined to keep the parliament assembled some days at Oxford, and may still try for means to satisfy it, by offering the limitations which he has already offered in case the Duke of York shall come to the crown.

The Earl of St. Albans told me, that if the King of England had made a treaty with your Majesty, or if he was assured of concluding one, he would observe a very different conduct with regard to parliament, and would be much more in a condition to maintain his authority, and not let himself be tempted by the proposals which might be made him; it is necessary I should be fully instructed in your Majesty's intentions upon this.

I keep up the connexions I have with many members of parliament; I have seen the principal, who all appear much animated against the court, and very angry that the parliament is summoned to meet out of London: they are not without apprehension that the King of England may have troops around Oxford, and thereby render their meeting less free: they talk of coming there sufficiently well accompanied not to apprehend an insult. This is a proposal which has been made amongst them; if it is executed, it will be in some measure taking up arms on both sides; what appears to me the best symptom for the King of England at present, is, that the city of London is quiet enough, and the richest merchants are afraid of troubles."

Charles kept this treaty in suspense from December until the 26th of March, probably provoked by the exorbitancy of some of the terms demanded of him, and in hopes that the two parliaments which sat in that interval might have furnished him with supplies to relieve his necessities. But the impatience of the Duke of York increased in proportion to his distance from the scene of action, and the importance of his own interest, as appears from the two following letters.

Lettre de Duc d'York à Mr. Barillon, 1681, sans date, recue le premier Mars.

In the Depot. " **L**E gentilhomme que vous m'avez mandé être en chemin pour venir icy n'y est pas encore arrivé; mais nonobstant cela, je crois qu'il est en votre pouvoir d'établir présentement les affaires dans le lieu où vous êtes, si vous voulez seulement parler au Roy mon frere, et lui en faire la proposition; il est tems à present ou jamais de conclure ce marché, car autrement le Roy d'Angleterre fera obligé de se mettre entre les mains du parlement et du Prince d'Orange, et il seroit trop tard alors, et le Duc d'York seroit infailliblement ruiné. Je scai que quelques personnes qui ont été dans la confiance du Roi d'Angleterre ont pris grand soin de lui persuader qu'il ne pouvoit pas compter sur l'amitié du Roi votre maitre, et que si il étoit pressé sur cela, il trouveroit qu'il ne seroit pas sincerement ni veritablement son ami: je scai bien que cela a été dit autrefois au Roi d'Angleterre, et qu'on peut encore lui dire la même chose; c'est pourquoi c'est à vous à l'assurer du contraire; de sorte qu'il n'y a point de tems à perdre en cette affaire, car si elle n'est pas commencée présentement, et pendant que Churchil est à Londres, je crains qu'il n'y survienne encore quelque difficulté; mais j'espere que vous y aurez fait quelque progrès avant son retour. Vous pouvez être sur que le Duc d'York fera son devoir pour presser le Roi d'Angleterre, car si on ne conclut à cette heure, et sans perdre de tems, le Duc d'York est perdu: considerez cela, et ressouvenez vous que quand autrefois on a fait des difficultés, je vous ai toujours prédit ce qui arriveroit, et vous avez vu que je ne me suis pas trompé; mais présentement je vous assure et vous affirme, que si on perd le tems tout est perdu; c'est pourquoi je vous conjure de faire votre possible pour terminer cette affaire. Faites connoître au Roi votre maitre, que s'il a quelque bonté ou consideration pour le Duc d'York, il est tems de lui témoigner. Sa Majesté scait à quelque point il est sensible aux graces qu'on lui fait, et je puis repondre qu'il fera tous ses efforts pour les meriter. Je pourois me servir de quelques autres raisons pour vous engager à faire ce qui presse à present, mais cela n'est pas nécessaire puisque vous savez toutes les miennes, et que vous en êtes touché. Ce sera une action tout à fait glorieuse au Roi, de rétablir le Roi d'Angleterre, (car il en faut parler ainsi) et de sauver les pauvres Catholiques, qui autrement seront ruinés sans ressource."

- Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 1st of March.—Presses him extremely to get a treaty concluded.

“THE gentleman you informed me was on the road to come here is not yet arrived; but nevertheless I believe it is in your power to put matters to rights at present in the place where you are, if you will only speak to the King my brother, and make the proposal to him; it is time now or never to conclude this bargain, for otherwise the King of England will be obliged to put himself into the hands of parliament and of the Prince of Orange; it will then be too late, and the Duke of York infallibly ruined. I know that some persons who have been in the King of England’s confidence have taken great pains to persuade him that he could not reckon upon the friendship of the King your master, and that if he was pressed, he would find that he would not be sincerely nor truly his friend: I know well that this was said formerly to the King of England, and that the same thing may again be said to him; it is therefore your part to assure him of the contrary; so that there is no time to lose in this affair, for if it is not begun at present, and while Churchill is in London, I fear some difficulty may yet occur; but I hope you will have made some progress in it before his return. You may be sure the Duke of York will do his duty to press the King of England, for if it is not concluded now, and without loss of time, the Duke of York is lost: consider this, and remember that heretofore when difficulties were made, I always foretold what would happen, and you have seen that I was not mistaken; but at present I assure you and affirm, that if time is lost, all is lost; for this reason I conjure you to do all in your power to end this affair. Let the King your master know, that if he has any goodness or consideration for the Duke of York, it is time to shew it. His Majesty knows to what a degree he is sensible of the favours done him, and I can answer that he will use all his efforts to deserve it. I could make use of some other reasons to engage you to do what presses at present; but that is not necessary, since you know all mine, and are touched with them. It will be an action altogether glorious for the King to re-establish the King of England (for thus it must be spoken of) and to save the poor Catholics, who otherwise will be ruined without resource.”

Lettre du Duc d'York à Mr. Barillon, 1681, sans date, recue le 16 Mars, avec la dépêche de Mr. Barillon du 10.

In the *Depot*. “ JE suis fort aise des assurances que vous me donnez de la continuation de la bonté que le Roi votre maitre a pour moi ; c'est ce qui m'a obligé (mes affaires pressant fort) de lui écrire, et de lui dépêcher un exprès ; car s'il ne veut présentement me temoigner son amitié, et écouter les propositions que je lui ai faites, mes affaires seront entre cy et peu de tems dans un fort mauvais état, et la royauté entierement ruinée. Ce que je lui ai proposé est, qu'il veuille recommencer un traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre à peu près sur la même plan que celui qui fût une fois si près d'être conclu ; je souhaite de plus que vous recommandiez cette affaire autant que vous le pourrez ; car sans cela je ne puis esperer d'être rappelé par le Roi d'Angleterre ; ce que ne pouvant obtenir, il faut de nécessité que je sois ruiné ; c'est ce que j'espere que le Roi votre maitre ne verroit pas volontiers, et vous en connoissez les consequences, qui seroient d'avoir une republique en Angleterre. Je n'ose m'étendre sur cette matiere autant qu'il seroit necessaire : vous m'entendez assez pour savoir ce que je pense.”

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, 1681, without date, received the 16th March, with Mr. Barillon's dispatch of the 10th.

“ I AM very glad of the assurances you give me of the continuation of the King your master's goodness towards me ; this has obliged me (my affairs pressing much) to write to him, and dispatch an express with the letter, for if he will not now shew his friendship, and hearken to the proposals I have made him, my affairs will be between this and a little time in a very bad condition, and the Monarchy entirely ruined. What I have proposed to him is, that he will set on foot again a treaty with the King of England much upon the same plan as that which was once so near being concluded ; I moreover wish that you will recommend this affair as much as you can, for without that I cannot hope to be recalled by the King of England ; and if that cannot be obtained, I must infallibly be ruined. But this I hope the King your master will not willingly see, and you know the consequences, which would be to establish a Republick in England. I dare not dwell upon this matter so much as would be necessary : you understand me enough to know what I mean.”

In the mean time Charles had been trying to soften his two parliaments, first by an offer of limitations upon the powers of a popish successor, and next by a scheme for settling the government, during the Duke's life, upon the Princess of Orange, as regent. The house of commons rejected both, and not only refused money for the support of government, but prohibited private persons to lend it to the King. Charles, upon this, hastily struck up a treaty with France on the 24th March, 1681, and a few days after dissolved his parliament, with a resolution never to call another.

Barillon's letter of that date, in the Depot.

This is the private treaty, of date 1st April, 1681, which Mr. Hume first produced to the world, from the same source at Versailles from which I have drawn so many others. Barillon's account of the treaty contains, as Mr. Hume justly states it, three things; that Charles should disengage himself by degrees from the Spanish alliance; should take measures to prevent parliaments from counteracting his engagement; and should receive a pension of two millions for one year, and 500,000 crowns for two others from France. Barillon had struggled hard that the treaty should be put into writing, and signed by the two Princes, for which he gave this reason to his court in his letter of 3d March, 1681. "Il me semble aussi que ce Prince n'oseroit jamais rendre publique un traité dans lequel il s'est engagé à ne point assembler le parlement; ce seroit une chose fort perilleuse pour sa personne, et entièrement contraire aux loix d'Angleterre."—"It also appears to me that this Prince would not dare to make a treaty public in which he has engaged himself not to assemble a parliament; this would be a very dangerous thing for his person, and entirely contrary to the laws of England." But Charles refused, and it was only verbally agreed upon. No one, except Lord Hyde, was privy to the conditions; for these were concealed even from Lord St. Alban's, though he knew of the treaty. Barillon writes, on the 14th April, 1681, that the King desired it should be kept secret from the Dutchess of Portsmouth, assigning this courtly reason for doing so, that if the treaty should ever transpire, and she be blamed for it, she might have it in her power to assert with a safe conscience her innocence.

In the Depot.

In the Depot.

The French account of the treaty, copied by Mr. Hume, contains some general expressions of Barillon, which implied that France was not to attack

the Low Countries or Strasburg; but as the treaty was only verbal, this part of it, and even that which related to the *quantum* of the pension came, as all verbal pactions do, at an after period, to be the subject of dispute.

Notwithstanding the various declarations which Charles made to parliament of his readiness to consent to the scheme of limitations, he (who of all men was certainly the most insincere) gave assurances underhand to the Prince of Orange, that it was not his intention to consent to it; it is probable, therefore, that he proposed it only with a view to divide the exclusionists. The Prince of Orange seems to have been sensible of this, and therefore, even after he was informed of the King's intentions to disappoint the scheme, he still insisted that it should not be permitted to be moved in at all. In one of his applications on this head, he expressed himself, that he would consent to any other expedient to reconcile the King and parliament; words, from a person so cautious as he was, which perhaps explained sufficiently that the expedient he pointed at was the exclusion.

On these heads there are in the Paper office the following letters from the Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, during the last great heats about the Exclusion.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A Honslaerdyck, ce 26 de Juillet, 1680.

“**Q**UOY que l'incartade de milord Scaffsburi ne m'a pas paru de grande importance, cela n'a pas empêché qu'il n'aye fait grand bruit en ce pays comme partout ailleurs, et a donné une mechante impression au gens, comme s'il y avoient plus de desordres à craindre en Angleterre. J'espere que le temps les en defabufera, quoyque pour le présent la mauvaise intention de milord Schaffsburi a eu son effet en donnant cette mechante impression, qui est assuerement nuisible au service du Roi et à la tranquillité de l'Europe. Nous le sommes fort ici, quoyque le voyage du Roi de France nous inquiette un peu. Le temps nous fera voir en peu ce que nous avons à en attendre; cependant je suis tousjours entierement à vous.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon Lord Shaftesbury's presenting the Duke of York as a Popish recusant.

Honflaerdike, 26 July, 1680.

“ALTHOUGH Lord Shaftesbury's folly does not appear to me to be of great consequence, that does not prevent its having made a great noise in this country, as well as every where else, and has given people bad impressions, as if there were still more troubles to be dreaded in England. I hope that time will open their eyes, although at present the bad intentions of Lord Shaftesbury have had their effect in giving this bad impression, which is certainly hurtful to the King, and to the tranquillity of Europe. We are quiet here, although the King of France's journey gives us a little uneasiness. Time will show us what we have to fear; in the mean time I am always entirely yours.”

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A Honflaerdyck, ce 13 de Sep. 1680.

“QUOY que l'on soit ici fort aisé que le parlement s'assemblera si tost, l'on est dans une extrême apprehension pour le succès; s'il n'est tel que l'on doit l'espérer, je ne vois aucune ressource pour les affaires de l'Europe qui seront en un pitoyable état. Dieu veuille que le Roi et son parlement s'accorde, sans quoy tout est perdu. Celle ici sera la dernière que je vous écrirai de ce lieu, étant d'intention de partir Lundi prochain pour aller voir Mr. le Duc de Cell, qui m'en a fort souvent prié. Je croi que je serai cinq ou six semaines en mon voyage, et que peut être je pourai voir Mr. l'Electeur de Brandenburg. Si je puis assister en leur négociation Mess. les Chevaliers Soutwell et Sylvius, vous pouvez être assuré que je n'y manquerai pas, mais je crains qu'aucun Prince en Allemagne ne voudra se déclarer avant que vostre traité ne soit achevé avec l'Empereur. En fin, je ne négligerai rien qui dependra de moy pour servir la cause commune, et sur tout le Roi. A mon retour je vous ferai savoir ce qui se sera passé en mon voyage; cependant, je vous prie de me croire tousjours entierement à vous.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Upon the approaching meeting of the third parliament of King Charles.

Honflaerdike, 13 Sept. 1680.

“**A**LTHOUGH we are glad here that the parliament will be so soon assembled, we are in an extreme apprehension for its success; if it is not such as we hope for, I do not see any resource for the affairs of Europe, which will be in a lamentable state. God grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which all is lost. This will be the last I shall write you from this place, having an intention to set off on Monday next to see the Duke of Zell, who has often asked me. I believe I shall be five or six weeks in my journey, and perhaps I shall see the Elector of Brandenburg. If I can assist the Chevaliers Southwell and Sylvius, you may be assured I will not fail; but I am afraid that no German Prince will incline to declare himself before our treaty is finished with the Emperor. In fine, I will neglect nothing that depends upon me to serve the common cause, and above all the King. At my return I will let you know what has passed in my journey; in the mean time I beg you will believe me to be always your’s.”

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, 12 de Novembre, 1680.

“**J**E suis de retour icy depuis hier au soir, et ce matin j’ai reçu deux de vos lettres à la fois du 26 et 29 v. f. du passé. Je vous remercie fort de ce que vous m’informés de ce qui se passe au parlement, et vous prie d’y vouloir continuer. Je suis extrêmement marri d’apprendre que la session commence avec tant de chaleur et d’emportemens. Dieu veuille rendre les gens sages et modérés, car assurement de l’assemblée présente du parlement depend le bien ou le mal de toute l’Europe. J’ai eu aujourd’hui tant d’affaires sur les bras, comme c’est le premier jour de mon arrivée, que la poste étant sur le point de parti, je ne vous puis dire d’avantage pour cette fois, si non que je suis toujours entierement à vous.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins, upon the heats in the beginning of the third parliament.

Hague, 12th November, 1680.

“**I** RETURNED here last night, and this morning I have received two of your letters at once of the 26th and 29th old stile. I thank you for letting me know what is passing in parliament, and beg you will still continue to do so. I am extremely sorry to learn that the session begins with so much heat and passion. May God make people wise and moderate: for surely on this meeting of parliament depends the good or ill fortune of all Europe. I have so many things to do to-day, which is the first day of my arrival, and the post being just going, I cannot say any thing more now, than that I am always entirely your's.”

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye ce 22 de Novembre, 1680.

“**J**E vous suis très obligé que vous continues à m'informer de ce qui se passe chez vous; mais je suis bien marri d'apprendre avec quelle animosité l'on procède à la maison basse contre Mr. le Duc. Dieu le benisse, et fasse que le Roi et son parlement puisse s'accorder, sans quoi je prévoi infailliblement un danger evident pour sa Majesté, la maison royale, et la plus grande partie de l'Europe. Tous les affaires icy comme aussi par tout sont en surcois pour voir l'issue de cette grande session. La bonté divine la veuille faire déterminer à sa gloire, au bien et à la satisfaction du Roi, de sa maison royale, de la nation, et du bon parti dans l'Europe. Je suis et serai tousjours sans reserve entierement à vous.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—On the heats of the exclusion.

Hague, 22d Nov. 1680.

“**I** AM much obliged to you for continuing to inform me of what passes in England, but I am vexed to learn with what animosity they proceed against the Duke. God bless him, and grant that the King and his parliament may agree, without which I foresee infallibly an imminent danger for the King, the royal family, and the greatest part of Europe. All

affairs here are, as every where else, in suspense to see the issue of this great session. May the Divine Goodness end it for his own glory, the good and satisfaction of the King, of his royal family, and of the good party in Europe. I am and always will be without reserve entirely your's."

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye ce 10 Decembre, 1680.

"VOUS savez comme j'ay tousjours souhaité une bonne intelligence entre le Roi et son parlement, et que j'aurois souhaité d'avoir esté capable d'y avoir peu contribuer; ainsi vous jugerez facilement en quelle peine et chagrin je suis de voir qu'un si grand bien n'est pas encore selon mes souhaits. Il faut que je vous advoue aussi que j'ay esté bien surpris d'apprendre, que l'on parle des mitigations de l'autorité royale, si la couronne venoit a eschoir sur un Roi Papiste. J'espere que sa Majesté ne voudra point souffrir que l'on fasse une chose qui est si prejudiciable à toute la famille royale: et quoique l'on debite que cela n'auroit lieu qu'à l'égard d'un Roi qui fût de cette religion, et sans consequence à ceux de la religion Protestante, il ne faut point s'imaginer si une fois l'on avoit des prerogatives à la couronne aussi considerables que ceux dont on parle, qu'ils y reviendroient jamais. Ainsi je vous prie de représenter cecy en mon nom au Roi; et supplier de ma part sa Majesté, qu'il ne veuille point consentir à une chose qui est si prejudiciable à tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'estre de sa famille. C'est ce qui m'oblige en conscience de parler. Je suis et serai tousjours à vous.

G. Prince d'Orange.

Je vous prie de me faire savoir la reponse que vous aurez eu."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Against King Charles's offer of limitations upon a Popish successor.

Hague, December 10, 1680.

"YOU know how I have always wished a good intelligence between the King and his parliament; and that I wished to have been able to contribute to it. You will therefore easily judge in what trouble and chagrin I am, to see that so great a blessing is not as yet according to my wishes. I must also own to you that I was much surprized to learn of

mitigations of the royal authority being spoken of in case the crown should fall to a Papist. I hope that his Majesty will not incline to suffer a thing to be done so prejudicial to all the royal family: and although they spread about that this will not take place except with regard to a King of that religion, and would be of no consequence to Kings of the Protestant religion, it must not be imagined, that if they had once taken away from the crown such considerable prerogatives as are talked of, that they would ever return again. Therefore I intreat you to represent this in my name to the King; and to beg of his Majesty on my part, that he will not consent to a thing so prejudicial to all those who have the honour to be of his family. This, as a matter of conscience, I am obliged to say. I am and will be always your's.

G. Prince of Orange.

I intreat you to let me know what answer you get."

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye ce 27 de Decembre, 1680.

"**L**E vent contraire qu'il a fait depuis quelque temps est cause que je n'ay receu que hier la vostre du 17. Les assurances que vous me donnez de la part du Roi, que sa Majesté ne consentira point à des limitations dans l'autorité royale me console fort. Mais je crains seulement que par des voies indirectes l'on pourroit venir à une chose qui est si ruineuse à la Monarchie.

Pour toute sortes d'expedients, excepté ceux la, j'aurois une joye très sensible, si l'on les pouvoit trouver pour reunir le Roi et son parlement. Vous savez l'interêt que toute l'Europe y a, et particulièrement moy. Dieu veuille que l'on les trouve bientost, et fasse terminer cette session heureusement en une bonne union, sans quoy nous sommes tous perdus. Si l'on continue à parler des limitations, je vous prie qu'aux occasions qu'il fera necessaire, de représenter au Roi de ma part, les assurances qu'il m'a données de ne pas vouloir consentir à une chose qui est si prejudiciable à toute la maison royale, et qui entraineroit après soi la ruine de la Monarchie. Je suis tousjours entierement à vous.

G. Prince d'Orange."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—The King has promised not to consent to the scheme of limitations.—The Prince hints he will agree to any other expedient.

Hague, December 27, 1680.

“**T**HE contrary wind for some days past prevented me from receiving till yesterday your's of the $\frac{17}{7}$. The assurance which you give me on the King's part, that the King will not consent to the limitations of the royal authority, comforts me much. But I am only afraid that by indirect means they may come at a thing so ruinous to Monarchy.

With regard to all sorts of expedients, except those, I should have a very sensible joy if they could be found out, to re-unite the King and his parliament. You know the interest which all Europe has in this matter, and particularly me. God grant that these expedients be soon found, and that this session may be happily ended in a good union, without which we are all lost. If limitations continue to be spoke of, I entreat you upon all necessary occasions, to represent on my part to the King, the assurances he gave me of his not consenting to a thing so prejudicial to all the royal family, and which would draw after it the ruin of the Monarchy.

I am always entirely your's, G. Prince of Orange.”

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 28 de Janvier, 1681.

“**T**OUT le monde ici à esté fort surpris de la prorogation du parlement, quoyqu'ils peuvent bien comprendre que le Roi y a esté obligé en quelque maniere par leur procedes si vehemens: mais je ne vous puis assez exprimer la grande crainte en laquelle nous sommes d'une plus longue prorogation ou une dissolution; quels en seront les effets dans le royaume, vous en pouvez mieux juger que moy; nonobstant que d'ici nous avons sujet de craindre qu'elles seront très funestes pour les affaires de là Créftieneté. Je les tiens entierement perdues, et abandonnés à ceux qui ont intention de s'en rendre maistres; et si l'on se persuade qu'en appelant un nouveau parlement ils ne seroient en les même sentiments, est une

chose qui ne peut entrer en moy ; et l'expérience du passé à fait voir assez clairement, qu' au lieu d'être plus moderes ils ont tousjours voulu pousser les choses plus loin. Je croi être obligé en conscience de vous écrire si franchement mes sentiments, esperant que sa Majesté ne trouvera pas mauvais que je lui représente une chose d'ou, à mon avis, depend la conservation de toute là Chrétieneté, de sa personne, et ses royaumes. L'interest que l'estat et surtout moy y avons, n'est pas petit ; ainsi qu'il n'est pas estrange que je suis dans une inquiétude extraordinaire de savoir comme le jour d'après demain se passera, qui est le temps que le parlement doit se rassembler, puisque c'est un jour qui pourroit contribuer à nous sauver ou à nous perdre entierement. Dieu aye pitié de tant de pauvres gens et benisse avec plus de prosperité les resolutions du Roi qu'il n'a fait jusques ici.

G. Prince d'Orange.

Je vous prie de représenter tout cecy à sa Majesté, et me faire reponse."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—Presses the parliament shall not be dissolved.

Hague, 28 January, 1681.

"EVERY body here was surprized with the prorogation of the parliament, though they can very well understand that the King was forced to it in some manner by their vehement proceedings. But I cannot sufficiently express to you the great fear we are in of a longer prorogation or a dissolution. What will be the effects of it in the kingdom you can judge better than me, although here we have reason to fear they will be very fatal to the affairs of Christendom. I hold these affairs to be entirely ruined, and abandoned to those who have any intention to make themselves master of them : and if people persuade themselves that when a new parliament is called it will not have the same sentiments, that is a thing which cannot enter into my mind ; the experience of the past has shewn clearly enough, that instead of being more moderate they have always pushed things a greater length. I think myself obliged in conscience to write you my sentiments so frankly, hoping his Majesty will not take it ill that I represent to him a matter on which, in my opinion, depends the preservation of all Christendom, of his person, and of his kingdoms.

The interest which the state, and above all I have in it, is not little, so that it is not strange that I am in an extraordinary uneasiness how the day after to-morrow will pass, which is the time when the parliament is to meet; seeing that is a day that may save or ruin us entirely. May God have pity on so many poor people, and bless the resolutions of the King with more prosperity than they have hitherto had.

G. Prince of Orange.

I entreat you to represent all this to the King, and to give me an answer."

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

A la Haye, ce 11 de Fev. 1681.

"SANS un voyage que j'ai fait à Amsterdam, je vous aurois répondu plustost aux lettres que vous m'avez escrit par ordre du Roi. Je ne vous diray point de quelle maniere, n'y avec quelle surprise l'on a reçu ici la nouvelle de la dissolution du parlement, puisque vous en ferez entierement informe avant ce temps, et que vous l'aurez peu jugé par mes precedentes. L'on est ici fort en doute si le parlement s'assemblera à Oxford au temps prescript; et si elle s'assemble l'on est entierement persuadé qu'ils seront de même sentimens, puisque se seront la plupart les mêmes personnes. La proposition que vous me mandez que sa Majesté leur fera, et qui ne me peut desplaire, j'advoue que je ne puis comprendre ce que cela pourroit être; et si vous me la pouvez faire savoir, vous obligerez beaucoup celui qui sera tousjours à vous."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Sir Leoline Jenkins.—His vexation at the dissolution of Parliament.—Curious to hear a new proposal which the King is to make him.

Hague, 11th February, 1681.

"IF I had not been upon a journey to Amsterdam, I would have sooner answered the letters which you wrote me by the King's orders. I will not tell you in what manner, nor with what surprise the news of the dissolution of the parliament was received here, since you will be fully informed of it before this time, and that you could judge of it by my former letters. People are much in doubt here if the parliament

will meet at Oxford at the time fixed ; and if it does meet, they are persuaded that it will have the same sentiments, since the members will be mostly the same men. With regard to the proposal which you intimate to me, and which cannot displease me, I confess that I cannot comprehend what it can be ; and if you can make me know it, you will oblige him who will be always yours."

The proposal mentioned in this last letter was to make the Princess of Orange regent during her father's life.

Barillon writes his court, on the 14th April, 1681, that this was a In the *Depes-* project of Lord Hallifax and Lord Arlington.

Insincerity and steadiness seldom go together. Charles, in the course of these struggles with parliament, stained his memory for ever by giving up to the vengeance of party the old and innocent Lord Stafford. It is a very false idea in political science, to permit a distinction between the Prince and the man in matters of feeling. The Duke of York, with all his faults, thought more justly than his brother on this subject.

In Lord Dartmouth's notes on bishop Burnet's history, there is the following passage.

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history.

P. 492. The Duke, in one of his letters, says, " I was informed by Fielding of Lord Stafford's being condemned, which surprized me, though I knew the malice of some against him, and the government would make them press it to the utmost : And besides all other considerations am very sorry that his Majesty will be so hard put to it ; for I hope he will remember the continual trouble it was to the King his father, the having consented to the death of the Earl of Strafford, and not have such a burthen on his conscience ; and on the other hand, I know he will be hard prest to sign the warrant against this unfortunate Lord."

I was particularly anxious, in perusing the French dispatches, to discover the principles upon which Algernon Sidney could possibly reconcile to his own pride, his intrigues with France. From the following passage

in one of Barillon's dispatches, it appears that Mr. Sidney's public objects in these intrigues were a republic, and the most unlimited toleration in religion.

Extrait de la lettre de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 30 Septembre, 1680.

In the *Depot*. " **I**L y en a qui s'appliquent depuis quelque tems à me faire entendre, que c'est une vieille erreur de croire que l'intérêt de la France soit entièrement opposé à souffrir que l'Angleterre soit en république; ils prétendent prouver par de bonnes raisons, et par l'exemple du passé, que la re-union de l'Angleterre sous un Roi Protestant, autorisé comme feroit le Prince d'Orange, est beaucoup moins conforme au véritable intérêt de la France que ne feroit une république, qui feroit plus occupée du commerce que d'aucune autre chose, et qui croiroit comme a fait Cromwel pouvoir plutôt profiter sur l'Espagne que sur la France. Ils ajoutent que l'intérêt de l'Angleterre, en république, et celui de la Hollande, gouvernée comme elle est, peuvent difficilement s'accorder ensemble, au lieu que Mr. le Prince d'Orange peut reunir en sa personne la puissance des états généraux et de l'Angleterre: en fin on établit pour un fondement certain que la maison de Stuard, et celle d'Orange sont unies inséparablement, que leur intérêt commun les engage à augmenter leur pouvoir en Angleterre et en Hollande, et que l'intérêt de la France est de maintenir les libertés et les privilèges des deux nations, et de travailler plutôt à la ruine de ceux qui les veulent opprimer: on croiroit même que la sûreté de la religion Catholique pourroit s'établir en Angleterre, si l'on ne craignoit plus qu'un Prince Catholique fût en état de changer le gouvernement et les loix; et on voit par l'exemple de la Hollande, combien la condition des Catholiques est meilleure qu'en Angleterre. Votre Majesté connoit mieux que personne ce qu'il y a de solide dans ces réflexions, et pourra me donner ses ordres pour me conduire dans les occasions qui se présenteront; je me renfermerai présentement à ce qui me paroît de son service sans porter ma vue plus loin; mais il ne me paroît pas inutile de faire envisager à votre Majesté jusqu'ou les affaires d'Angleterre peuvent se porter. Monsieur de Sidney est un de ceux qui me parlent le plus fortement et le plus ouvertement sur cette matiere."

Translation.

Extract of Mr. Barillon's letter to Louis the XIVth, Sept. 30, 1680.—The principles on which Algernon Sidney acted. A Republick and unlimited toleration.

“**T**HERE are some who have applied themselves for some time to make me understand that it is an old error to believe that it is against the interest of France to suffer England to become a Republick; they endeavour to prove by good reasons and the example of the past, that the re-union of England, under a Protestant King, authorized as the Prince of Orange would be, is much less conformable to the true interest of France than a Republick, which would be more occupied with trade than any other thing, and would believe, as Cromwell did, that it should gain rather at the expence of Spain than of France: they add, that the interest of England as a Republick, and that of Holland governed as it is, could not easily agree; whereas the Prince of Orange can reunite in his person the power of the States General and of England together. In fine, they establish for a fundamental principle that the house of Stuart and that of Orange are inseparably united; that their common interest engages them to augment their power in England and in Holland, and that it is the interest of France to maintain the liberties and privileges of both nations, and to endeavour rather at the ruin of those who would oppress them: they even believe that the safety of the Catholick religion might be established in England, if people were not afraid that a Catholick Prince would be in a condition to change the government and laws; and they observe by the example of Holland, how much the condition of the Catholicks in Holland is better than in England. Your Majesty knows better than any body what solidity there is in these reflections, and can give me your orders for my conduct in the occasions which may present. I shall confine myself to what appears to me to be for your service at present, without carrying my views further; but it does not appear useless to shew your Majesty how far affairs may be carried in England. Mr. Sidney is one of those who talks to me with the most force and the most openness on this matter.”

Although in the Ambassadors dispatches several accounts of money laid out by them in political services in England between the years 1677 and 1681 are mentioned, yet I found in the *Depot* only three of them.

The first is Monsieur Courtin's account, mentioned in page 129 of this part of the appendix, and is dated 15th May, 1677. The second is referred to in Barillon's letter of 14th December, 1679, page 257 above, and is of that date. The last is referred to in his letter of December 5th, 1680. Vide p. 280 above, and is of that date.

It has been seen above that the French money laid out in political purposes when Courtin was Ambassador, was distributed by Charles. For this reason Courtin's account of what was laid out by himself is very low, consisting only of the following articles.

	Guineas.
Lord Barker	1000
Chevalier Herbert	600
Chevalier Min	600
Doctor Carey	500
Coleman	300
Green	200
Denize	20

The person here called Lord Barker was Lord Berkshire, because in other parts of the dispatches he is said to have been of the Howard family, and a "grand haranguer" in parliament.

The next account runs as follows.

Etat de l'argent employé par Mr. de Barillon, Ambassadeur du Roi en Angleterre, depuis le 22 Decembre, 1678.

In the *Depot* "PAR le mémoire que j'ai envoyé à la cour le 22 Decembre, 1678, il me restoit tant en lettre de change qu'en argent comptant la somme de 21915 livres, seize schelins, sept penins sterlings, qui font mennoye de France 292211¹/₂.

Depuis le dit jour 22 Decembre jusqu' à ce jourd'huy 14 Decembre, 1679, j'ai donné savoir à Mr. le Duc de Bouquinkan 1000 guinées, qui

font 1087*l.* dix schelings sterlings.

A Mr. de Sidney 500 guinées, qui font 543*l.* quinze schelings sterlings.

Pour maintenir le Sieur Bulstrode dans son emploi à Bruxelles 400 guinées, qui font 435*l.* sterlings.

Au Sieur Beber 500 guinées, qui font 534*l.* quinze schelins sterlings.

Au Sieur Littleton 500 guinées, qui font 543*l.* quinze schelins sterlings.

Au Sieur Powle 500 guinées, qui font 543*l.* quinze schelins sterlings.

Au Sieur Harbord 500 guinées, qui font 543*l.* quinze schelins sterlings.

Total de la dépense que j'ai faite jusqu' à ce jourd'hui 14 Decembre, 1679, 4241*l.* cinq schelins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 56550.

Le 22 Decembre, 1678, il m'étoit resté 21915*l.* seize schelins, sept penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 292211*l.*

Depuis le dit jour 22 Decembre j'ai donné 4241*l.* cinq schelins, qui font monnoye de France 56550*l.*

Partant il ne me resté aujourd'hui 14 Decembre, 1679, que la somme de 17674*l.* onze schelins, sept penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 245661*l.* de laquelle somme j'ai en argent comptant 2674*l.* onze schelins, sept penins sterlings, qui font monnoye de France 35661*l.* Le reste, qui est de 15 mille livres sterlings, ou de deux cents mille livres monnoye de France est en lettres de change qui n'ont point été entamées."

Translation.

State of the money employed by Mr. Barillon, Ambassador from Louis the XIVth in England, since the 22d December, 1678.

"**B**Y the memorial which I sent to court the 22d December, 1678, I had remaining in bills of exchange and ready money the sum of 21,915*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 292211*l.*

Since the said 22d December to this day the 14th December, 1679, I have given, to wit, to the Duke of Buckingham 1000 guineas, which makes 1087*l.* ten shillings sterling.

To Mr. Sidney 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

For the support of the Sieur Bulstrode in his employment at Brussels 400 guineas, which makes 435*l.* sterling.

To the Sieur Beber 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Lyttelton 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Powle 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

To the Sieur Harbord 500 guineas, which makes 543*l.* 15*s.* sterling.

Total of the expence made to this day 14th December, 1679, 4241*l.* 5*s.* sterling, which makes in French money 56550*l.*

The 22d December, 1678, I had remaining 21915*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 292211*l.*

Since the said 22d December I have given 4241*l.* 5*s.* which makes in French money 56550.

Thus I have remaining this 14th December, 1679, only the sum of 17674*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 245661*l.* of which sum I have in ready money 2674*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* sterling, which makes in French money 35661*l.* The remainder, which is 15,000*l.* sterling, or 200,000 livres French money, is in bills of exchange which have not been negociated."

In the *Depot.* The last account consists of the following articles.

	Guineas.
William Harbord. Barillon describes him thus : " Qui à beaucoup contribué à la ruine de Comte de Dambi."—" Who contributed greatly to the ruin of Lord Danby." -	500
Mr. Hamden, - - - - -	500
Colonel Titus, - - - - -	500
Hermstrand : This must have been Sir Thomas Armstrong, because when Barillon gives afterwards an account of Armstrong's execution for the Rye-house plot, he calls him Chevalier Thomas Hermstrand, - -	500
Bennet. Barillon describes him to have been formerly secretary to Prince Rupert, and now to Lord Shaftesbury, -	300
Hodam. This must have been Hotham, for Barillon describes him, " Fil de Chevalier Hodam qui étoit gouverneur de Hull."—" Son of the Chevalier Hotham who was governor of Hull," - - - - -	300
Hicdal, - - - - -	300

Garoway,	-	-	-	-	Guineas	300
Francland,	-	-	-	-		300
Compton,	-	-	-	-		300
Harlie. This must have been Sir Edward Harley, because Barillon describes him, "Ci devant gouverneur de Dunquerque."						
—"Formerly governor of Dunkirk,"						300
Sacheverel,	-	-	-	-		300
Foley,	-	-	-	-		300
Bide. He describes him thus: "Fort riche et accredité."—						
"Very rich and in great credit,"						300
Algernoon Sidney,	-	-	-	-		500
Herbert,	-	-	-	-		500
Baber. This must have been the famous Sir John Baber. Barillon describes him thus: "Qui n'est pas du parlement, mais qui a beaucoup des liaisons avec les membres de la chambre basse, et qui avoit fait ma liaison avec milord Hollis."—						
"Who is not in this parliament, but who has many connections in the lower house, and who formed my connection with Lord Hollis,"						500
Hil. This was probably Sir Roger Hill. Barillon says he was formerly one of Cromwell's officers,						
						500
Boscawen,	-	-	-	-		500
Du Crofs. This was the de Crofs, envoy from the Duke of Holstein, mentioned by Sir William Temple,						
						150
Le Pin. Barillon calls him one of Lord Sunderland's clerks,						150

The names of almost all the above persons are to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, as active persons at that time.

Barillon could not possibly chuse a fitter person to intrigue with the dissenting interest than Sir John Baber; for Charles had formerly employed him in the very same way. Mr. North in his Examen, p. 361, gives an account of this as follows.

"Sir John Baber was a man of finesse, and in possession of the protectorship at court of the dissenting teachers, and after the pattern of the Cardinals, for nations at Rome."

“ The King finding the Dissenters, instigated by their teachers, ever active in all ways of opposition to him and his interests, thought it the cheapest way to take off (as they called it) those bull-weather teachers, and accordingly employed people to treat with them; and terms were adjusted that they should keep their party generally quiet, and that they might not oppose his Majesties affairs in parliament; and for that consideration, conventicles should be connived at, and good annual pensions paid to them; so the stipulation was made, and the pensions settled and duly paid. The plenipotes, in this state negociation, were Sir John Baber, one well known for a busy body in such tricking affairs; and some said Sir R. Buller, who was a famous tool of the Papists afterwards: but the former made no scruple to declare all this to his acquaintance, of whom I had the honour to be one: And he was a witness how honestly the King dealt on his part; paying the pensions as they became due.”

With regard to Dr. Owen, whom Barillon, in one of the above letters, calls the patriarch of the independents, see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 555 to 564. He died at Ealing, 1683, and seventy-seven coaches attended his funeral.

In Barillon's letters there are several relations of money sought by Buckingham and Mountagu, and sometimes given, but oftener refused to them. So far as I could discover in the papers at Versailles, Mountagu did not receive more than 50,000 of the 100,000 crowns promised him for ruining Lord Danby.

In the Depot. While the private treaty, which was afterwards frustrated, was going on in the year 1679, Barillon, in his letter of 21 September, 1679, proposed that presents should be given to the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland; and in his letter of the 26th October, he proposes to give them a pension.

In the Depot. On the 30th November, 1679, Barillon writes that the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Lord Sunderland hinted that they expected gratifications from France.

In the Depot. On the 1st and 15th January, 1680, Louis the XIVth, in his letters to Barillon, ordered him to offer 10,000 pistoles to Sunderland, and 5000

to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, with a promise of a renewal of these presents, if they would keep Charles in the interests of France.

Barillon writes on the 1st and 21st January, 1680, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth had said to him that Sunderland could not be secured to France without a great deal of money. *In the Depot.*

Barillon writes, on the 19th February, 1680: "Milord Sunderland et madame de Portsmouth ont fort bien reçu les offres des gratifications que je leur ai fait esperer."—"Lord Sunderland and the Dutchess of Portsmouth have received with a very good grace the offers of gratification which I made them hope for." Probably these offers did not take effect, because the treaty which they were intended to bring about broke off. *In the Depot.*

On the 21st April, Barillon writes that Lord St. Albans had expressed his expectation of receiving a present for the services he had done, in giving a beginning to the private treaty of the year 1681, and Barillon proposes to give him 1000 or 1500 *l.*: And from Barillon's letter, of 2d May, 1681, it appears that he had received orders from Louis the XIVth to give him the diamond box, in value, 1500 *l.* which had been formerly refused by Lord Hollis, who died before it could be again offered to him. *In the Depot.*

Several of the letters mention gratuities of a few hundred pounds, given at different times, to Mountagu's sister, madame Harvey, and to a few others of Mountagu's friends.

This profligacy extended itself. Barillon writes, on the 4th April, 1680, that Charles was on a project of making a protestant league with the Dutch and Swiss against France; that Mr. Herbert (whose wife he says was cousin german to Lady Sunderland) was to go ambassador to conduct it in Switzerland; but that Herbert had offered for 5000 *l.* to serve the interests of France in his embassy. *In the Depot.*

Lord Keeper North, who was of opinion that the fiction of the Popish plot did not arise from the accident of Tongue's and Oates's informations, but from a preconcerted design, gives the following reasons in his manuscript for that opinion.

Extract from Lord Keeper North's manuscript memorandum.

“ 1st. The parliament was to meet the beginning of October, and the discovery was in the middle of August, time enough to blazon it abroad to irritate the minds of men, but not to do any thing for the trial.

2d. Dr. Tong (the first mover) would not have it exposed so much as to the council before the parliament met, but said it was fitter for the parliament: and when it was objected that Papists might kill the King in the meantime, he said, care should be taken, for that they should be watched so narrowly they should not be able to do it.

3d. There was but one witness before the parliament met, which is not sufficient in treasons, so the council could not order a trial, though they might commit, except in case of Coleman, whose letters were produced under his own hand.

4th. No Lord or person of quality, but only inferior people and priests were named before the parliament met, that the court might not be startled, but might engage in the prosecution of those despicable people, for whom no man would have regret, but they might be bountifully thanked for it by the house of commons.

5th. To make the ministers of state less suspicious and more easy, they were courted, not only in the applications of the discoverers, but in the discovery, *viz.* that the Papists intended to kill the King, Duke of Lauderdale, Duke of Ormond, &c. which made the earl of Danby not only give way to the prosecution of it, but to press the belief of it in all places and to all persons; and the Duke of York was not only acquitted of all design, but was to be killed himself if he did not comply.

In the month of September it (the plot) had its full course, and so much countenance at Whitehall, that a great many thought it a court stratagem to pretend fears and dangers to keep up the army that had been raised, and was by act of parliament to be disbanded before 26th August.

And within a little time, by the murder and exposing the body of Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey in the middle of October, the violence and rage of the people was grown to that height against the Papists, that no reason could be heard, but every foolish story against them passed for Gospel; and when

all force seemed bent against the papists, it was reported Sir Ed. Bury Godfrey was seen last at Somerset-House, and by others at Arundale-House (the Duke of Norfolk's); it was also whispered that he was seen at the Cockpit (the Earl of Danby's) and threatened by the Earl of Danby.

It was cunningly done to spread these reports, that it might be known what these persons could say in defence of themselves, and that they might be ready (especially the Cockpit and Arundale-House) to toss the fire from one to the other. It was wondered at that the Lord Treasurer was so soon glanced at, who had been so earnest to follow the discovery. But afterward he was found to be forward in it to carry it to the parliament for fear he should be struck at directly, and it should find belief. It is certain the Church of England men joined in this cry as heartily as any else, for they were always most eager against Popery, although they had friendship with the Cavalier Papists, and many considering men seeing an army kept up against an act of parliament were really zealous that fetters might be put upon the king, and therefore would join in shewing any discontent.

By this means the outcry was so very great that the court, who thought before, they might play with the plot, now saw plainly it would be no easy matter to get rid of it, and therefore it was thought the best way to shew a confidence in this loyal house of commons, who would be sure to take notice of it themselves; and therefore the King mentioned it in his speech at the opening of the session of parliament as a plot of the Jesuits, but with that caution that he would leave it to law, and give no opinion of it for fear of saying too little or too much.

And therefore it was an unpardonable folly to give force to a design that was formed and conducted by the opposite party, as this must be concluded to be."

Lord Keeper North in his manuscript gives the following descriptions of the ferments in the nation during the time of the Popish plot and the Exclusion bill.

Extract First.

" They let none know the bottom of the accusation; for then no further use can be made of it; but they let the people press to have it

searched to the bottom; and then they can manage and improve it as they please, and bring whom they will into the snare: and at first the discovery must not be made to the Ministers of State, but to some justice of peace, Mayor of a great city, as London, Bristol, &c. or committees of parliament for the better noise, and that it may not be suppressed, and they take care to have some forensical sciolist, a lawyer, who shall manage and direct the accusations, so as they may be skilfull and agree with the rules of law."

Extract Second.

"Godfrey's murder they shall contrive as a stratagem of mischief: so that if there be two or three adverse parties, they may all be thought guilty. Then will they to avoid the odium, quarrel, and lay it upon one another; and laying it upon which the faction pleaseth, they shall have the help of all the rest."

Extract Third.

"They took advantage of Popery by a good law to exclude the Popish Lords out of parliament, and by working upon some great families to come into the Church of England, as Norfolk's heir, Shrewsbury, Cardigan's heir, Lumley, &c."

Extract Fourth.

"And the anti-court party was very great even in the court itself: and all trimmers then were called the party volant in the House of Commons, and now declared and voted against the court in all things; and no wonder; for the King's affairs were looked upon at home as very declining, and most men thought if there should break out any troubles, it might endanger the Monarchy; and men were willing to be safe at least, if they could not find their account in a change."

Extract Fifth.

"The most loyal pretence that ever was thought of was that of the King's safety: Who could be sure of that but such as had him in possession? which directly tends to his destruction."

Extract Sixth.

"The republicans applied themselves to all methods of sedition, and were so open in it that they had publick councils for carrying it on, as the King's Head club in Fleet-street was, (though I doubt not but they had cabals of a more dark and dangerous nature) and many coffee-houses both

in city and country where they vented news and libels, and proceeded with that success, that in 24 hours they could entirely possess the city with what reports they pleased, and in less than a week spread it all over the kingdom.

They could give out that any man who was averse to them was a Papist: and when the King did any thing pleasing to the people, they would discredit it before it could be known; and could put what colour they pleased upon foreign affairs, which they did by the help of foreign ministers. They had correspondents in all parts of the kingdom of the most active and greatest credit, so that when any members of parliament were to be chosen, they could disgrace every loyal person, and recommend whom they pleased; and they were most industrious in parliament time, when by having divers members in their councils, and those who were not members being always near the bars possessing the world with news they had fitted for the time, and arguing the questions that were in debate in the house, and taking care that all the members should be minded to repair to their seats before the question should be put.

By these means they influenced elections not only in the country, but upon disputes in the house. And they came to that boldness, that when this parliament could not be prevailed upon to pass an act of Comprehension, or to undermine the crown, they possessed the people that it was time to dissolve them, that the minds of the people were changed since their choice, and that they were a grievance; and were about to have grand juries to represent it to the judges at the assizes; but that was not ventured for fear when the parliament sat it should be punished. But upon a prorogation of more than a twelvemonth, they attempted to have the parliament declare themselves dissolved; but the members would not drive that nail into their own flesh, which set the game a little back.

I thought it wonderful that when these things were visible, the house should suffer such a combination of men to sit openly, who made it their business not only to traduce the King's government but even their actions: and I concluded that when they were so negligent of their own frontiers, and did not preserve their credit by destroying these enemies of it, they could not be long lasting, and so it happened. For they (that is the

major part of them) joined in thwarting the King in every thing he designed, and in laying obloquies upon his government to that degree that it was not to be borne; and at last procured their dissolution to their great surprize, who thought the King would never have made so bold a step, and to the great joy of the King's Head club, who fell to work with all diligence to model the next house of commons by their correspondencies in the country."

Extract Seventh.

"That incredible fictions should ever pass in courts of justice, without the courts making just observations upon them, was extraordinary: but care was taken to terrify the judges with shouts and acclamations on the one part, and hissings on the other, by which they were to be persuaded, not only of the sense of the people, but of their violent desires, whereby they might imagine dangers to themselves if they should appear to check the stream."

Extract Eighth.

"Tradesmen, if such are not considerable, they are not worth notice; but if one be he who hath great power by the many that live under him, and having grown in riches by outwitting other men, and arrived at the government of the place, as mayor, alderman, &c. the faction may easily persuade him that the world is best governed that way, which makes him a commonwealths-man: when they have their ends, and raised a force, they may fright him into any thing; for know that he is the most insolent fool and cowardly knave that is in nature."

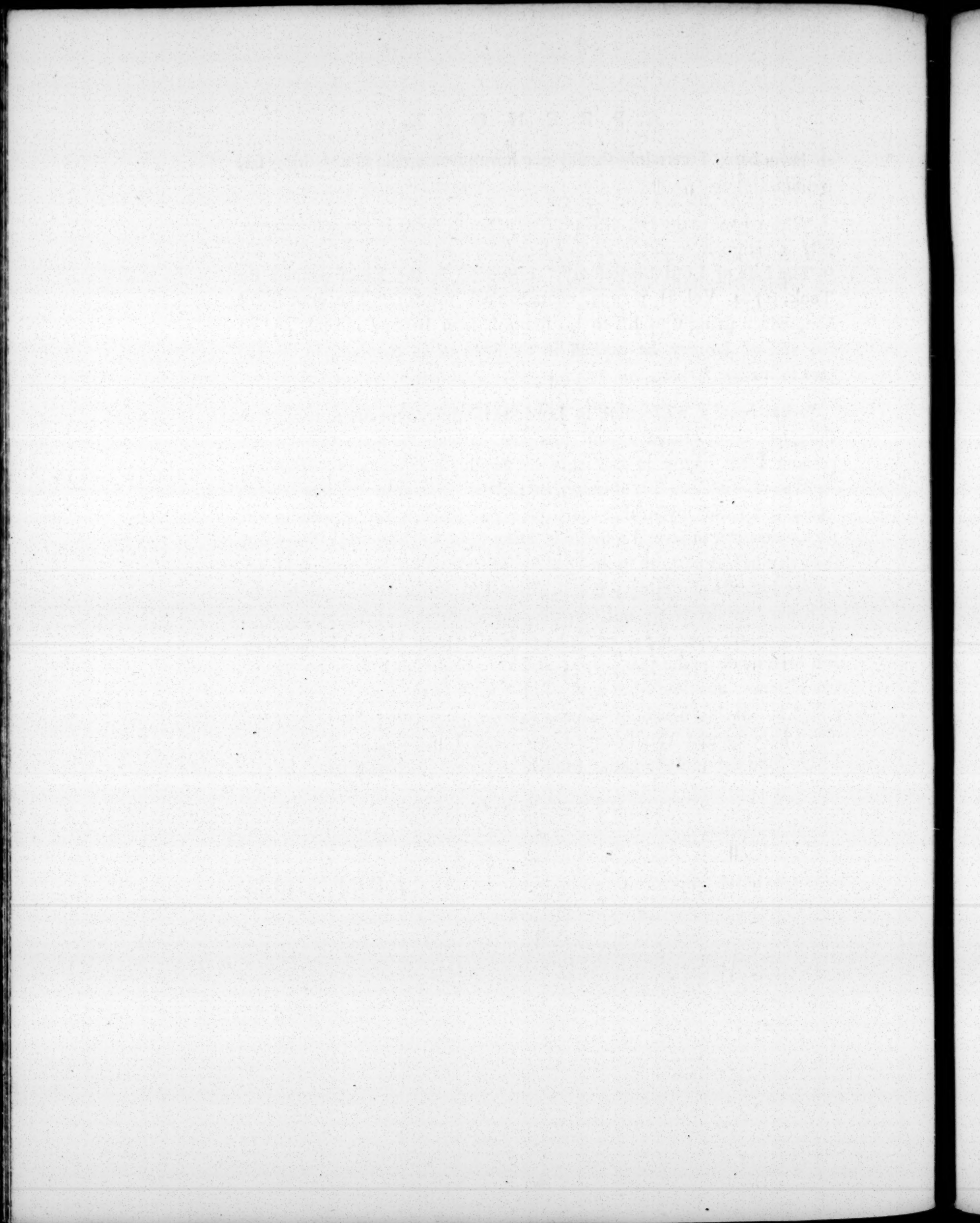
I understand that Lord Shaftesbury's family complain of me for injuring the memory of their ancestor, and particularly for founding upon an account of his death in the Paper office, written by one Massal, who they say was a person of a worthless character; and for alledging that he died in the arms of Ferguson.

Upon hearing this, I enquired at the Paper office if there were any papers in it relating to Massal. It is a piece of justice to this noble family to say, that if I had known Massal's character to have been so bad as I now find it

to have been, I certainly should not have given credit to any thing said by him.

With regard to the fact of Lord Shaftesbury's dying in Ferguson's arms, it is a common tradition among Ferguson's relations in Scotland; and "The Life of Lord Shaftesbury," contained in the Lives printed for Took, 1704, Vol. II. p. 253, contains these words: "The gout seized him, which flying upwards to his stomach soon became mortal, and on the 22d of January he expired in the arms of his chaplain, in the 62d year of his age."

It has been a misfortune to Lord Shaftesbury's memory, that every thing has been written against him and nothing for him; upon which account I am happy to hear that his family have thoughts of endeavouring to vindicate his memory in public. Far from the intention to injure it, I flatter myself that the papers published in this Appendix will set his character in several respects in a new light to the world: They will show that he had no hand in the Dutcheſs of Orleans's treaty made at Dover for the interests of Popery; that Charles first broke the ties of honour with him, by deceiving and betraying him into the second treaty with France, in the year 1671, while he concealed from him the first, which had been made in the year 1670; and that Shaftesbury took no money from France, at a time when most of his friends of the popular party were doing it. If his Lordship's family in their publication shall satisfy me that I have injured him in any other respect, I will own it as freely as I have done my mistake about Massal.



A P P E N D I X

T O

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

O F

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PART THE FIRST.

Part I.

A

A P P E N D I X

TO

Sir John Dabrymple's Memoirs

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

PART THE FIRST.

LONDON

A P P E N D I X.

UPON the dissolution of King Charles's last parliament, and his appeal to the people, which were considered as total breaches between him and parliaments, the Prince of Orange came over to England; but he previously sent Mr. Sidney to ask the advice of Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin about his coming. Their answers are in King William's box.

Sir William Temple to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's asking his advice about a visit to King Charles.

Sheen, June 28, 1681.

I Did not think to have met with any thing likely to engage me in any further public thoughts for the rest of my life, after my last return to my own domestick here, nor could any thing else have done it for so much as an hour, but an absolute command Mr. Sidney brought me from your Highness upon his arrival here. He tells me, some few days before he came away, you fell into some thoughts whether a journey at this time to our court might contribute any thing towards the redress of that ill posture wherein the public affairs of Christendom seem to be at present, and which your Highness apprehends will soon grow more desperate; and whether it may not be necessary to prevent the effects of some ill offices which you think have lately been done between his Majesty and your Highness; and that upon this point you are pleased to desire my opinion, and that I will write it to you myself. I must tell your Highness in the first place, that since I came down hither about the time I left the council, which is near six months ago, I have never been once at court, and but once in town, upon a domestick occasion, and that my conversation here has gone no further than my own house, or some few common visits of the neighbourhood, by which your Highness will easily guess how ill I can judge of a matter that depends upon the disposition of a court, which has been apt to many changes in a shorter time than I have been absent from it,

though perhaps they may be deceived who in that very point shall take a measure of what is to come by what is past. Besides, whatever opinion I shall be of, I cannot at this distance give your Highness my reasons for it, which must make it look very lame, perhaps, how well soever it may be grounded. Yet after this, and much more which might serve to excuse me, since Mr. Sidney says you will absolutely have my opinion upon it, I will tell your Highness freely, I am not apt to believe you will find at this time what you may propose to yourself by a journey into England, nor that any discourses between his Majesty and your Highness are likely to end in any mutual satisfaction or agreement upon the present state of public affairs. And those considerations will, I doubt, have an influence upon personal dispositions between you. So that all I think can be proposed from your meeting is, to know more certainly what you are to expect or trust to from one another, in the course of future events and revolutions.

If your Highness thinks the knowledge of this, or a trial of the other, be worth your journey, you may I think make some judgment of the success by resolving to make it a thing of personal confidence between his Majesty and your Highness only. You may write to him in a private letter, how sensible you are of several ill offices that you believe have been done you towards his Majesty; how desirous you are to justify yourself, and preserve his kindness and good opinion; and that you can think of no way towards it, without seeing him, and having at least some few hours discourse in private with him. That though you can be ill spared in Holland, and have but little time, yet you will not fail to attend him, if he gives you leave, though it be but for an hour: But in case he does, you will owe it wholly to his kindness, and beg it may be without communicating it to any person about him: That to this end you have ordered Mr. Sidney to deliver him your letter privately, and to beg his answer upon it: That in case he approve it, he may please to dispatch Mr. Sidney over in a yacht, as if it were upon the affair of the troops, and you will come away immediately in it, and hope it may be for his Majesty's satisfaction as well as your own.

I confess I am of opinion that if it be done or attempted at this time, it should be this way and no other. And whether it succeed or no, that your Highness may in a great measure judge from his Majesty's answer, what issue you were to have expected from it. From this place your Highness can expect nothing else besides this bare discharge of your commands, and the constant wishes and prayers for your safety and health, and the encrease of your honour and your family, wherein no man can be concerned, with a more hearty devotion and truth, than your Highness's most obedient, and most faithful humble servant.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange—upon the same subject.

London, June 28, 1681.

MR. Sidney has told me that your Highness does me still the honour to preserve me in your good opinion, and are so just as to believe me as full of zeal for your service, and as much devoted to your interests, as truly and sincerely from my heart I am, and I hope always shall continue to be; but I am not very good at compliments and great expressions, and if I am not deceived your Highness cares as little to be troubled with them; Mr. Sidney has told me farther that your Highness had spoken to him of a thought you have lately had, that it might be of good use for you to come over into England at this time, and had given him leave to acquaint me with it and to know my opinion of it: I confess I was very well pleased to hear him say it was your Highness's own thought, and that you seem'd to have an inclination to it; for my part I have wish'd for it a great while, and I think it more necessary now than ever, for I am satisfied there is nothing that can so infallibly restore that good understanding between the King and your Highness which is so necessary for you both, and which every day (to my great trouble) I see more and more likely to decline, and I am afraid will be quite lost at last, if your Highness will not please to make use of all your prudence, and all your temper, (and perhaps some of your address too) to prevent this misfortune. Thus far Mr. Sidney and I were of a mind. We agreed that it must needs be well for your Highness to come over at this time, but we differed a little upon the pretext you were to take for it; he seem'd to think it would be best

for your Highness to ask the King's leave that you might come over to wait upon him, as a visit of compliment only, without pretending any business at all, which at another time might perhaps be the best way: but at this time, considering how things stand between the King and your Highness, the difficulties that have risen about Mr. Skelton's going into Holland, and Mr. Sidney's commanding the troops there, I was of opinion that it would look a great deal better, and I thought be more agreeable to your inclinations, to speak out plainly upon this occasion, and to write to the King that you found yourself so much troubled and concerned for the dissatisfaction which his Majesty seemed to have at your proceedings in the business of Mr. Skelton, and so apprehensive lest any other occasion might happen to increase it, that you could have no satisfaction in your own mind till you had begged his Majesty's leave to come and wait upon him, and endeavour to set yourself right in his good opinion; and if your Highness would please to add to this, such assurances of your zeal for the King's service and his greatness as you shall think fit; of your desire to be acquainted with the measures he proposes to take, that you might be able to assist him in them as far as lies in your power; and of your desire likewise to establish a good correspondence with those whom the King is pleased to trust and employ in his business; upon these advances to the King I am persuaded your Highness might come over hither with great advantage; and the countenance and the kindness which the King will shew you, finding you in this temper, join'd to the love and esteem and the natural inclination which people have for you here, would presently give your Highness such an influence upon every body (even the ministers themselves) that you would be able to give what turn you pleased to most of our affairs here that are of the greatest importance: at least this is my opinion of the matter, which if I have given too bluntly or imperfectly to your Highness, I do most humbly beg your pardon for it. I should not have presumed to do it at all, but that Mr. Sidney made me understand it was your Highness's express pleasure and command, which shall always be most readily obeyed by me with the greatest respect and duty imaginable.

This visit gave an alarm to the Duke of York in Scotland, who suspected it might have created a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Orange at his expence. In the *Depot* at Versailles, there is the following letter from him to Monsieur Barillon on this subject.

Lettre du Duc d'York à M. Barillon.—Sans date, 1681—recue le 26 Juillet avec la dépêche de M. Barillon.

VOUS croiez aisément que j'ai appris avec beaucoup de satisfaction que In the *Depot*.
les affaires se sont si heureusement conclues entre le deux Rois ; j'espere qu'il ny aura plus à l'avenir aucune misintelligence entre eux. On peut s'assurer, que je ferai toujours mon devoir pour empêcher que cela n'arrive, et que ceux qui seront amis des deux ou les miens seront de même avis.

J'ai été fort surpris d'apprendre que le Prince d'Orange étoit sur le point de partir pour Londres ; je n'en ai rien sçu que par la dernière poste, par la qu'elle j'ai reçu une lettre du Roy d'Angleterre, qui m'ordonne de ne prendre aucun ombrage de ce voyage, parceque le Prince d'Orange ne l'obligera pas à changer les mesures qu'il a prises. Je lui ai écrit de nouveau sur ce sujet, comme je l'ai cru convenable pour mes intérêts en la maniere que vous le pouvez désirer : j'ai averti aussi mes amis d'être alerte ; ainsi j'espere que ce voyage ne nous causera aucun prejudice. Soyez persuadé que je ferai toujours mon devoir pour le service de votre maitre.

Translation.

Letter from the Duke of York to Mr. Barillon, without date, 1681 ; received 26 July with Mr. Barillon's dispatches.—His joy at the late secret treaty.—His uneasiness on account of the Prince of Orange's coming to England.

YOU will easily believe it was with a great deal of satisfaction I learnt that affairs are so happily concluded between the two Kings ; I hope there will be no misunderstanding for the future. You may be assured, I shall always think it my duty to prevent its happening ; and that their friends and mine will be of the same opinion.

I was much surpris'd to learn that the Prince of Orange was upon the eve of his departure for London; I knew nothing of it, till by the last post I received a letter from the King of England, which orders me not to take any umbrage at this journey, because the Prince of Orange shall not oblige him to change the measures he has taken. I have wrote to him afresh on this subject, as I thought convenient for my interest, and in the manner you could wish: I have also advis'd my friends to be alert; so I hope this journey will not occasion any prejudice to us. Be perswaded that I will always do my duty for your master's service.

The French court were equally uneasy at this journey.

In the Depot. July 21, 1681, Barillon writes that Charles had made an apology to him for consenting to the Prince of Orange's visit, adding that the French court should see it would make no difference upon the measures he had taken.

In the Depot. On July 24, Barillon writes, that having expressed his fears to the King about this visit, Charles, among other things said, 'Je vous prie d'être mon garant auprès du Roy mon frere, et de repondre pour moi, que je n' entreray en rien qui puisse lui deplaire; presuppôsé toujours qu'il ne veut pas attaquer le Pays-bas; vous scaves que c'est le fondement de notre alliance.'—'I entreat you to be my pledge with the King my brother, and to answer for me that I will not enter into any thing which can displease him; it being always understood, that he is not to attack the Low countries; you know that that is the foundation of our union.'

In the Depot. Barillon writes August 11, 1681, that the Prince of Orange had pressed the King for a parliament, and that the King and he were on bad terms.

In the Depot. August 25, 1681, he writes that the Prince of Orange was often locked up with Lord Russel and Sir William Jones, that he was much in publick, and was become very popular by his journey.

September 25, 1681, he writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth told him, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had pressed her to help on the exclusion. In the *Depot*.

October 1, 1681, he writes, that the Prince of Orange, whilst in England, had in vain solicited the King for an union of England and Holland against France. In the *Depot*.

November 19, there is in the *Depot*, a letter from the Duke of York from Scotland to Barillon, entreating him to prevent the King from calling a parliament.

The Prince of Orange's visit could not fail to be unsuccessful, not only on account of Charles's connections with France, but on account of private piques between the King and the Prince. The following letter from Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince will best explain these.

Letter Mr. Sidney (afterwards Lord Romney) to the Prince of Orange.—
State of King Charles's court.—Piques between the King and Prince.

London, June 28, 1681.

I Writ to your Highness by the last post, but had so little time to do it in, that I doubt I gave you but an imperfect account of our affairs; I shall now say something more to your Highness, and will begin with what concerns yourself. It is very plain, that you have had very ill offices done you to the King; they make him believe that your Highness is of the party that is most against him; that you have a constant correspondence with those (they call) his enemies; that you drive a contrary interest; in short, I believe there are some in the cabinet council that are desirous enough to see a breach between the King and your Highness. I told my Lord Halifax and my Lord Hide, in plain terms, that I was of that opinion; they answered, that they could not imagine there was such a villain and such a fool too amongst them, for it would not only destroy this nation and all the royal family, but all Europe. I am apt to believe that these two Lords are not so inclined, but that they would be glad to see a good understanding between the King and your Highness, especially

my Lord Halifax; who a Saturday morning did to me make great professions of his being entirely in your interest, and said, you were the only foundation one could build upon: that what he had done last winter was to carry on your interest, and for his part he would never think of any other. I told him, I was very glad to hear him say so, for that I was sure he could do your Highness considerable service if he would; upon which he solemnly promised he would do his best. I then informed him how matters had passed between your Highness and this court within these six months, and left him to judge whether you had reason to be satisfied or no, especially in their last proceedings about Mr. Skelton: he said, as to that matter, all was resolved of before he came to town. I answered, all was not yet concluded, and if he had any respect for you, he would do well to show it; he answered me, he would try what could be done.—He and my Lord Hyde do both complain of your letters being too high and too sharp, and say that if you had writ in a more gentle stile, it would have had a better effect with the King. I told them that I thought your Highness was not much to be wondered at, for taking that business of Mr. Skelton's and several others, something to heart, and if they would speak sincerely, I was sure they would be of my mind. These Lords say, that I am very likely to contribute a great deal towards a breach between the King and the Prince: I told them I had rather be hanged. Their reason is, that the King is resolved never to give his consent to my having the command of the troops; that if your Highness and I did persist in it, his Majesty would take it ill of your Highness, and never be kind or reconciled to me. As to the first, I told him, the King could not be so unjust as to be angry with your Highness for giving me an employment, when you thought I was in his favour, and being you had given it me, you could not well take it away without my doing something to deserve it, which as yet your Highness was ignorant of. As to myself, I had little reason to expect much kindness from the King, being changed as he was in nine months time, without having any reason for it; that in September last, his Majesty told me he had rather have me at the head of the troops than any man in England; and many other things he promised towards the advancement of my fortune, which he hath not observed, but hath done much the contrary, and nobody hath yet told me how I have deserved it: I added, that I had spent a great deal of money and time

in his service; had ventured my life as often as most people had done for him, and now was very ill requited; therefore I hoped his Majesty would not be displeased at my keeping an employment that was an honour to me, and would be a subsistence, being he did not think of doing any thing for me himself. This and a great deal more I told them I would say to the King, when he would do me the honour to speak with me, which he hath not done yet, and I imagine he stays till he hath an answer of his last letter to your Highness, for they think that will prevail much upon you. I shall be guided and governed in this and in every thing by your Highness, as long as I am upon earth, therefore pray let me have your commands. The King and his ministers seem to be very kind to me, I doubt it is not real; but they hope by fair words to persuade me to lay myself and all that I have at the King's feet, which I confess I have no mind to do. I hope your Highness kindness to me will never be prejudicial to you, for that would be an eternal affliction to me; hitherto I know it hath not, for though the King and his ministers are a little angry for the present, yet I can assure you it hath done you no harm in the nation, but a good deal the contrary; and the King's sending Mr. Skelton, and your opposing him, hath done the King more hurt, and your Highness more good, than any thing that happened these twelve months.

I will now make your Highness a short description of our court, and of the persons in it. Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the King; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day: they make him believe by their addresses that his affairs in the kingdom are in a very good posture; which is all wrong, for now I understand them, I find they signify nothing, and they grow every day more and more ridiculous; nobody hath any credit but the Duke's creatures, and they study what is good for the Duke and themselves, but do not consider what is good for the King or the nation, and the affairs abroad never enter into their heads. My Lord Halifax is highly incensed against the House of Commons, and must stick to the court (for he hath not a friend any where else) and therefore he is obliged to comply sometimes against his inclination; my Lord Hide is for what the Duke would have, right or wrong. Mr. Seymour is very violent, despairs of being well with the King, if he be well with his people; and therefore

does endeavour every day by his counsels to make the breach irreconcilable, and I do verily believe he does all he can to make the King and your Highness fall out. All these things I have talked over with Sir William Temple and Mr. Godolphin, who I am confident are as much yours as ever, and by their letters you will find they are of opinion that your coming over will be of great advantage to you;—they differ something in the manner, but we all agree that there being a misunderstanding between the King and your Highness, and it being likely to grow worse and worse, your presence will be necessary to set all things right, which may do great good, and we do not see which way it can do you any harm; we all think that the ministers would not be glad of it, and therefore it will be requisite that this business passes only between your Highness and the King. My Lord Halifax I believe would not oppose it, because he said the other day that he thought your coming over might be of use. I took no notice of it, and it quickly pass'd over; it may be he will never think more of it; but by what he said you may easily suppose that he would not be against it if it should be proposed to him. I delivered a compliment from your Highness to the Dutchess of Portsmouth, which she took extremely well, but it will do you little good, for she hath no more credit with the King, and these ministers are persuading the King to send her away, and think by it to reconcile themselves to the people. My Lord Feversham hath more of the King's personal kindness than any body, Mr. Legge hath a great deal; but which is most extraordinary is the favour the Queen is in. It was all about the town that the King would not see me, and was resolved to break the troops if I had the command of them. Mr. Seymour says, By God the King must break them, and the Prince of Orange must not gain his point; my Lord Hyde says no such thing, for he knows the King cannot do it, but he endeavours still to persuade me to submit to the King; tells me I shall have great matters done for me; that it will be unpleasant to me to have this command against the King's consent, and what is most to be considered, it will be prejudicial to your Highness. I cannot make any certain judgment of this affair till the King hath spoke to me, which I think he does not know how to do; I have been perpetually at his elbow expecting what he would say, but he cannot bring it out; I fancy it goes against his nature to say he

was very kind to me last year, but hath changed his mind, he does not know why.

The Duke of Albemarle makes sure of having the command, and hath already told Sir Harry Bellasis that he would give the first regiment that fell to his lieutenant colonel. He intends to new model the troops with the help of Mr. Skelton. This is the longest letter I ever writ in my whole life, and I doubt I have quite tired you; but you know it is out of my zeal for your service, which I have more at heart than any man living, and will have so, as long as I am capable of serving you.

I send your Highness a copy of a petition to my Lord Mayor, which passed yesterday in the Common Hall, where there was 5000 men, and very few went about to oppose it.

One of the views of the Prince of Orange's journey was to bring the King to join in an association with the Dutch, the Emperour, Spain, and many German Princes, to stop the farther encroachments of France. After the Prince was gone, Vanbeuningen the Dutch, and Ronquillo the Spanish ambassadours renewed the proposal to King Charles. Barillon writes, Nov. 13, 1681, that Charles was to concert with him the answer he should give them. In the Depot.

The following dispatch will show what that answer was, as well as the crooked ways of Charles's politicks.

Extrait d' une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 15, 1681.

J'A I eu une longue conference avec milord Heyde sur les termes aux In the Depot. quels la reponse de sa Majesté Britannique à Vanbuning doit être concüe: il m'a dit, que quoique le Roy d'Angleterre n'entrat point présentement dans la ligue, il ne pouvoit s'empêcher de s'expliquer comme s'il eu avoit le dessein à l'avenir. Pour cela il se croit obligé de répondre que quand l'empereur, le Roy de Dannemark, et les principaux Princes de l'Empire seront entreés dans la ligue d'Association, il sera prêt aussi

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d' y entrer de sa part. J'ai insisté qu'au lieu des principaux princes de l'empire, on mit, que quand l'Empereur et l'Empire conjointement auroient entré dans la ligue, le Roy d'Angleterre feroit aussi disposé à faire la même chose.

Milord Heyde m'a repondu que l'intention du Roy son maitre étant toujours la même à l'égard de votre Majesté, et ne voulant en aucune façon entrer dans la ligue, ni assembler son parlement comme le demandoit Vanbeuning, il la fallu choisir des termes qui ne fissent pas connoître clairement l'éloignement ou il est d'écouter de telles propositions, et que ce qu'il dit le laisse en liberté de faire ce qu'il voudra.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Charles's deceiving answer to a proposal for an association to stop the further encroachments of France.

November 15, 1681.

I Have had a long conference with my Lord Hyde upon the terms in which his Britannic Majesty's answer to Vanbeuning should be conceived. He told me, that though the King of England did not enter into the league, he could not avoid explaining himself as if he intended it hereafter; and for this reason he thought himself obliged to answer, that when the Emperor, the King of Denmark, and the principal Princes of the Empire shall have entered into the league of association, he will be ready also on his part to enter into it. I insisted that instead of the principal Princes of the Empire, they should substitute that when the Emperor and the Empire jointly shall have entered into the league, the King of England would be also disposed to do the same thing.

My Lord Hyde answered, that the King his master's intention being always the same with regard to your Majesty, and he not willing in any manner to enter into the league, nor to assemble his parliament as Vanbeuning desired, it was necessary to make choice of terms which did not clearly shew how far he was from listening to such proposals, and that what he said left him at liberty to act as he pleased.

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In the above letter of the 13th of November, 1681, Barillon writes *In the Depot.* that Charles had avowed to him, that he had promised to Spain to call a parliament, and give them assistance, but that he intended neither.

And in another letter of the 22d of December, 1681, Barillon says, that *In the Depot.* Charles in talking of his promise to the Spaniards to call a parliament, used these words: 'Je n'ai aucune intention d'assembler le parlement; ces
'font des diables qui veulent ma ruine.' 'I have no intention to call a par-
'liament; these are devils who intend my ruin.

During the summer of the year 1681, the French were making continual encroachments on the side of Germany and Flanders. It appears from Barillon's dispatches, that during these, the King and Lord Hyde, who alone knew of the late money treaty, were in the most cruel distress between the Spaniards pressing for the help to which they were entitled by their treaty with Charles, and France threatening that if it was given, she would withdraw her subsidy promised by the late verbal treaty. The dispatches are full of Charles's strong, but fruitless remonstrances of the engagement of the French court in the late verbal treaty, that the Low countries should not be touched, and of the disgrace and unpopularity at home, both with his ministers and people, which he said he knew he was drawing upon himself by his inactivity.

The extreme meanness to which he was reduced, may be seen in the following dispatch concerning Luxemburgh, the key to Germany and the Netherlands, which the French resolved to add to their other usurpations, and to give a new bribe to procure Charles's consent.

Extrait d'une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 17, 1681.

JE recus avant hier, fort tard, la dépêche de votre Majesté du 12 No- *In the Depot.*
vembre; elle contient des éclaircissémens qui étoient fort ne-
cessaires pour regler ma conduite icy. Je ne saurois encore répondre du suc-
cès de la négociation dont votre Majesté m'a chargé, mais je ne suis pas
surpris de trouver des difficultés que j'ai du attendre, vû l' état au quel

les affaires étoient reduites icy avant hier. J'écrivis ce jour là une lettre dont le courier que j'envoye fera chargé, et qui pourroit servir à fair voir à votre Majesté qu'elle est la situation présente de la cour, et des affaires d'Angleterre.

Il me paroît que pour executer les derniers ordres de votre Majesté, ce que j'ai à faire principalement est d'engager le Roy d'Angleterre à ne point traverser le dessein que votre Majesté a d'avoir Luxembourg pour l'equivalent de toutes ses pretentions sur les Pays-bas. Je n'ai obmis aucune des raisons qui fondent la justice de ce que votre Majesté prétend, non plus que celles qui rendent l'acquisition de Luxembourg neccessaire à la conservation de votre royaume. Je me suis étendu sur le peu de jalousie que devoit donner à l'Angleterre, et aux Etats Généraux, cette place située comme elle est.

Je parlai hier à milord Heyde; j'ai cru que le tems ne permettoit pas de laisser languir la négociation, et que je devois faire envisager à ce ministre les avantages que le Roy d'Angleterre tireroit de votre Majesté en favorisant sa prétention: je lui ai dit aussi, qu'il auroit entre les mains le repos des Pays-bas, et que votre Majesté le rendroit l'arbitre du traité qui se feroit pour cela; j'ai montré les inconveniens qu'il y auroit de s'opposer aux desseins de votre Majesté, dont l'execution seroit difficile à empêcher; en fin, j'ai fait voir tous les inconveniens d'un parlement et d'une guerre, et en même tems la sûreté et l'utilité d'une liaison avec votre Majesté. Je n'en me suis pas encore expliqué nettement de la somme que j'ai pouvoir d'offrir: il me parut que c'étoit assez faire d'engager la négociation, et de faire entrer, si je puis, le Roy d'Angleterre dans un concert secret avec moi sur l'affaire de Luxembourg. Je ne laisserai pas échaper l'occasion de conclure quand elle se présentera; j'en connois bien la consequence. Milord Heyde m'a témoigné d'abord beaucoup d'inquiétude de ce que je lui ai dit touchant la résolution ou étoit votre Majesté d'avoir Luxembourg: il me voulut faire envisager toutes les suites d'une guerre, dans laquelle l'Europe presqu'entiere seroit unie contre votre Majesté. Je lui ai répondu, que je doutois que quand les intentions de votre Majesté seroient bien connues, les Princes de l'Empire, ni les Rois de Suede et de Dannemark, ni même les Etats Généraux voulussent entrer en guerre, pour empêcher votre Majesté d'avoir Luxembourg: que votre résolution étoit prise sur

cela, et qu'elle ne changeroit pas ; et qu'il y auroit lieu de croire que si on faisoit la guerre a votre Majesté pour cette seule ville, située comme elle est, on la feroit sans même que votre Majesté se mit en devoir de l'acquiescer ; qu'ainsi il valoit mieux prévenir les desseins de vos ennemis. Milord Heyde m'a représenté que si le dessein que votre Majesté a pris d'avoir Luxembourg jette le Roi d'Angleterre (comme il le craint) dans la nécessité d'assembler un parlement, c'est la plus dangereuse chose qui puisse arriver pour M. le Duc d'York, et que si sa ruine s'en ensuivoit, votre Majesté feroit une perte plus considérable que ne lui peut être la ville de Luxembourg. Partout ce que me dit milord Heyde, il me parut que son avis feroit que le Roy son maître se fit un mérite auprès de votre Majesté d'une chose qu'il aura de la peine à empêcher ; il m'a pourtant fait voir une grande crainte que l'avis de milord Halyfax, et des autres ministres que le Roi d'Angleterre peut consulter, ne prevale sur le sien, et ne mette icy les affaires en un état au quel on ne pourra plus remédier.

J'ai entretenu aujourd'hui le Roy d'Angleterre chez Madame de Portsmouth, je l'ai trouvé préparé par milord Heyde à ce que j'avois à lui dire ; il m'a témoigné un grand chagrin de savoir que votre Majesté avoit pris la résolution d'avoir Luxembourg pour l'équivalent de ses prétentions : il m'a dit que cela déconcerteroit entièrement toutes les mesures qu'il avoit prises pour ses affaires, et que tous les embarras et inconveniens qu'il pouvoit prévoir de l'assemblée d'un parlement, étoient moindres que le peril au quel il s'exposeroit de ne le point assembler, lorsqu'il paroitra que votre Majesté a résolu de faire tomber la ville de Luxembourg sous sa puissance : que s'il ne se résolvoit alors d'assembler son parlement, on diroit qu'il auroit trahi l'intérêt de l'Angleterre, et vendu la plus importante place des Pays-bas à votre Majesté. J'ai représenté à ce Prince combien peu de raison ont ceux, qui soutiennent que Luxembourg est un poste si considérable, n'étant sur aucune rivière, et ne pouvant servir à la défense du reste de Pays-bas, mais seulement à nuire à votre Majesté. Je lui ai dit librement et fortement mon avis sur l'assemblée du parlement, et que c'étoit pas un bon moyen pour rétablir ses affaires, ni pour conserver son autorité ; que les gens mal intentionnés contre lui ne laisseroient pas perdre l'occasion de l'avoir entre leurs mains : que s'ils lui donnoient quelque chose d'abord sans lui imposer de conditions trop rudes, ils le

feroient aussitôt qu'ils le pourroient. Je lui ai fait envisager les avantages qu'il tireroit d'une liaison étroite avec votre Majesté, et combien cela le feroit craindre et respecter de ses ennemis ; j'ai soutenu qu'on parleroit trois jours de Luxembourg, comme on a fait de Strasbourg, et qu'ensuite nonseulement l'Angleterre, mais le reste de l'Europe verroit avec plaisir que la paix s'établirait par tout ; qu'il pouvoit être l'arbitre de la sûreté des Pays-bas, et que votre Majesté entreroit sans cela dans tous les expédiens qui pourroient en établir le repos à l'avenir : ce que j'ai dit ne m'a pas attiré d'autre réponse, et je me suis retiré après avoir dit à sa Majesté Britannique que je dirois encore quelque chose à milord Heyde sur quoi elle auroit à faire réflexion.

Je m'attendois bien de trouver d'abord beaucoup de difficulté ; je m'expliquerai incessamment de l'offre que votre Majesté me permet de faire d'un million d'augmentation pour le subside de l'année prochaine : je ne saurois répondre du succès, et j'ai vu si souvent prendre icy mauvais parti, qu'il y auroit beaucoup d'imprudence me promettre de persuader le Roy d'Angleterre. Ce qui me donne lieu d'espérer, c'est que milord Heyde ne m'a pas caché que si son avis est suivi, le Roi son maître entrera dans un concert secret pour faire avoir à votre Majesté la ville de Luxembourg. J'aurois ce me semble un grand avantage dans cette négociation, si je pouvois faire envisager que votre Majesté voudra bien que l'augmentation de deux cent cinquante mille livres pour chaque paiement commence à courir des le premier Octobre passé ; ce seroit cinq cent mille francs pour les deux derniers paymens de cette année. Si j'en ai le pouvoir, je ne l'épuiserai qu'à l'extrémité.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Lewis the XIVth.—A million of livres to be given to Charles, for allowing France to seize Luxembourg.

November 17, 1681.

THE day before yesterday, very late, I received your Majesty's dispatch of the 12th November. It contains explanations very necessary for regulating my conduct here. I cannot yet answer for the success of the negociation with which your Majesty has charged me, but I am not sur-

prised to find the difficulties I ought to expect, seeing the state to which affairs were reduced here the day before yesterday. I wrote that day a letter which the messenger I send is charged with the care of, and which will show your Majesty the present situation of the court and the affairs of England.

It appears to me that to execute your Majesty's last orders, what I have principally to do is to engage the King of England not to oppose your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg as an equivalent for all your pretensions on the Low Countries. I have not omitted any of the reasons on which the justice of your Majesty's pretension is founded, any more than those which render the acquisition of Luxembourg necessary to the security of your kingdom. I enlarged on the trifling jealousy which this place situated as it is, ought to give to England and the States General.

I spoke yesterday to Lord Hyde; thinking the time would not admit of the negociation being prolonged, and that I ought to point out to this minister clearly the advantages the King of England might obtain from your Majesty by favouring his pretension; I also represented to him that the King of England would have in his own hands the repose of the Low Countries, and that your Majesty would make him arbitrator of the treaty which should be made for that purpose; I shewed him the inconveniences that would attend an opposition to the designs of your Majesty, the execution of which would be difficult to prevent; in short, I set forth all the inconveniences of a parliament and a war, and at the same time the safety and utility of an union with your Majesty. I have not yet explained myself clearly upon the sum that I am empowered to offer; it seemed to me sufficient to commence the negociation, and to get the King of England, if I can, to enter into a secret concert with me upon the affair of Luxembourg. I shall not let the occasion slip to conclude whenever it presents; I know well the importance of it. Lord Hyde shewed immediately his uneasiness at what I had said to him about your Majesty's resolution of having Luxembourg; he endeavoured to shew me the consequences of a war in which almost all Europe would be united against your Majesty. I said to him, that I much doubted when your Majesty's intentions should be well known, whether the Princes of the Empire, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, or even the States General, would enter into a

war to hinder your Majesty from having Luxembourg; that your resolution was taken, and that you would not change it; that there was reason to believe that if a war was made with your Majesty for this single town, situated as it is, they would make it although your Majesty had not attempted the acquisition, and that therefore it was better to prevent your enemies' designs. Lord Hyde represented to me, that if your Majesty's design of having Luxembourg should put the King of England under the necessity of assembling the parliament, (as he feared it would) it was the most dangerous thing that could happen to the Duke of York; and if his ruin followed it, your Majesty would suffer a much greater loss than that of the town of Luxembourg. By all Lord Hyde said, it appeared to me to be his opinion, that the King his master should make a merit to your Majesty of a thing which he would have a good deal of trouble to hinder; he nevertheless made a shew of a great apprehension lest the advice of Lord Halifax, and the other ministers, whom the King of England might consult, should prevail over his, and put affairs here in a condition, to be without remedy.

I conversed this day with the King of England at Lady Portsmouth's. I found him prepared by Lord Hyde upon what I had to say to him; he expressed a great chagrin to hear that your Majesty had taken the resolution to have Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions; he told me it would entirely disconcert all the measures he had taken in his affairs, and that all the inconveniences and embarrassments he could foresee from assembling the parliament, were less than the danger to which he should expose himself by not calling it, when it should appear that your Majesty had resolved to make the town of Luxembourg fall under your power: that if he did not then resolve to assemble his parliament, it would be said he had betrayed the interests of England, and sold your Majesty the most important place in the Low Countries.

I represented to this Prince how little reason they had, who maintained that Luxembourg was so considerable a post, not being on any river, and incapable to serve as a defence to the rest of the Low Countries, but only fit to hurt your Majesty. I gave him freely and strongly my opinion upon the assembling the parliament, and that it was not a good means for re-establishing his affairs, or preserving his authority; that the persons who were

evil intentioned to him, would not lose the occasion of having him in their hands: that if they gave him something immediately, without imposing too hard conditions on him, they would impose them as soon as they could. I shewed him the advantages he would draw from a strict union with your Majesty, and how much it would make him be feared and respected by his enemies. I maintained they would make a three days wonder only of Luxembourg, as they had done of Straßbourg; and that afterwards, not only England, but the rest of Europe, would see with pleasure a peace established every where; that he might be arbitrator of the safety of the Low Countries; and that your Majesty, independant of that, would enter into all the expedients which could be thought of to establish its repose for the future. What I said obtained me no other answer, and I retired after having told his Britannick Majesty that I should yet say something to my Lord Hyde, upon which he would have reason to reflect.

I expected to find a great many difficulties at first. I shall explain myself immediately on the offer your Majesty has permitted me to make of a million in addition to the subsidy for next year; I cannot answer for the success, and I have so often seen them take wrong steps here, that it would be very imprudent in me to flatter myself with being able to persuade the King of England: what gives me room to hope is, that Lord Hyde has not hid from me, that if his advice is followed, the King his master will enter into a secret concert with your Majesty for your having the town of Luxembourg. I think I should have a great advantage in this negociation, if I could let it be known that your Majesty is willing the augmentation of two hundred and fifty thousand livres to each payment shall commence from the first of last October; this would be five hundred thousand for the two last payments of this year. If I have the power, I will not make use of it till the last extremity."

After much haggling, Charles agreed to allow the French to seize Luxembourg, and received a million of livres in return. Barillon writes thus to Louis the XIVth, on the 1st of December, 1681: 'Après plusieurs conférences que j'ai eues avec le Roy d'Angleterre et milord Heyde, les propositions que j'ai faites de la part de votre Majesté ont été acceptés.' After many conferences which I have had with the King of England

‘and Lord Hyde, the propofals which I made from your Majesty have
‘been accepted.’ This bargain was alfo unknown to all but Hyde.

In the *Depot.* Even private perfons in Britain were prevented by French money at
this time from interpoſing againſt the encroachments of France. Ba-
rillon writes, June 9th, 1681, that Lord Arran, ſon to the Duke of Hamil-
ton, had offered to raiſe a Scotch regiment for the ſervice of Spain, but
that he had ſtopped him by the hopes of money from France.

After the ſtrict union which was formed between Lewis, Charles, and
the Duke of York, by the private verbal treaty of the year 1681, Lewis
became indifferent about keeping up his connexions with the popular
party in England, and informed Barillon of it. Barillon in answer wrote
him the following letter.

Extrait d’une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

Septembre 22, 1681.

In the *Depot.* VOTRE majeſté m’ordonne par ſa dernière dépêche du 12, d’agir avec
grande retenüe pour ne point donner d’ombrage et de defiance au Roy
d’Angleterre, par le commerce que j’aurois avec M. de Montaigu, et les
autres amis de M. le Duc de Montmouth; j’aurai ſur cela tout la précau-
tion poſſible, mais je ne puis m’empêcher de reprefenter à votre Majeſté, qu’il
eſt à ce que je crois fort important à ſon ſervice, de ne pas mécontenter les
gens avec qui j’ai eu des liaiſons et des commerces intimes. Votre Majeſté
ſçait de quel uſage cela lui peut être encore à l’avenir, et combien les
cabales oppoſées à la cour ſont utiles à maintenir les affaires d’Angleterre en
l’état qui convient à Votre Majeſté. Le commerce que j’ai avec eux les rend
plus difficiles à l’égard de la cour, et c’eſt peut être le meilleur moyen et
le plus aſſuré d’empêcher que le Roy d’Angleterre ne change conduite à
l’égard de votre Majeſté: car tant que l’accommodement fera rempli de diffi-
cultés, et que les chefs des cabales ſe tiendront fermes, et croiront qu’il faut
qu’à la fin le Roy d’Angleterre ſe ſoumette à eux, l’accommodement ne
fera pas aisé: mais s’ils s’apperçoivent d’une liaiſon entre votre Majeſté et ſa
Majeſté Britannique, et qu’en même tems le Roy d’Angleterre veuille ſe re-
lacher, la réunion eſt poſſible: c’eſt pourquoi mon ſentiment ne ſeroit

pas de demeurer sans mouvement à leur egard ; c'est ce qui pourroit davantage leur persuader que votre Majesté a pris d'autres mesures, et qu'elle ne croit plus avoir besoin d'eux.

M. de Montaigne me demanda un rendezvous il y a deux jours ; et après de longs discours sur le service qu'il prétend avoir rendu à votre Majesté, il me dit qu'il étoit en état présentement d'en rendre un aussi considérable que celui de l'accusation du grand thresorier ; qu'il le feroit avec beaucoup de zèle, mais qu'il ne pouvoit s'engager en de nouvelles affaires que la première ne fut finie, et qu'il ne se vit assuré d'un entier et parfait payment. Qu'il voudroit pas s'exposer à paroître frivole à votre Majesté, et que ce qu'il avoit à me dire alloit à mettre votre Majesté en état que l'Angleterre ne lui pourroit nuire de longtems ; qu'il ne capituleroit point avec votre Majesté, et qu'il se remettroit à elle de la récompense qu'elle croiroit qu'elle mériteroit pour ce qu'il avoit à proposer ; mais il se tint toujours ferme à vouloir des assurances positives de ce qui lui resté dû, et que sans cela il ne pouvoit hazarder encore sa fortune et sa tête. Je le pressai fort de s'ouvrir davantage, mais il me fut impossible d'en tirer autre chose, si ce n'est que quand il seroit assuré d'un entier payment, votre Majesté verroit qu'il n'étoit pas un charlatan, et qu'il ne voudroit pour rien du monde perdre l'estime et les bonnes grâces de votre Majesté.

J'ai eu d'abord quelque soupçon que M. de Montaigne vouloit pénétrer (par la manière dont j'entrerois avec lui) si votre Majesté a pris des liaisons avec le Roy d'Angleterre qui l'empêchassent de prendre aucune autre mesure ; mais depuis il m'a paru qu'il a quelque chose de solide à proposer qui iroit à détruire les cabales et les intrigues du Prince d'Orange, et empêcher qu'elles ne soient à la fin assez fortes pour le mettre en état de donner la loi au Roy d'Angleterre et à M. le Duc d'York.

Votre Majesté jugera ce qui convient à son service ; ce n'est pas beaucoup hazarder d'avancer de quelques mois le payment de ce qui resté dû à M. de Montaigne. On pourroit peut-être croire que quand il sera entièrement payé, il seroit moins zélé pour agir, et ne se soucieroit pas de s'exposer pour l'intérêt de votre Majesté, mais aussi je ne vois pas de possibilité de le faire agir sans le contenter, et je ne crois pas qu'il trouve son avantage à abandonner les intérêts de votre Majesté, dont il espérera toujours une protection puissante, et d'autres avantages en rendant de nouveaux services.

Je n'ai pu m'empêcher d'entrer dans la proposition de M. de Montaigu, et de la discuter avec lui, autrement il m'auroit cru entièrement engagé avec la cour. Je lui ai pourtant représenté que ce qu'il disoit étoit trop grand, et l'ai fort pressé de s'expliquer davantage, mais il m'a dit qu'il attendroit ce que votre Majesté m'ordonneroit, et que s' il étoit bien traité, je verrois quel service il étoit capable de rendre.

J'ai essayé de pénétrer, par Madame Hervé, ce que M. de Montaigu vouloit proposer, mais il ne lui a pas voulu confier ce détail, à ce qu'elle m'a dit : je vois bien que cela va à empêcher quelque chose d'important que M. le Prince d'Orange voudroit entreprendre, lorsqu'on s'y attendra le moins ; et ce pourroit bien être un projet de reunion de toutes les cabales, et une amnistie generale, par laquelle les milords Catholiques, milord Damby, et milord Schafbery fortiroient de prison, et le Roy d'Angleterre offriroit de tout oublier de son côté, pourvu que du côté de parlement on voulut aussi entrer dans une autre conduite à son égard.

Je n'ai sur cela que des soupçons, mais j'ai été averti que milord Halifax à ce projet en tête, et qu'il parle en tout occasion comme un homme qui n'a point d'autre dessein que de racommoder le Roy d' Angleterre avec son peuple.

Je reçois presentement la dépêche de votre Majesté du 15 Septembre, à laquelle étoit joint l'extrait d'une lettre de M. d'Avaux ; je dirigerai ma conduite selon ce que votre Majesté me prescrit. Il ne faut pas douter que M. le Prince d'Orange ne fasse tous ses efforts pour établir une étroite liaison entre l'Angleterre et les Etat Généraux, qui serviroit ensuite de fondement à une ligue avec les autres princes jaloux de la grandeur de votre Majesté : comme M. le Prince d'Orange ignore ce qui s'est passé il y a quelques mois entre votre Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre, il travaille sur un faux principe, et croit que pourvu que les Etats Généraux entrent fortement dans des engagemens contre votre Majesté, sa Majesté Britannique n'aura aucune raison de ne pas faire la même chose, et que le meilleur moyen de se racommoder avec le parlement, sera de faire une ligue qui sera agréable à toute la nation ; c'est ce qu'il est nécessaire d'empêcher, et pour cela il me semble que votre Majesté ayant traité avec le Roy d' Angleterre, ou du moins, l'ayant engagé par un secours

d'argent à ne se pas separer de ses intérêts, il reste seulement à menager le parti qui lui est opposé, en sorte que le Roy d'Angleterre, et ceux qui ont sa confiance, ne soient pas entraînés, et ne trouvent pas leurs avantages à manquer aux engagements qui ont été pris.

Je crois que ce qui est à faire présentement, est de traverser tout sorte d'accommodement entre les mécontents et la cour, et faire en sorte que cette reunion que M. le Prince d'Orange a en tête ne se fasse pas. Les gens avec qui je suis en commerce peuvent beaucoup pour l'empêcher, et je serai toujours bien reçu à entrer avec eux dans des mesures conformes à ce qu'ils desirent ; car ce qu'ils craignent principalement est que votre Majesté ne soutienne le Roy d'Angleterre. J'agirai avec beaucoup de précaution, et je connois l'importance de ne fournir aucun prétexte à sa Majesté Britannique de manquer à votre Majesté ; mais aussi je ne pense pas qu'il faille demeurer les bras croisés dans une conjoncture comme celle cy, et laisser M. le Prince d'Orange parvenir à son but sans s'y opposer.

En attendant que je reçoive les ordres de votre Majesté sur ce que m'a dit M. de Montaigu, j'essayerai de menager son esprit, et de tirer de lui quelque chose de plus que ce qu'il m'a dit : c'est un homme qui peut être d'un fort grand secours, et par qui je puis faire davantage que par plusieurs autres. Pour dire la vérité, il n'est pas content et croit avoir été négligé, mais tout cela sera réparé, si votre Majesté donne ses ordres pour achever le paiement de ce qui lui est dû.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Advise Louis not to let the intrigues with the popular party be dropped on account of his late treaty with Charles.—New proposals from Mr. Mountagu.

September 22, 1681.

"YOUR Majesty orders me by your last dispatch of the 12th to be very circumspect not to give umbrage or mistrust to the King of England by the connection I have with Mr. Montagu and the other friends to the Duke of Monmouth. I shall take every possible precaution ; but I cannot forbear representing to your Majesty, that in my way of thinking it is

PART I.

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very important to your service not to put out of humour those persons with whom I have had particular and intimate connexions. Your Majesty knows of what use it may be to you hereafter, and how much the cabals in opposition to the court are necessary to keep the affairs of England in a state convenient for your Majesty. The correspondence I have with them renders them more difficult with regard to the court; and is perhaps the best and most certain means to prevent the King of England changing his conduct to your Majesty; for as long as the reconciliation is filled with difficulties, and the chiefs of the cabals hold themselves firm, and believe that in the end the King of England must submit himself to them, the reconciliation will not be easy; but if they perceive a connexion between your Majesty and his Britannick Majesty, and that at the same time the King of England may be brought to make concessions, the reunion is possible. 'Tis therefore my opinion not to be inactive with regard to them. Besides, inactivity might persuade them still more, that your Majesty has taken other measures, and has no farther need of them.

Mr. Montagu two days ago asked a meeting with me; and after a long discourse upon the service he says he has done your Majesty, he told me that he was at present in a capacity to do you as considerable a service as he had done in accusing the high Treasurer; that he would do it with a great deal of zeal, but could not engage in any new affair till the first was finished, and till he saw himself certain of entire and complete payment. That he would not expose himself to appear frivolous to your Majesty, and what he had to say to me was to put you in a condition not to be hurt by England for a long time: That he would not capitulate with your Majesty, but refer himself to you for such a recompence as you might think he deserved for what he had to propose: But he stuck fast to having positive assurances of being payed what was due to him, and that without it he could not again hazard his fortune and his head. I pressed him much to open himself further, but it was impossible for me to get any thing more from him, except that when he was sure of his entire payment, your Majesty would find he was not an imposture, and that he would not for any thing in the world lose your Majesty's esteem and good graces.

I had at first some suspicion that Mr. Montagu wanted to discover (from the manner I should enter upon matters with him) whether your

Majesty had made alliances with the King of England that could hinder him from taking any other measure; but it has appeared since to me that he has something solid to propose which might tend to destroy the cabals and intrigues of the Prince of Orange, and prevent their being in the end powerful enough to give law to the King of England and the Duke of York.

Your Majesty will judge what is convenient for your service; it is not hazarding much to advance a few months the payment of what remains due to Mr. Montagu. It may be thought that if he should be entirely paid, he would be less zealous to act, and would not care to expose himself for your Majesty's interest; but on the other hand, I do not see a possibility to make him act without satisfying him, and I believe he will not find his advantage in abandoning your Majesty's interests, from whom he will always expect a powerful protection, and new advantages when he does new services.

I could not help entering into Mr. Montagu's proposition, and discussing it with him, otherwise he might have believed me entirely engaged with the court: I nevertheless represented to him that what he said was of too high a nature, and pressed him strongly to be more explicit; but he told me he should wait for the orders your Majesty should give me, and if he was well treated, I should see what service he was capable of doing.

I endeavoured to penetrate, through Mrs. Hervey, into what Mr. Montagu had to propose, but by what she said, I find he will not trust her with the matter. I plainly see it aims at hindering something important which the Prince of Orange wants to attempt, when it is the least expected, and this may probably be a project of reunion of all the cabals, and a general amnestie, by which the catholic Lords, and Danby and Shaftesbury may get out of prison, and the King of England offer on his part to forget all, provided the parliament on theirs will change their conduct with regard to him.

I only suspect this: but I have been informed Lord Halifax has this project in his head, and that he talks on every occasion, like a man who has no other design than to reconcile the King of England with his people.

I have just received your Majesty's dispatch of the 15th of September, to which was added the extract of a letter from M. d'Avaux; I shall direct my conduct agreeably to what your Majesty prescribes. There is no doubt but the Prince of Orange will use all his efforts to establish a strict union between England and the States General, which may hereafter serve as a basis for a league with other Princes, jealous of your Majesty's greatness: as the Prince of Orange is ignorant of what has passed for some months between your Majesty and the King of England, he works upon a false principle, and believes, that provided the States General enter strongly into engagements against your Majesty, his Britannick Majesty will have no reason not to do the same thing; and that the best means of reconciling himself to his parliament, will be to make a league agreeable to the whole nation. This it is necessary to prevent, and for that purpose it appears to me, that your Majesty having made a treaty with the King of England, or, at least having engaged him by a supply of money not to separate himself from your interests, it only remains to manage properly the party which opposes him, in order that the King of England, and those who have his confidence, may not be drawn on, nor find their advantages in failing in the engagements which have been formed.

I think what ought at present to be done, is to counteract every sort of reconciliation between the malecontents and the court, and prevent this reunion which the Prince of Orange has in his head. The people I have dealings with can do much to prevent it. They always receive me well when I enter with them into such measures as they desire; for what they principally fear is your Majesty's supporting the King of England. I shall act with a great deal of precaution, and know the importance of not furnishing any pretence to his Britannic Majesty; but I also think we should not at such a juncture as the present remain with folded arms, and let the Prince of Orange attain his ends without opposition.

In waiting for the receipt of your Majesty's orders upon what Mr. Montagu said to me, I shall endeavour to manage his spirit, and draw from him something more than what he has as yet told me: he is a man who may be of very great help, and by whom I can do more than by many others. To speak the truth, he is not contented, and thinks he has been neglect-

ed; but all this may be removed, if your Majesty gives orders for the payment of what is due to him."

Whilst Charles was trafficking with France for yielding to her one of the chief barriers of the Low Countries, one of the heads of the popular party in England was attempting the same traffick with regard to the same object. The following letter from Monsieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth, on this subject, is in the *Depot* at Versailles.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Novembre 24, 1681.

"J'AI vu M. de Montaigne depuis deux jours. La réponse qui a été donnée à Vanbeuningen a dissipé une partie de ses soupçons, et il m'a parlé comme un homme qui avoit fort envie d'entrer dans une nouvelle affaire. Il m'a dit qu'il paroïssoit par toutes les démarches qui ont été faites depuis quelque tems, que votre Majesté avoit formé le dessein d'avoir Luxembourg, que si cela étoit, et que je lui puisse parler confidentiellement, il se feroit fort avec ses amis d'empêcher que le parlement n'entrât en rien contre votre Majesté, et ne donnât pas un sol pour secourir les Espagnols; que pour cela il falloit prendre des mesures de bonne heure, et ne pas attendre que les ministres et le Prince d'Orange eussent formé toutes leurs cabales pour faire réussir leur dessein. Que je savois comme il avoit agi dans l'affaire du grand trésorier, et du licenciement de l'armée; que celle-ci étoit moins difficile pourvu qu'on prit bien ses mesures. Qu'il falloit s'entendre avec cinq ou six personnes des plus accréditées de la chambre basse, et les engager à traverser les desseins de la cour; mais qu'on ne voudroit point faire une affaire à demi: et qu'il falloit prendre une liaison qui durât, et qui mit le parlement d'Angleterre en état de ne pouvoir nuire de longtems à votre Majesté: que cela se pouvoit en gagnant les principaux du parlement, et en faisant quelque chose de favorable pour le commerce en general de l'Angleterre. La conclusion de son discours fut que votre Majesté pourroit prendre Luxembourg, et peut être quelque autre place, si on vouloit concerter cela avec ceux qui peuvent conduire la chambre des communes, ou empêcher les résolutions que la cour y voudroit faire prendre. Je dis à M. de Montaigne que ce témoignage de sa bonne volonté ne pouvoit qu'être agréable à votre Majesté; que je l'assurois qu'on entreroit

In the Depot.

fort volontiers avec lui dans une intelligence secrète ; que quoique je crusse que votre Majesté ne s'éloigneroit pas de recevoir Luxembourg pour l'équivalent de ses prétentions, je ne savois pas qu'elle eut un dessein formel de s'en emparer, et que je ne croiois pas qu'elle voulut le faire par force : que quoique je connusse par experience ce que peuvent dans le parlement cinq ou six des principaux quand ils agissent de concert, je doutois qu'ils pussent retenir l'impétuosité de la chambre des communes, quand elle seroit animée par les plaintes des Espagnols, et par les artifices de ceux qui voudroient faire prendre des résolutions contre la France ; que ce qu'il me disoit étoit fort important, et méritoit beaucoup de reflexion ; qu'il devoit bien croire que je ne négligerois pas l'occasion de rendre un service signalé à votre Majesté, et d'entrer dans une affaire qui pourroit lui être si agréable : M. de Montaigu me répondit, que les affaires de ce pays cy n'étoient jamais si sûres qu'on put s'en promettre un succès infallible ; que ce seroit une imprudence à lui de s'engager legerement, et de promettre des choses qu'il ne pourroit pas tenir ; qu'il connoissoit la pente de la nation contre la France, et la difficulté de retenir la chaleur des Anglois sur cela, mais que l'on pouvoit par des voyes presque sûres détourner l'effet de tout ce qui seroit proposé contre la France : que d'abord on accuseroit le Duc d'York et les trois ministres, et qu'on résoudroit de ne point donner d'argent que le parlement n'eut été satisfait sur cela ; qu'on demanderoit la condamnation de milord Damby, et qu'on mettroit le Roy d'Angleterre en état de ne rien obtenir, et en nécessité de casser le parlement, ce qui rendroit inutiles toutes les déclarations qu'il auroit faites. J'ai crû ne devoir point rebuter la proposition de M. de Montaigu ; il pourroit arriver de telles choses que votre Majesté se serviroit de lui utilement, et renverseroit les projets qui auroient été faits contre ses intérêts. Il me paroît cependant que la proposition de s'engager avec les principaux du parlement peut être sujette à des inconveniens ; et tant que le Roy d'Angleterre ne prendra point le parti des ennemis de votre Majesté, une liaison avec ce Prince est plus raisonnable et plus légitime, qu'une association avec les mécontents ; mais si je trouvois toujours icy de l'impossibilité à faire entrer le Roy d'Angleterre dans la proposition de faire avoir Luxembourg à votre Majesté, et qu'il se laissât entrainer à ceux qui veulent s'unir à vos ennemis, je ne crois pas qu'il fallut refuser les offres qui fait M. de Montaigu. Mais sans entrer dans une liaison trop generale, je croirois qu'on

pourroit traiter pour une affaire particuliere comme feroit celle de Luxembourg, et je ne pense pas qu'il fut impossible d'y réussir en la maniere que M. de Montaigu le propose : je me tiendrai en état d'exécuter ce que votre Majesté m'ordonne ; je crois cependant devoir ménager M. de Montaigu avec soin, parcequ'il peut par la suite être utile au service de votre Majesté : il est nécessaire pour cela de le faire bientôt payer de ce qui lui est dû, et je ne vois point de moyen de s'en servir sans le contenter sur le passé.

Je ne néglige pas les autres gens avec qui j'ai eu commerce ; je connois combien cela importe ; car des qu'on est trop longtems sans leur rien dire, le soupçon les prend d'une reunion entre votre Majesté et sa Majesté Britannique. Je suis, &c."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from M. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, Nov. 24, 1681.—Montagu proposes that France should get Luxembourg by means of the popular party in England.

"I Saw Mr. Montagu two days ago. The answer given to Vanbeuning, has partly dissipated his suspicions, and he talks to me like one who has a great desire to enter into some new affair. He told me it appeared, from all the steps taken for some time past, your Majesty had formed a design of having Luxembourg ; that if it was so, and I could speak confidentially to him, he would do his utmost with his friends to hinder the parliament from doing any thing against your Majesty, or giving one farthing to help the Spaniards ; that to this end measures ought to be taken in good time, and things not delayed till the ministers and the Prince of Orange had formed all their cabals to cause their design to succeed. That I knew how he had acted in the affair of the Treasurer and disbanding the army, that the present matter was less difficult, provided they took their measures well. That it was necessary he should connect himself with five or six members of the greatest credit in the House of Commons, and engage them to oppose the designs of the court ; but they would not do a thing by halves. That an union should be made which would last, and

which might put the parliament in a state of not hurting your Majesty for a long time: That this might be done by gaining the principal people in parliament, and doing something favourable for the commerce in general of England. The conclusion of his discourse was, that your Majesty might take Luxembourg and perhaps some other place if it was concerted with those who could lead the House of Commons, and hinder the resolutions which the court wished should be taken there. I told Mr. Montagu that this testimony of his good will could not but be agreeable to your Majesty, that I could assure him a secret intelligence would be very willingly entered into with him; that though I believed your Majesty would not be against receiving Luxembourg as an equivalent for your pretensions, I did not know that you had a formal design to become master of it, nor did I think you would do it by force: that though I knew by experience what five or six leading men could do in parliament when they acted in concert, I doubted if they could be able to restrain the impetuosity of the House of Commons, when they were animated by the complaints of the Spaniards, and by the artifices of those who wanted them to take resolutions against France; that what he said was very important, and merited much reflection; that he might well believe I would not neglect the occasion of doing your Majesty a signal service, and entering into an affair which might be so agreeable to you. Mr. Montagu answered, that the affairs of this country were never so sure that one could promise an infallible success; that it would be imprudent in him to engage himself lightly, and promise things he could not perform; that he knew the bent of the nation against France, and the difficulty of restraining the heat of the English upon that head, but that the effect of whatever could be proposed against France, might be obviated by means almost certain; that to this end they might immediately accuse the Duke of York and the three ministers, and resolve not to give any money till the parliament had been satisfied upon that head: that they might demand Lord Danby's condemnation, and put the King of England in a condition to obtain nothing, and reduce him to the necessity of dissolving the parliament, which would render all the declarations he might make of no use. I did not think it proper to reject Mr. Montagu's proposal; incidents may happen to make him serviceable, to overturn the projects that have been formed against your interests. It appears however, that his proposal of engaging

himself with the principal men in parliament may be subject to inconveniences; and as long as the King of England does not take part with your Majesty's enemies, an alliance with this Prince is more reasonable and lawful, than an association with the malecontents; but if I find it impossible to make the King of England enter into the proposal of your Majesty's having Luxemburgh, and that he suffers himself to be led by those who would unite him to your enemies, I think Mr. Montagu's offers should not be refused. But without entering into a connexion too general, I imagine a particular affair like that of Luxembourg may be treated of, and I do not think it impossible to succeed in the manner Mr. Montagu proposes. I shall keep myself ready to execute what your Majesty orders; and think that in the mean time I ought to manage Mr. Montagu with care, because he may in the end be useful to your Majesty's service. For this purpose it is necessary to pay him soon what is due to him; and I see no other way to make him serviceable for the future than to satisfy him for the past.

I do not neglect the other persons with whom I have had commerce. I know the importance of it; for if I should continue too long without saying any thing to them, they will suspect a re-union between your Majesty and his Britannick Majesty."

The French however chose rather to deal with King Charles than with Mr. Montagu about Luxembourg. Barillon writes on the 25th of December 1681, that Charles had proposed to be arbiter in the affair of Luxembourg, in order that he might have an opportunity of giving it to France. In the *Depot*.

This probably occasioned the public offer which Louis made to Spain, of referring the dispute about Luxembourg to Charles, but which Spain refused.

This refusal afforded a pretence to Charles to give himself no trouble for the protection of Luxembourg.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches, who was ambassadour in France at this time, there are the three following letters on this head.

PART I.

E

In Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession.

Letter Lord Preston to the Marquis of Halifax.—Complains of the Spaniards for refusing the arbitration of King Charles.

My Lord,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 82.

“**I** Received the honour of your Lordship’s of the 4th current, S. V. upon Monday last, for which I am to return my most humble acknowledgements. I found by it, as indeed I have upon all occasions, the continuance of your Lordship’s favour and kindness to me, which though I could never merit from your Lordship, yet I shall always highly value, and never fail to endeavour to make some return by my most faithful, and constant service to you.

Your Lordship judges very right, that the prolongation of the term lately obtained by his Majesty, is the likeliest means to preserve the peace of Christendom, and the world hath reason to wonder that the Spaniards and their allies, either do not or will not seem to see it. I have frequent occasions here of conversing with the ministers of Spain, of which there are now three in this court, and in their discourses they seem still to be averse from accepting the arbitrage of our Master, and urge the same things which their Envoy at the Hague hath lately offered in a memorial. The advices which they have for some time given to their court, that France hath no mind to enter into a war, I believe may have been one occasion of its not accepting hitherto what hath been proposed: But though it may be true that a year or two’s repose would be very advantageous to this kingdom, yet it is as true, that if they will force a war upon this King, he is much better able to support it, and to attack them, than they are to defend themselves; and I wish they may not involve themselves and their neighbours in blood by their opiniâtreté. One of those ministers told me the other day, that he could wish with all his heart, that the King my Master would find out a temperament for the composing of those differences. I asked him, if he could propose any temperament, or any means more likely to produce the effect he intended, than that of his Majesty’s accepting the arbitrage proposed: He said he believed, that if the King would call a parliament, it would put him into a better condition to bring this King to reason, whose custom it is to observe no treaties longer than they appear to be for his advantage, unless he be forced to it. Your Lordship I know understands very well the meaning of this, and I suppose they have not failed to offer something

like this in England already, or at least doubtless they will do it soon. I answered, that his Majesty was in very good circumstances, and in a capacity to undertake the arbitrage, and also to see that what was concluded should be observed. That I believed he would not be pleased that any one should prescribe to him the time of calling his parliament. That he would do it when his affairs required it, and not before. But upon the whole, I find their great hopes are that another delay will not be refused after the expiration of this term, and they seem to flatter themselves that the Emperour's affairs will be on a better posture than they are at present; but for my part, I see no great likelihood of that."

PRESTON.

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, December 26, 1682.

"**S**OME streaks of light begin now to appear, and one of the Spanish ministers hath of late explained himself on the affair of the arbitrage; for being asked, why it was not accepted in his court, he answered, because they had no mind to part with Luxembourg, which they were sure was to be sacrificed if they did accept it; yet he said he believed the proposal would be received, if the King of England would call his parliament. Being asked, why they did not declare that now, he answered, that they knew well enough that France had no mind to enter into a war at present; but if it so happened that they came to be much pressed, it would be time enough to declare it then. I hinted something of this by the last post, to the Marquis of Halifax; but what I write now, hath passed since. By this you will see what is aimed at, and how goodly a proposition is likely soon to be made to his Majesty." In Cypher.

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, to the same purpose.—The great importance of Luxembourg.

S I R,

Paris, February 3, S. N. 1683.

"**M**onsieur Delvall being with me the other day, fell to discourse upon the present state of the Spanish affairs. He asked me if I had heard any thing out of England concerning a further prolongation of the term (for the report hath been here that *Monsieur de Barillon* had privately acquainted his Majesty that the King his master would accord a delay till the last day of the last month.) I told him that I had heard nothing of it, nor did expect to hear In Cypher.

In Cypher.

any thing, since Spain seemed to desire no such thing. He said that Monsieur de Ronquillos had received a reprimand from the Spanish court for desiring one the last time, he not having orders to do it; and he was sure that it would not be demanded this time, because it would be a tacit owning of the pretensions of France. I answered, that I wondered the conduct of Monsieur de Ronquillos should be disapproved upon that occasion, since I thought that it was the most considerable piece of service that he was capable of doing to his master at that time. *He says, that he was sure that the ministers of Spain would willingly hearken to an accommodation, but that the arbitrage, as it was proposed, could not be accepted. That he could wish a temperament were found, and that they were willing to sacrifice considerably for the assuring of a peace; but that they could not part with Luxembourg, which they were forced for the importance of it, to maintain at a very great charge. He said, that four years since a minister of France who had been upon several embassies, (and he seemed to decypher Monsieur Courtin) had told him that after all the proposals and attempts of France, as well in the time of peace as war, Luxembourg was the place aimed at, and that no other thing would suit with this King's designs; for being already possessed of Strasbourg, if he had that city in his hands, he rendered himself master of the four Electors of the Rhine, whom he might soon force to declare him King of the Romans, and so possess himself of the Empire. He said further, that though the house of Austria be low, yet it was not willing to help on its own ruin by this means, and since Luxembourg is the thing aimed at, it were better for him to give it up with a good grace, to be thanked for it by France, than to lose it by an arbitrage.*

To all this I replied, that the King my master, was induced to offer this arbitrage, by the great desire only which he hath always shewn to have the peace and repose of Europe established, and that I should not presume to dive into the reasons, which the ministers of Spain had to refuse so wholesome, and so seasonable a proposition; but that I could not think that their procedure was reasonable in anticipating the judgment of the King my master, and in presuming to advance that it should be to their disadvantage, since the hopes of each party contending ought to be equal from an indifferent arbitrator; and I did assure him that the King, my master, was one of those."

The refusal of Spain to submit to the arbitration of Charles, furnished France also with a pretence for making more encroachments upon the Spanish Netherlands.

Among Lord Preston's dispatches are the two following on this head.

Letter Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins, Paris, July 15, 1682.—France uses Spain's refusal to accept of Charles's arbitration, as an excuse for further encroachments.

S I R,

“I Received by the last post the papers which were given you by the Spanish ambassador, and yesterday I went to Versailles and delivered them to Mr. de Croissy, and told him that they contained matter of complaint of some infractions of the treaty of Nimiguen in the neighbourhood of Namur; that they had been delivered to the King, my master, by Don Pedro de Ronquillos, and by his command, transmitted to me: that I was also further ordered, to intimate the desire of the King, my master, to his most Christian Majesty, that he would give his orders, that no such infractions as are complained of in those papers, nor any other innovations of any kind may be suffered, much less authorised to the prejudice of the King of Spain, or of his subjects in those countries. Mr. de Croissy told me, that he did not believe that these complaints were better founded than many others that the Spaniards had of late made; that he could say nothing to the particulars, but that he would acquaint the King, his master, with the subject of those papers, and also of the desire of his Majesty of Great Britain; but he believed no other answer could at this time be reasonably given than this; that all matters in difference betwixt France and Spain of all kinds, were referred and submitted to the King, my master; that if the Spaniards would accept of his mediation, this and all other things would easily be ended and composed; but if they did not soon declare themselves upon that subject, he believed his master would think himself no way engaged by any thing which he had done or promised, for the settling of peace in Europe, which he passionately desired; but that he should be at liberty to take those measures which he should think would conduce most to his advantage.”

A P P E N D I X.

Lord Preston to Sir Richard Bulstrode.—To the same purpose.

SIR,

Paris, November 8, S. N. 1683.

“**M**onsieur de Croissy, by order of the King, told me the other day, that the small inclination which Spain shewed to an accommodation, had obliged the King, his master, to send orders to the Marschal de Humieres to besiege Courtray; but that as soon as it was taken, he was resolved to submit that, and all his pretensions which he might have upon Spain, to the disposition and determination of the King, our master; that he had acquainted Monsieur Barillon with this resolution, and the reasons of it by a courier express, which he was to impart to his Majesty: that he had also done the same to Monsieur d’Avaux, and sent him this King’s order to notify it to the States General at the Hague, and to make his great design which he hath to establish the peace of Christendom, appear to the whole world. The King, his master, had ordered him further to declare to me, that if Spain would give him any equivalent for the just pretensions which he hath upon the *Pais d’Alost* and the *Vieu bourg de Gand*, that he was willing to accept it, and that he would propose three ways for it; that Spain might choose that which should be most convenient to itself: the first is, that he will be willing to take Luxembourg with the walls and fortifications razed, with twelve or thirteen villages about it, such as he shall name; or, in the next place, he will take Courtray and Dixmude, with some villages which depend upon them; or if the King of Spain be not willing to give him an equivalent in Flanders, he will accept of Purcerda in Catalogne, with that part of the county of Cerdagne, which yet remaineth to the Spaniard. And to make it also appear that he hath no design to attack the Empire, when he shall have adjusted differences with Spain, he is willing to grant a truce to it for thirty, twenty-five, or twenty years, as the matter shall be regulated by the diet at Ratisbon. This is what Monsieur de Croissy told me, but whether Spain will hearken to it or not, you are better able to judge than I.”

I am with great sincerity, yours, &c.

France even prevailed with Charles to interpose his authority with the Prince of Orange, to prevail with the Dutch to persuade Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxembourg.

A letter from Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange on this head, and also a copy of the Prince's answer to one which Charles had written him, are in King William's box as follows :

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Advise him to peace, and not to differ with France on account of Luxembourg.

“**H**AVING been obliged to be some time at the waters at Tunbridge with my wife, who hath been very ill there, hath been the occasion of my not presenting my most humble thanks to your Highness for the great honour you were pleased to do me by your letter of the 16th instant from Diering. I think myself very happy that your Highness is pleased to take well any thing in the world that I can do. I am sure no man living can have more duty to your person, and I am extremely obliged to Monsieur de Bentinck for having so represented me to your Highness as that you are not dissatisfied with me ; it is a great misfortune there should be such difference in opinion between the King and your Highness, in some affairs relating to the public, on which the peace of Christendom so much depends ; which by the news that is now come of the marching of the French troops into the Pays d' Aloft, seems to be very near broke. I see by what your Highness says, it would be very hard, if not impossible, to persuade you to consent that the razing of Luxembourg should be a means to preserve it, upon which subject Monsieur Bentinck must have told your Highness what the King's opinion is, to which I know not what to say, but that what hath happened since in the affairs of the world, hath not contributed any thing to make the condition of the peace more easy. I wish your Highness could bring your judgment to agree with the King's in this particular ; because though I confess there may be difficulties even that way, yet without it, they seem to be insurmountable, at least to me, who have not a judgment clear enough to see the way out of them ; a little time will now shew what things must come to, and your Highness must needs know, that it is in peace that the King can be most useful to his allies. I pray God direct your Highness and all great persons concerned in it, to find out the means to preserve it.”

St. James's, August 28, 1681.

Lettre du Prince d' Orange au Roy d' Angleterre.

Saerdyk, Novembre 5, 1681.

“ J’Ay receu avec le respect que je dois, la lettre que votre Majesté m’a fait l’honneur de m’écrire par Monsieur Chudleigh. Il me sera tres facile à obeir à ces ordres, et pour persuader à l’Empereur et l’Espagne à la paix, puisque je la puis assurer de certain sience, qu’ils la souhaite autant que qui ce se soit, pourveu qu’elle soit generale; et je ne crois pas que votre Majesté la voudroit autrement, puisqu’elle ne pouroit être d’aucune durée; et que je suis tres persuadé que ce n’est ni l’interêt de votre Majesté, ni celui de cet état, qui ne but qu’à une paix sure et durable, à quoy ils contribueront ce qui sera en leur pouvoir, ainsi que je ferai aussi; et quoique je sçay que la France me veut faire passer pour celui qui souhaite la guerre, j’espère que votre Majesté me fera la justice de n’y point ajouter de foy, quand elle voudra prendre la peine de considerer, qu’il n’y à présentement homme dans l’Europe, qui à un interêt plus contraire, quand on considerera toutes les circonstances des choses. Je fus tres marré de voir qu’on à voulu persuader votre Majesté, comme s’il y avoit de ces alliés qui auroient l’imprudence de la vouloir menasser à la force à une guerre. Je ne puis croire que l’on pouvoit en trouver qui auroient été assez impertinents de tenir de tel langage: mais certainement ces sont des artifices de la France, qui indirectement à voulu le persuadera votre Majesté, pour les mettre mal avec beaucoup de raison dans son esprit. Je ne crois pas qu’il y a un de ces alliés qui voudroit engager votre Majesté, ou lui demander que ce qui est conformé au traités qu’ils ont avec elle; au moins j’en puis repondre au regard de cet état, qui ne souhait rien plus que de pouvoir faire ce qui seroit agreable à votre Majesté, et lui remeigner l’attachement inviolable qu’ils auront pour ses interêts, et qu’ils n’aurent jamais falu que de pouvoir contribuer à la grandeur et au pouvoir de votre Majesté, ce qui est aussi leur veritable interêt, et de quoi ils ne departiront jamais. Pour moy, une des plus grandes mortifications que j’ay en ce monde, c’est de n’avoir jusqu’à present eu aucun occasion pour faire voir votre Majesté mon veritable zele pour son service et ses interêts. J’espère qu’elle n’ajoutera jamais de foy aux personnes qui la voudroient persuader du contraire, n’y que l’on me pourroit faire à croire que votre Majesté ne me faisoit plus l’honneur d’avoir de l’amitié pour moy, comme je vois qu’elle soupçonne qu’il y arriveroit par la lettre qu’elle m’a fait la grace de m’écrire, puisque si long tems qu’

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elle m'assure le contraire, je ne pourois jamais avoir de telles pensées ; surtout voiant la bonté qu'elle a eu depuis peu de se vouloir bien intéresser aux violences que la France m'a faite à l'Orange, et j'espère qu'elle voudra bien continuer à me protéger, et à me faire avoir réparation et satisfaction de ce que j'y ai souffert si injustement. Si la nouvelle que je viens de recevoir est véritable, que la France m'a pris toute la principauté sous prétexte d'une vieille pretension de la maison de Longueville, je serai entièrement ruiné si votre Majesté ne m'assiste avec vigueur, et me fasse rendre ce que l'on me prend avec tant d'injustice, ce que j'attendrai de sa bonté et des assurances qu'elle me fait la grace de me faire de la continuation de son amitié ; et puisque je serai toute ma vie avec un profond respect son très humble et très obeissant neveu et serviteur."

Translation.

Letter from the Prince of Orange to the King of England.—In answer to the King's interposing with him to get Spain to make peace with the loss of Luxembourg.—Endeavours to wipe off mutual suspicions.

Saerdyk, November 5, 1682.

"I Have received with the respect that I ought, the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me by Mr. Chudleigh: it will be very easy for me to obey your orders, and to persuade the Emperor and Spain to peace, since I can assure you from my certain knowledge, that they desire it, as much as any one can, provided it be general: and I do not believe that your Majesty would wish any other, since it could not be of any duration; and I am persuaded that any other is not the interest either of your Majesty, nor that of this state, which looks at nothing but a sure and durable peace, to which they will contribute all that is in their power, as I shall also do. And although I know that France endeavours to make me pass for one who wishes for war, I hope your Majesty will do me the justice not to credit it, when you take the pains to consider, there is not a man in Europe who has an interest more contrary to it, considering all the circumstances of things. I was very sorry to see endeavours made to persuade your Majesty that there were allies, who could have the imprudence to threaten to force you into a war. I cannot believe that any could be found who would have been impertinent enough to hold such language. But assuredly, these are the artifices of France, which has indirectly endea-

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voured to persuade your Majesty of it, in order to put them in a bad light with much reason, in your imagination. I do not believe that there are any of these allies who would engage your Majesty, or ask you to do any thing but what is agreeable to the treaties which they have with you. At least, I can answer with regard to this State, which desires nothing more than to do what is agreeable to your Majesty, and to testify the inviolable attachment they have to your interests, and that they will never fail to contribute to your Majesty's greatness and power, which is also their true interest, and from which they will never depart. With regard to me, one of the greatest mortifications which I have in the world is, that I have never till this time had any occasion to be able to make your Majesty see my true zeal for your service and your interests. I hope you will never give credit to persons who would persuade you to the contrary, or think they can make me believe that your Majesty does not do me the honour to have any longer a friendship for me, as I see you suspect will happen by the letter which you have done me the favour to write me, since it is so long ago that you have assured me of the contrary. I can never have such thoughts, especially when I see the goodness which you have lately had to interest yourself in the violences which France hath committed against me in Orange. And I hope that you will protect me, and get me reparation and satisfaction for what I have suffered so unjustly there. If the news which I have received be true, that France has taken all the principality of Orange, under pretence of an old pretension of the house of Longueville, I shall be entirely ruined if your Majesty does not assist me with vigour, and cause to be given back to me what has been taken with so much injustice. I expect this from your goodness, and the assurances which you do me the favour to give me of the continuation of your friendship, and because I shall be all my life with a profound respect, your most humble, and most obedient nephew, and servant.

In the course of the dispute with Spain about Luxembourg, France seized the Principality of Orange under pretence that it belonged to the house of Longueville. Charles, as appears by the letter last cited, had flattered the Prince of Orange with his protection in that matter. However he never gave it.

On this head there are the three following letters among Lord Preston's dispatches, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Has no orders to concur with the Dutch ambassador in asking redress about the Principality of Orange.

S I R,

Paris, Dec. 23, S. N. 1682.

“ I Have received two of yours of the 4th instant, S. V. in one of which you are pleased to let me know, that his Majesty would be glad to know what offices the Dutch ambassador would engage me in, in the affair of Orange. I acquainted you some time since, by one of the 28th of November last, that the Dutch ambassador had sent to me twice or thrice to know if I had received any orders in that affair; my answer was, that I had not, which was all that passed between us. I have seen him several times since, and he never of late hath said any thing to me of it; but I believe he might have heard from Holland, that the Prince was resolved to make application to his Majesty, and so he might imagine that I had received his commands in it. I have it from a good hand, that it is resolved, that Monsieur Heinsius shall come, but his journey is retarded at the present, till they know his Majesty's resolutions, it being hoped there, that I shall have his commands to act in concert with him. It is my duty to represent all things, as truly as I can; and I must tell you, that I believe no manner of success is to be hoped from any instances which may be made in that affair; for besides what is personal betwixt this King and the Prince, they do say that it is a private business, and that it doth no way regard the affairs of Europe; though in this case it may very justly be alledged, that since there is particular care taken of the Prince of Orange and his interests, by the treaty of Nimiguen, what hath been done against him of late, and the proceeding of the French at Orange, can be no other than a formal controversion of that treaty.”

Lord Preston to Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

Paris, March 31, S. N. 1683.

“ THE Dutch ambassador brought Monsieur Heinsius the day after his arrival, to make me a visit. He asked me if I had received any orders to act in concert with him in the affair of Orange. I told him I had received none. He told me that his Majesty had promised that as soon as

he had notice of his Monsieur Heinfius's arrival here, that I should have instructions in this affair, and that the States General had written to his Majesty to signify his departure. If his Majesty doth think of this, I must beg to have his punctual orders how far I am to engage with Monsieur Heinfius; and that if I am to join with him, we may present no memorials but such as are first seen and approved of by his Majesty. I see very well that it will be a business of volume and of trouble enough. Monsieur Spankheim hath orders also from the Elector of Brandenburg to act with Monsieur Heinfius.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—The Dutch ambassador has no success.

S I R,

Paris, October 24, S. N. 1683.

Monsieur Heinfius finding that he can obtain nothing in this court, in the affair of Orange, did on Tuesday last demand his audience of Conge, and is preparing to leave this place in a few days.

In the Depot. France had indeed little reason to be afraid of the interposition of England upon the continent at this time. Barillon writes, April 2, 1682, that having warned Charles not to be drawn into a war against France, that Prince answered, 'Laissez moi faire. Je connois le peril dont je suis sorti, il ne fera pas aisé de me faire rentrer.'—'Leave me to myself. I know the danger from which I have escaped; and it will not be easy to make me run into it again.'

Soon after the secret treaty of the year 1681, between Charles and Louis, the Duke of York quitted his exile in Scotland, and came to attend his brother. Louis the XIVth, knowing the Duke's attachment to France, and the weight he might have in keeping his brother steady to the secret treaty, ordered Barillon to act in concert with him, and writ the following letter to the Duke.

Lettre du Roy au duc d'York.

Fevrier 18, 1682.

"**M**ON frere, j'ai appris par les dernieres lettres du Sieur Barillon, mon ambassadeur en Angleterre, que vous deviez vous rendre dans peu de jours à Newmarket auprès du Roy, mon frere; et cette nouvelle m'a

ête d'autant plus agréable, qu'outre l'intérêt que je prens a tout ce qui vous touche, par l'affection très sincère et très cordiale que j'ai pour vous; je vois bien aussi que vos conseils et votre fermeté seront dorenavant très nécessaires pour fortifier le Roy de la Grande Bretagne dans la résolution de se servir des moyens que je lui offre d'affermir la paix, et de rendre inébranlables les liaisons d'amitié, aux quelles vous avez tant contribué. Le dit Sieur Barillon vous instruira plus amplement de mes intentions; et je m'assure que vous ajouterez d'autant plus de créance a ce qu'il vous dira de ma part, qu'il ne sauroit assez vous exprimer a quel point je desire de procurer votre satisfaction."

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to the Duke of York, March 20, 1682, upon his return from Scotland.—Trusts to his keeping his brother firm to the late secret treaty.

"MY brother, I have learnt by the last letters from Mr. Barillon, my ambassador in England, that you was to be in a few days at Newmarket with the King, my brother; this news was the more agreeable to me, as besides the interest I take in all that concerns you, through the sincere and cordial affection I bear you, I see also, that your councils and firmness will henceforth be very necessary to strengthen the King of Great Britain in the resolution to avail himself of the means I have offered him to confirm the peace, and render immoveable the ties of friendship, to which you have so much contributed. Mr. Barillon will more fully inform you of my intentions; and I assure myself you will the more readily believe what he shall say on my part, as he cannot express sufficiently to what a degree I wish to procure your satisfaction."

In King William's box and in Doctor Morton's hands, there are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, in the period between his return from Scotland, and the death of King Charles, concerning the disputes of France with Spain, and with the Prince of Orange. I print them all, and in the order of time, because by that means the effects of his connexions with France will best appear.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Is to interest himself about the Principality of Orange.—Wishes for peace.

London, December 26, 1682.

THIS evening I received yours of the first of January, by which I am very sorry to find the ill usage you have still in the affair of Orange, and shall be sure this night, so soon as I can speak with his Majesty, to shew him your letter, and to press him to do his part, that those extraordinary proceedings may have an end; and should be glad all things in Christendom might end in peace and quietness. God be thanked, all things continue very quiet here, and are on the mending hand, and like to continue so; for, what news is here, you will have it from other hands, so that I need say no more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, January 8, 1683.

I Have now received yours of the 12th, and did put his Majesty in mind again of your affair of Orange, who told me he would be sure to move in it when it should be a proper time. I agree with you, that no body has more reason to desire peace than yourself, and since you are of that mind, I hope you will take those measures that are necessary to obtain it; and though you need not separate from your allies, you may give them good advice, which I believe the Spaniards would follow, if you gave it them, they being no way prepared to make war; and I fear the Emperor will have enough to do to defend himself from the Turk. There is very little news stirring here at present, so that I have no more to say, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Differs from the Prince as to foreign politicks.

Windsoꝛ, August 14, 1683.

THIS last post brought me yours of the 16th from Dieren, by which I am very well pleased to find you were so well satisfied with the freedom I had used with M. Bentinck, and with the assurance I had given him of my real kindness to you; and though we differ in our opinions as to affairs on your side of the water, (which I am sorry for,) that

shall not alter my kindness to you : for people may be very good friends, I think, though they may differ in point of judgment, as well in matter of state, as religion. As for news there is none stirring here at present, all things being very quiet ; so that I shall say no more but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Blames the Spaniards for not accepting Charles's mediation.—Bitterness against the late conspirators.

Winchester, Sep. 2, 1683.

I Had not time to write to you by the last post, to let you know I had received yours of the 2d of September, for it was late before I came hither on Thursday, so that except I had written that night, which I was really too sleepy to do, I could not do it till now, the post going very early from hence in the morning. I had, before I received yours, heard of the French troops being to march into Flanders ; and since the Spaniards will not save all by demolishing of Luxembourg, I do not see what is to be done. 'Tis what they might have long expected, and I believe it had happened sooner had not the King interposed ; and if where you are, people had been of this mind, and the arbitration had been accepted of, this invasion had not been, and all Christendom had been in peace, and free to have assisted the Emperor against the Turk. We have as great devils to deal with here, for though some of the conspirators have been taken and executed, yet that party are as malicious and fiery as ever : so that we here must look to ourselves, and not engage in any war beyond sea. The weather has been very fair ever since we left Windsor, and I hope we shall now have a sett of fair weather which will be very necessary here. I am to hunt tomorrow in the New Forest ; and have no more to say, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose about Spain.

Winchester, Sep. 9, 1683.

I See by yours of the 10th, which I received on Friday after I came from Portsmouth, that you were come back to the Hague, upon the news of the march of the French into Flanders, to consider what was

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to be done upon it. I could have wished the Spaniards would have taken other measures to have prevented it, which they might have done, and not have put so hard a task on their allies to help them, against so powerfull a prince, as they have now to deal with, without hazarding all as they now do. I find by it you were to go to adjust matters with the Marquis de Grane; and by the last letters which came from the Hague, that you was gone from thence to that purpose; so that before this you will, I believe, have heard what is become of Vienn; and have taken your final measures with him. I waited on his Majesty to Portsmouth on Wednesday last, and came back with him on Friday; the voyage thither was to see that place, which is now in a pretty good condition, and the new ships that have been built there, which are very good ones. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me very kind to you.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—
Algernon Sidney's Trial.*

London, Nov. 9, 1683.

“**L**AST night I received yours by Mr. Borstel of the 9th, and had before heard of the good news of the taking of Grane; and am as sorry as any body can be that the war is begun in Flanders, and wish that while the winter lasts, some means of accommodation may be found, that all Christendom may be in peace. As for this country all things go on very well, and Algernon Sidney has been tryed by the grand jury, the bill found against him, and Wednesday come se’nnight appointed for his tryal. I was this day a fox-hunting, and since that at the council, so that now I have not time to say more, it being late, only to assure you that you shall still find me as kind to you as ever.”

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

London, April 7, 1684.

“**I** Find by yours of the 11th that you are troubled at the last answer you had from the King concerning the proposals had been made to him by Mr. Citters, and we here are troubled that none of the proposals made by the French have been hearkened unto, nor none made to them, which might probably be accepted by them, there being nothing more de-

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fired, here, than that all Christendom might be in peace, which I fear will hardly be brought about, now that the King of France sets out so soon for the army. As for news there is a rich East India ship come in, and has brought good account of the concerns of our company in those parts, as to the interlopers, which went thither. I am a-going this afternoon for Windsor; and so have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France.—Severity against the conspirators.

Windsor, April 15, 1684.

SINCE my coming last hither from London I received yours of the 18th, and though we have had some good days since we first came hither, am one of those who think 'tis too soon in the year to be at this place; yesterday and the day before were very warm, but this day is cold again; to-morrow I am to go to London for two or three days, where one Halloway, one of the conspirators, is to be tryed, though he might have been hanged without that ceremony, having been taken and already outlawed, but this way is chosen to make more public what he has confessed of that damnable conspiracy. I am glad to find by our Flanders letters that the Spaniards begin to hearken to such a truce as was proposed by France. I wish all their allies may be of the same mind, and then there may be hopes of having a peace, which is very much wished for here, and ought to be in my mind every where else, which is all I shall say now, and assure you, you shall still find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. Pretends to be displeased with the taking of Luxembourg.

London, May 30, 1684.

IHAD not yours of the 30th, which should have come to me the post before, till Tuesday last, and that so late that I could not then answer it. I believe soon after you had written it, you had the news of the taking of Luxembourg: sure it was a great neglect in the Spaniards to have so few men in it, especially since they looked on it as a place of such consequence. I hope now they will make peace, and not lose all the rest of

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Flanders, as they have done that important town. As for what passes here, on Wednesday last, his Majesty was pleased to call me again to the great council; the Dutchess was very ill of the griping in the guts on Wednesday last, which obliged me to come back that day from Windsor, but now God be thanked she is quite well of that, and free from a feverish distemper that came with it, and I hope will be well enough to go to Windsor by the end of next week. To-morrow I intend to go thither, and I have not time to say more but to assure you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange. Approves of the States advances of peace to France.

London, June 26, 1684.

YESTERDAY before I came from Windsor, I received yours of the 30th, by which I see you were a-going back to the Hague, and your troops to their several garrisons in Holland. I cannot be of your mind as to what the States have done, for I think they had nothing else to do, but to agree to what was proposed to them by France, as the only means to have a peace, which I am sure is the true interest of Holland as well as England, and therefore am glad at what they have done; and if the Spaniards be wise they ought to be so too, since by it Flanders is saved. The Dutchess intends for Tunbridge on Monday, my daughter the Princess of Denmark designs to go thither also, to keep her company, but not to take the waters: I am to go to-morrow early to Hampton-court to council, so that I write this night, fearing not to have time to-morrow. It is late, and I must end, which I do with assuring you of my being as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Wishes France's offer of a twenty years truce to be accepted.

London, February 15, 1684.

THIS morning I had yours of the 18th, and by it see you had had three pacquets from hence, but wanted some of an older date, which I hope at last will have got safe to you, though they were then missing. As for matters here, all things go very well and quietly, and his Majesty's authority encreases every day. I could wish with all my

heart, that where you are, the French proposals of a truce for twenty years were hearkened to, being persuaded that would be much better for all Christendom than a war. The Newmarket journey is named for the first of March, which is all I shall say now, but to assure you of my being as bound to you as you can desire.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Partial to French terms of peace.
—Newmarket races.*

Newmarket, March 10, 1684.

IT was Saturday last before I received yours of the 10th, by which I see it had begun to freeze again, and I believe it continues to do so with you, for it does so here, and the wind has been north east ever since his Majesty's being here, which has much taken off from the diversions of this place, one being very sensible of cold in this place, and the frosts have been so hard, that one could not well hunt till near noon. I have been twice a fox hunting, and have had very good sport both times, for all it was so cold, there has been but one considerable horse race since we came; and on Wednesday the two famous horses *Dragon* and *Why-not* are to run. As for other news, this place affords none; and God be thanked all things are very quiet in our country; I am sorry they are not so on your side of the water. I see the King's answer to the proposals that were given him by Monsieur Citters from the Allies, was not then come to you, but long before this it is; I could have wished they had been more reasonable, that some good might have come of them. I have no more to say at present, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as ever.

*Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for peace with France,—
partial to French terms.*

London, March 25, 1684.

I Find by yours of the 29th from the Hague, that you were come back from the voyage you had made to Zeland and Antwerp. I hear by your letters, that you were making all the preparations for a war, and that you have sent more troops into Flanders, besides those you have already there; but for all that, if what we hear from France be true, of the Empress having sent a courier into Spain to advise the acceptance of the truce, I will hope there may yet be a peace. I see by what you say, you are not satisfied with the answer his Majesty made to the proposals made

by Mr. Citters in the name of the Allies; I am sorry for it, since his Majesty can give no other answer. All things God be thanked go very well here, which is all I shall say now, but to assure you that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.

Partly in King William's box, and partly in Doctor Morton's hands are many letters from the Duke of York to the Prince of Orange, concerning the invasion of the liberties of the City, and the Rye-house plot. I print all these also, and in the order of time.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—The success in the city mortifying to the Whigs.

London, October 24, 1682.

I Had yours of the 23d at Newmarket before I came from thence, but could not answer sooner than now; I see by it you were sensibly touched with the loss I had made of my little daughter, which is but what I had reason to expect from you that are so concerned at all that happens to me. As for news, all things go very well here, and Pritchards has carried it against Gold and Cornish; to-morrow it is to be declared at the Common Hall, so that we shall have a good and loyal Lord Mayor, as well as two Sheriffs of the same stamp, which is a mighty mortification to the whigs. I have been at a play this day, and it is now late, so that I have not time to say more but this, you shall ever find me to be as kind to you as you can expect.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Verdict against Lord Gray and Pilkinton mortifying to the seditious.

London, November 28, 1682.

I Have had your's of the first of December, and by it see you had then taken no resolution as to Grietziel, but that by the next I might hear it. As for the news of this place, you have already heard what has past as to Lord Gray and Pilkinton last week, that I need not repeat it again to you; what was done to the last has mortified very much that seditious and turbulent party which now lose ground every day. It is said Lord Shaftsbury is gone over into Holland; if it be so, you will have heard of it before this. I have now no more to say, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Since the writing of this, I have had word brought me that Prince Rupert is so ill of a pleurisy that 'tis believed he will not outlive to-morrow.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Shaftesbury and Lord Keeper North.

Windfor, December 18, 1682.

I Find by yours of the 22d, which I had yesterday at London, that Lord Shaftesbury was at Amsterdam, and do easily believe that you will have nothing to do with such a kind of a man as he, that is so very great an enemy to all our family in general, as well as a particular one to me. I am told that many of the fanatic party flock to him, and no doubt, to his power he will do his part to do what harm he can to us. We came from London this morning, where I do not know whether the Lord Chancellor were alive or dead, he being speechless *last night*; 'tis believed that Lord Chief Justice North will succeed him, who is both able and bold, as well as very loyal. We have had hitherto a very gentle winter, and 'tis like to continue so. I have no more to say now, but that I shall ever be as kind as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth owns the conspiracy.

London, November 27, 1683.

THOUGH you will hear the news I am going to tell you from other hands, 'tis too considerable a one for me not to write it to you; 'tis that the Duke of Monmouth on Saturday last, came and delivered himself up to the Secretary, and desired he might speak with the King and myself alone; so soon as the Secretary had advertised his Majesty, he went down to the Secretary, taking me along with him; where the Duke of Monmouth, after having asked his Majesty's pardon in the humblest manner imaginable, and owned his knowledge of the whole conspiracy, except that part of the assassination, asked pardon of me also, and said as much to me upon that subject as I could expect of him, with all the promises of his good behaviour for the future, a man could say: after his Majesty had heard all he had to say, he ordered the Secretary to put him into the custody of a Serjeant at Arms, till further pleasure; the next day his Majesty ordered his release, and has ordered his pardon to be prepared, having pardoned him, and permits him to be at court again.

Algernon Sidney's sentence was pronounced this day, and he will be soon beheaded ; the day is not yet named. I have not time to say more now, but assure you, you shall still find me very kind to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Algernon Sidney's death and Monmouth's confession, will give the lie to the Whigs.

London, December 4, 1683.

I Have received yours of the seventh of this month, and before that I had heard of the Prince de Montesartio being taken by the French near Toulon. As for news here, Algernon Sidney is to be beheaded on Friday next on the Tower-hill, which besides the doing justice on so ill a man, will give the lie to the whigs, who reported he was not to suffer. The Duke of Monmouth, also, I am told, will some way or other give them the lie, by owning in a more public way, than he has done yet, his knowledge of the conspiracy ; which that rebellious party, and some of his dependers, endeavoured to persuade the world he knew nothing of. Till this day we have had no considerable frost, but last night it froze so very hard, that this morning the boys began to slide upon the Canal in the Park, though last night at sun-set, there was not one bit of ice on it ; 'tis like to continue, the wind being north east, which is all I have to say now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Duke of Monmouth retracts.—Account of Algernon Sidney's death.

London, December 7, 1683.

I Believe you will be as much surpris'd with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being ordered to go out of Whitehall, and not to appear in his Majesty's presence, as you were at his coming in, and being permitted to stay at court. His Majesty sent this morning the Vice Chamberlain with that message to him, being very much displeased with his not owning by a letter or paper under his hand, his knowledge of the conspiracy, as he had done it, by word of mouth, to his Majesty and myself ; besides which, some of his servants and dependers reported every where, that what was in the Gazette concerning him was false, for that he had never owned any knowledge of the conspiracy, which disingenuous proceeding of his did so anger his Majesty, that it obliged him to shew his displeasure to him, as he has done ; and now 'tis visible to all the world, that he only designed by his coming in, to get his par-

don, and to keep his credit with his party still, both which he has now done; and though his coming in and being pardoned as he was, has done some harm; I hope this good will come of it, that his Majesty will now never believe any thing he says again, and then he can do but little harm. Algernon Sidney was beheaded this day, died very resolutely, and like a true rebel and republican. I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth in disgrace.—The Duke of York vexed at war breaking out against France again.

London, December 14, 1683.

I Received yesterday yours of the 18th, and by it see you were surprised with the news of the Duke of Monmouth's being come to court, and believe you were no less surprised with his behaviour since, and what happened to him upon it, of all which I have already given you an account. On Wednesday his Majesty told the council all that had past in that affair of the Duke of Monmouth, and shewed them the letter he would have had that Duke have signed, and ordered the letter, and what he had said, to be registered in the council books, to satisfy the world of the truth of all that past, and that the Duke of Monmouth had owned to him the knowledge of all the conspiracy, except the assassinating part, of which he said he knew nothing; and after the Duke of Monmouth's behaviour, it was necessary for his Majesty to say what he did in council. Before I had had your last letter, I had heard of the Spaniards having declared war against France; I was sorry to hear it, being an enemy to war, and fear most of you on your side of the water will be engaged in it. We here shall keep out on't, I hope, as well as we can, for we will not be drawn into it, having enough to do at home. Mr. Chudleigh, as Lord Sunderland tells me, will have a copy of the letter I have mentioned sent to him, which when you have seen, you will I believe wonder he, the Duke of Monmouth, refused to sign it; which is all I shall say now, and assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as ever.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—His opinion of Algernon Sidney's last Speech, and of the Duke of Monmouth.

London, January 4, 1684.

I Have received yours of the 4th, and by it see you had read Algernon Sidney's paper, and though it was a very treasonable and insolent:

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one, yet, 'twas thought fit to have it printed, that the world might see what his principles were, and what both he and the rest of the conspirators drove at, and its being published has really done good. His trial also is come out, and I have sent it to my daughter, by one who goes with the packet boat. I do very easily believe you were surpris'd at the extraordinary carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, and since he was no truer a convert, 'twas very well he shew'd himself so soon, for had he stay'd and dissembled, he might have done much mischief; but now he can do but little, for all the world is now satisfied, he is never to be trusted, and then he has all his vain fancies in his head. 'Tis not now certain where he is; his wife and some others of his friends say, he is gone beyond sea, and by a letter out of Zealand, they give an account of two English gentlemen which landed there, and went for Antwerp, and by the description they make of them, one of them should be he; if he be in Flanders, I suppose by that time you have this you will have heard of it. Poor Lord St. Alban's died on Wednesday last, and I believe by this Lord Peters, who has lain so long in the Tower, is dead also; for at noon he was speechless. The weather is so very sharp and the frost so great, that the river here is quite frozen over, so that for these three days last past, people have gone over it in several places, and many booths are built upon it between Lambeth and Westminster, where they roast meat and sell drink. This is all the news I have to tell you now, and so shall end, with assuring you, that you shall find me as kind as ever to you.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his seeing the Duke of Monmouth.

Windsor, May 20, 1684.

I Had your's of the 23d last week, but not time enough to answer it by the last post. I see by it you were come back from Vilvord, and had received one I wrote to you at the same time his Majesty did, to which I see by the answer you have returned, there is no more to be said at present. I find by the same letter, that the Duke of Monmouth had been to see you: I do not at all wonder that he did not send to advertise you of his coming to you, but do think it odd enough for him to present himself to you, after his having been engaged in so horrid a conspiracy, for the alteration of the government, and ruin of the King and our Fa-

mily; and his refusing since he had his pardon to own that under his hand, which he confessed to the King, I being by, is sure in its self, as offensive to his Majesty and myself, as any thing can be, and shews he did it to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and his vain pretensions to the crown. For what else could have made him refuse to sign, what he had owned himself to the King and me, which is the greatest reflection imaginable upon both of us, as if he had not owned that to us, which his Majesty required him to sign? When I began my letter, I did not think to have said so much to you concerning the Duke of Monmouth; and let him give what reasons he pleases for the occasion of his being at Bruxelles, I can never trust to what he says or believe him, and I think you will be to blame if you do. There is little news stirring amongst us, all things being very quiet, so that I have no more to say, but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire.

Duke of York to the Princess of Orange.—Complains of her husband for seeing Lord Brandon, and the Duke of Monmouth.

Windfor, June 6, 1684.

I Had not your's of the 9th till Wednesday, by which I find you have received mine. I wrote to you upon the subject of Lord Brandon, and I easily believe, that you might have forgotten for what he had been in the Tower, yet others could not be ignorant of it, nor have so short memories; and I must need tell you, it scandalises all loyal and monarchical people here, to know how well the Prince lives with, and how civil he is to the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon; and it heartens exceedingly the factious party here, which are a sort of people that one would think, the Prince should not shew any countenance to; and in this affair methinks you might talk with the Prince; (though you meddle in no others) the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Brandon, and the rest of that party, being declaredly my mortal enemies. And let the Prince flatter himself as he pleases, the Duke of Monmouth will do his part, to have a push with him for the crown, if he, the Duke of Monmouth, outlive the King and me. Some posts since I wrote pretty freely to the Prince upon this subject in general, to which I have yet had no answer: However, it will become you very well to speak to him of it. I was yesterday a stag-hunting for the first time, and came hither after it; to-morrow I am to dine at Rich-

mond with the Dutcheſs, and come back with her to this place. I have no more to ſay at this time, but to aſſure you, you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can deſire.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—One conſpirator tried, and another to be tried.

St. James's, Nov. 18, 1684.

LAST night I had your's of the 21st from the Hague, where I find you intend to ſtay all this winter. It began yeſterday to freeze again, which hindered me from hunting, and it has frozen very hard again the laſt night, and I fear it will continue, the wind being got into the cold corner; and if Mr. Citters do not come ſoon away, he may chance to be frozen up there. This day one Roſwell a Presbyterian miniſter was tried, for preaching a ſeditious ſermon at a conventicle, and found guilty of high treaſon; on Friday one Hays of the ſame rebellious tribe is to be tried for correſponding with Sir Thomas Armſtrong, and furniſhing him with money; which is all I ſhall ſay now, but to aſſure you of my being kind to you as you can expect.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Believes Monmouth is in England.

St. James's, Dec. 2, 1684.

LAST night when I came from hunting I received your's of the 5th, and at the ſame time had letters of the 8th from Holland, ſo that if Mr. Citters keep his time of ſetting out from thence you mentioned in your's, he may be arrived here by this, and when he comes I ſhall know what it is you have to ſay by him. The weather has been very uncertain, but now it looks as if it would ſett into freeze. As for news, there is little returning amongſt us, all things being very quiet here; what is moſt talked on is, about the Duke of Monmouth to know where he is; 'tis believed he is here for ſeveral reaſons, beſides that he was neither in Holland nor Flanders when the laſt letters came from thence. I have been at the artillery feaſt in the city, and it's now late; ſo that I have not time to ſay any more but to aſſure you, you ſhall ſtill find me as kind to you as you can expect.

Amidst the dark and mischievous cloud of policy which the dispatches at Versailles show France had spread over England, during the reign of Charles the II^d, I was happy to see the tenderness of the friend, and the generosity of the Monarch shine athwart. From Barillon's letter of 19th July 1683, it appears that upon Lord Ruffel's condemnation, the younger Rouvigny, who was a relation to the Bedford family, and had been obliged to it for every hospitable civility in England, begged the life of his friend from Louis the XIVth; that Louis consented to write to Charles in favour of Lord Ruffel; that Barillon told Charles, Rouvigny was coming over with the letter; but that Charles with a polite inhumanity answered: "Je ne veux pas empêcher que Monsieur de Rouvigny ne vienne pas ici, mais Milord Ruffel aura le col coupé avant qu'il arrive." "I do not wish to prevent Monsieur de Rouvigny from coming here, but my lord Ruffel's head will be off before he arrives."

In the *Depot*.

Men who look into the true, because the secret sources of history to be found in the writings of the actors of the times, will generally find them filled with the animosities of their ancestors against each other, and upon that account many of those who are called prudent men, and who think themselves so, are apt to say that a veil had better be drawn over them. Yet in inquiries of this kind we shall always find, even amidst the fiercest contentions of party, a degree of private virtue on which the mind of the inquirer reposes itself with joy. The descendants of Lord Ruffel will feel pleasure in hearing that Lord Dartmouth, though of all others the most personally attached to Charles and James, and the most interested in any misfortune which could befall them, begged the life of Lord Ruffel from that sovereign whom he had offended. Strangers to these families will read it with pleasure, because it confirms one of the most pleasing of all truths, that tenderness of mind and courage go continually together. In the manuscript notes upon Bishop Burnet's history by the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state to Queen Anne, which the present Earl of Dartmouth was so good as to show me, there is the following passage.

"My father told the King, the pardoning of Lord Ruffel would lay an eternal obligation upon a very great and numerous family, and the taking his life would never be forgotten; and his father being alive it would have

Observation
on Burnet,
p. 556.

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little effect upon the rest of the family besides resentments; and certainly there was some regard due to Lord Southampton's daughter, and her children. The King answered, All that is true; but it is as true, that if I do not take his life he will soon have mine; which would admit of no reply."

The petitions of the Earl of Bedford and of Lord Russel to King Charles, for Lord Russel's life, mentioned in the Memoirs, are in these words:

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of William Earl of Bedford,

Humbly sheweth;

THAT could your Petitioner have been admitted into your presence, he would have laid himself at your royal feet in behalf of his unfortunate son, himself and his distressed and disconsolate family, to implore your royal mercy; which he never had the presumption to think could be obtained by any indirect means. But shall think himself, wife, and children, much happier to be left but with bread and water, than to lose his dear son for so foul a crime as treason against the best of Princes, for whose life he ever did, and ever shall pray more than for his own.

May God incline your Majesty's heart to the prayers of an afflicted old father, and not bring gray hairs with sorrow to my grave.

B E D F O R D.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Russell,

Most humbly sheweth;

THAT your petitioner does once more cast himself at your Majesty's feet, and implores, with all humility, your mercy and pardon, still avowing that he never had the least thought against your Majesty's life, nor any design to change the government; but humbly and sorrowfully confesses his having been present at those meetings, which he is convinced were unlawful and justly provoking to your Majesty; but being betrayed by ignorance and inadvertence, he did not decline them as he ought to have

done, for which he is truly and heartily sorry; and therefore humbly offers himself to your Majesty to be determined to live in any part of the world which you shall appoint, and never to meddle any more in the affairs of England, but as your Majesty shall be pleased to command him.

May it therefore please your Majesty,

To extend your royal favour and mercy to your petitioner, by which he will be for ever engaged to pray for your Majesty, and to devote his life to your service.

WILL. RUSSELL.

It is probable that Charles was not ignorant of a fact hinted at by Algernon Sidney, at his trial; to wit, that he had been the cause of preventing a scheme to assassinate the King in his youth. From two letters of Colbert to his own court, dated 4th, and 25th August 1670, it appears, that the French court gave information to Charles, of Sidney's being then at Paris, and desired to know how they should act with regard to him; that Lord Arlington proposed to Charles, that a pension should be given by France to Mr. Sidney, because he was in straits; and that Charles consented to it. Charles at first also agreed, that he should be at liberty to continue at Paris, but afterwards changed his mind, and desired he might be removed from it. The prescience which Charles, even in the plenitude of his power at this period, had of the consequence of this man, then an exile, and in want, is sweetly flattering to those who enjoy this our Temple of Liberty, because it shows, that the true greatness of every individual depends upon himself. Upon this head Colbert, in his letter of 4th August 1670, relates Charles's expressions with regard to Sidney, thus: "Le Roy (Charles) me dit encore, qu'il ne se soucioit pas que le dit Sidney demeurait en Paris ou Languedoc, ou en tel autre lieu qu'il lui plairoit, pourvu qu'il ne revient pas en Angleterre, ou dit il ses pernicious sentimens soutenus d'autant d'esprit et de courage qu'il en a pourroient beaucoup nuire."—"The King (Charles) said to me again, that he did not care whether the said Sidney lived in Paris, Languedoc, or any other place he pleased, provided he did not return to England, where, said he, his pernicious sentiments, supported with so great parts and courage, might do much hurt." And in Colbert's letter of 25th August 1670, he says, Charles said to him of Sidney, "qu'il etoit à propos de le laisser retourner en Languedoc, et

In the *Depos.*

In the *Depos.*

qu'il ne pouvoit être trop loin de l'Angleterre."—"That it was proper to let him return to Languedoc, and that he could not be too far from England." And in other letters I observed, that wherever Charles spoke of Sidney, he called him "un homme de cœur et d'esprit:" which may perhaps be translated "a man of heart and head."

In King William's box, there is in Lord Portland's hand-writing, the following copy of a letter from the Prince of Orange to him, concerning the Prince's having seen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon, after the Rye-house Plot.

The Prince of Orange to Monsieur Bentinck.

A la Haye, ce 7 Juillet, 1684.

"**I**L y a longtems que je ne vous ay pas importuné de mes lettres, n'ayant eu rien de bon à vous écrire sur les affaires publiques, qui ont presentement pris le chemin que vous savez, mais je ne peux me dispenser maintenant de vous donner part d'une affaire qui m'est arrivée. Il y a deux jours que Monsieur Chudleigh m'est venu dire qu'il avoit ordre du Roy, de me temoigner que sa Majesté trouvoit mauvais que j'avois veu Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth et Mylord Brandon; et après lui avoir dit mes raisons que je ne croyois pas d'avoir failli en cela, il me fait une reprimande de ce que j'avois fait faire des civilites à l'armée à Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth, d'une maniere si insolente, et m'advouant qu'il n'en avoit point d'ordre, que si je n'avois pas eu consideration pour son caractère, je ne l'aurois pas souffert comme je l'ay fait. Il en a usé à mon egard en diverses occasions fort impertinement, etant un fort sot et impertinent homme; mais je ne m'en suis pas voulu plaindre, ni aussi en ce rencontre, sachant bien qu'en cette conjoncture je n'aurois pas été écouté. J'ay creu vous en devoir seulement informer, afin que si vous le juges nécessaire, et que vous en ayez l'occasion, vous en puissiez donner connoissance à sa Majesté, comme aussi de ce que je ne crois pas d'avoir donné sujet à sa Majesté d'être mal satisfait de moy d'avoir veu Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth et Mylord Brandon. Le premier est son fils, à qui il a pardonné ce qu'il pouvoit avoir commis; et quoi qu'il l'ait fait éloigner de sa presence, je scay que dans le fond du coeur il a toujours quelque amitié pour lui, et que le Roy ne peut être fâché que je lui aye fait des civilités. Pour l'autre, il est vray qu'il

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a été dans la Tour, mais il a été mis en liberté sans qu'il n'y a rien de prouvé contre lui, à moins que je scay. Je vous assure que je ne voudrois jamais voir, bien moins donner quelque sorte de protection, à des gens qui auroit commis aucune crime contre sa Majesté. Je suis trop attaché par devoir et inclination à son service, pour lequel je n'épargnerai ni vie ni bien, dont je vous prie d'assurer sa Majesté quand vous le jugerez convenable, et ne pas trouver mauvais cette peine que je vous donne; mais l'amitié, &c.

Translation.

Complains of Chudleigh's insolence.—His reasons for seeing the Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Brandon.

Hague, 7th July, 1684.

“**I**T is a long time since I troubled you with my letters, having nothing good to write you about public affairs, which have taken the turn you know of; but I cannot help communicating to you an affair which has happened to me. Two days ago, Mr. Chudleigh came to tell me, that he had an order from the King to inform me, that his Majesty took ill my having seen the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon; and after having given him my reasons why I did not think I had been in the fault, he gave me a reprimand for the honours of war which I had caused to be paid to the Duke of Monmouth, in a manner so insolent, and at the same time owning that he had no order for it, that if I had not had consideration for his character, I would not have suffered it as I did. He has behaved, on many occasions, very impertinently with regard to me, being a very foolish and impertinent man. But I have not liked to complain of it, not even upon this occasion, knowing well that in the present conjuncture I should not have been listened to. I thought it right to inform only you of it, that if you think it necessary, and see an occasion, you may let his Majesty know of it, as also that I do not think I have given any occasion for his being dissatisfied with me for seeing the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Brandon. The first is his son, whom he has pardoned for the faults which he may have committed; and though he has removed him from his presence, I know that in the bottom of his heart, he has always some friendship for him, and that the King cannot be angry with him. With

regard to the other, it is true he has been in the Tower, but he was set at liberty without any thing having been proved against him, at least so far as I know. I assure you that I would never see, much less give any sort of protection to, people who have committed any crime against his Majesty. I am too much attached by duty and inclination to his service, to do it, for which service I will spare neither my life nor my fortune. Of which I intreat you to assure his Majesty when you think proper, and not take amiss the trouble which I now give you."

Lord Keeper Guildford describes thus the impression which the discovery of the Rye-house Plot made upon the minds of the people.

Extract from Lord Guildford's Manuscript, page 7.

"ONE observation I then made of the temper of the time: that whereas before there was never any discovery made at Whitehall, but presently there was a counter report, the witness was be-rogued, and pamphlets came daily out to outface the business; now all was as dumb as could be, all the Whigs hung down their heads, and said, If there be such villainy, in God's name let all concerned suffer for it; and there was not one seditious pamphlet came out for a good while, hardly till the Lord Russell's execution."

From Barillon's dispatches in the *Depot* at Versailles, it appears, that after the Rye-house Plot, King Charles and the Duke of York were on the very worst terms with the Prince of Orange; that they even suspected him of having encouraged that part of it in which the great men were engaged; that they refused a visit which he offered them; and that, when Van Citters was sent by the Prince of Orange in the end of the year 1684, to vindicate his conduct from the different accusations brought against it, he was received with coldness.

The following letters, in King William's box, from the Duke of York at that time to the Prince, correspond with Barillon's relations.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Much out of humour with him.

London, October 3, 1684.

I Have had your's of the 2d, and you may be sure that I shall do my part in what concerns you, but it is necessary you do your's to satisfy the King; and pray consider, whether he has had reason to be satisfied with several things you have done for some time past. I could say more to you upon this subject, but am not encouraged to do it, since I have found that you have had so little consideration for things I have said to you, which I thought of concern to our family, though you did not; which is all I have time to say at present, and shall still be as kind to you as you can expect.

Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Answers with indifference to the apology for the Prince's conduct, with which Van Citters was charged.

St. James's, Dec. 12, 1684.

YESTERDAY morning I had your's by Sir Gabriel Silvius, and last night another from you by M. Citters. He had some discourse with me about what you had charged him with; he told me he had given the King an account of it also, and I suppose will write you word what his Majesty said to him upon it, which is all I can say at present of that affair, till I have discoursed with him more upon it. I am glad to find that both you and my daughter are satisfied with Sir Gabriel, and you may be sure I will shew him what kindness I can, when any occasion offers, and have now no more to add, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect.

The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

St. James's, Dec. 26, 1684.

I Had yours of the 26th on Wednesday, and as to what M. Citters had to say here, he will have before this given you an account of it, so that I need not repeat it to you. As for news, we have had five East India ships arrived this week in the river, which is very well for our company. The last packet-boat which came from Calais, was sunk accidentally by a

Dutch ship bound for Zealand, running against her in the night; all the seamen and upwards of thirty passengers were saved by the Dutch ship, only four passengers were lost, with the two mails from France, and all the goods and eleven horses which were on board; which is all I have to say now, but to assure you, you shall still find me as kind to you as you can expect.

*The Duke of York to the Prince of Orange.—Out of humour with the Prince.—
Account of Bailey of Jerviswood's execution.*

Whitehall, Jan. 2, 1684.

I Had this night after I came from the play your's of the 9th, in which you repeat to me what was in your's of the 2d. To both which, all I can say is, that it is necessary you do your part, before you can expect the King can be satisfied with you. As for news, one Bailey of Jerviswood, one of the conspirators that was taken here, and sent to Scotland, being a Scotchman, was hanged, drawn, and quartered there last week, as being found guilty of it, by sufficient witnesses. It is so late, that I have not time to say more; and you may be sure I shall be as kind to you as you have reason to expect.

All true Englishmen were unhappy at the differences between Charles and the Prince of Orange. Among others who wrote to the Prince of Orange on this subject, Lord Godolphin took the liberty to do it.

Lord Godolphin to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his differences with King Charles.

Whitehall, April 18, 1684.

In King William's box.

IT was with abundance of joy and satisfaction that I received the honour of your Highness's letter, and the assurance you are pleased to give me, that you still preserve some remembrance of me, and some remainder of that goodness which you have expressed to me on so many occasions. I will not trouble your Highness with any compliments, knowing very well how little you care for them. But I imagine your Highness will easily believe, I am extremely and particularly sensible of our general

unhappiness from the want of that right understanding between the King and your Highness, which is so necessary for both your interests, that I should hope, and most humbly beseech your Highness, that you would never lose any occasion of endeavouring to restore yourself to that kindness and affection which the King is so naturally inclined to have for you. I dare not presume to enter into particulars, or to trouble your Highness with my reasonings upon this subject: I beg only that you will be pleased to preserve me some small place in your favourable thoughts, which I shall study to deserve on all occasions, as becomes your Highness's most obedient, humble, and most faithful servant,

S. GODOLPHIN.

The apathy of the Duke of York's character is strongly marked in the two following letters to one of his friends, on two very interesting subjects, to wit, the Earl of Argyle's condemnation, and the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters. With regard to the first he writes thus:

“Edinburgh, Dec. 13, 1681. Lord Argyle's trial began yesterday, and their forms in the justice court are so tedious, that they could not make an end of it then, but will as I believe this evening: and have reason to believe the jury will find the bill and not *ignoramus*; and that little Lord will be once again at his Majesty's mercy.

Since I wrote this, I have had an account, that the jury, of which Marquis of Montrose was Chancellor, as they call them here, have found Lord Argyle guilty of treason, and other crimes, so that he is absolutely in his Majesty's hands.”

And with regard to the Duke of Monmouth's mercy to the Covenanters, the Duke of York writes thus from Edinburgh:——“I find the generality of the best men here, much troubled at the indulgence the Duke of Monmouth got for the Fanatics here, after they had been beaten; and say it will encourage them to another rebellion.”

It is very singular, that in all the Duke of York's printed letters in this Appendix, and in above an hundred more, which are either in King

William's box, or in Doctor Morton's possession, there is scarcely one stroke either of genius or of sensibility to be found.

But while we form a judgment of James's character from intrinsic evidence, that of his own letters, let us not condemn him by the lies of party. Bishop Burnet, in giving an account of the Duke's shipwreck, in the year 1682, imputes the loss of above one hundred persons of the noblest blood in Britain, to the insensibility of the Duke of York and Lord Dartmouth; and would have it believed, that while the Duke neglected his friends, he saved his dogs and his priests.

I have fortunately copies of two letters which disprove the imputation; one of which I got from Sir Alexander Dick of Priestfield, and the other from the present Earl of Dartmouth, the grandsons of the persons who wrote the letters.

Sir James Dick of Priestfield, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, to Mr. Patrick Ellis, merchant in London.—Account of the Duke's shipwreck.

S I R,

May 9, 1682.

UPON Sunday last at eight o'clock at night, his Royal Highness and his retinue, that were alive, arrived safe here, there being a most sad disaster upon the Saturday before. At seven o'clock in the morning, the man of war called the Gloucester, Sir John Berry captain, where his Highness was, and a great retinue of noblemen and gentlemen, whereof I was one; the said ship did strike in pieces, and did wholly sink, upon the bank of sand called the Lemon and Orre, about some twelve leagues from Yarmouth. This was occasioned by the wrong calculation and ignorance of a pilot, which put us all in such consternation, that we knew not what to do, the Duke, and the whole that were with him, being all in bed when she first struck; the helm of the said ship having broke, and the man being killed by the force thereof, at the said first stroke. When the Duke had got his clothes on, he enquired how things stood, she being sunk nine feet of water in her hold, and the sea fast coming in at the gun-ports, and all the seamen and passengers were not at command, every man studying his own safety, forced the Duke to go out at the large window of the cabin, where his

little boat was ordained quietly to attend him, lest the passengers and seamen should have thronged so in upon him, as to drown the boat; which was accordingly so conveyed, as that none but Earl Winton, and the President of the Session, with two of his bed-chamber men went with him, but were forced to draw their swords to hold people off. We seeing his Highness gone, did cause tackle out with great difficulty the ship's boat, wherein the Earl Perth got in, and then I went by jumping off the shrouds into the boat; the Earl Middleton immediately after me did jump into the same upon my shoulders; withal there came the Laird of Touch, with several others, besides the seamen that were to row, which we thought a sufficient number for her loading, considering there was going such a great sea, occasioned by the wind N. E. and that we saw that at the Duke's boat there was another overwhelmed by reason of the greatness of the sea, which drowned the whole in her except two men whom we saw riding upon her keel, which they say were saved. This made us desire to be gone, but before we were aware there leapt from the shrouds about 20 or 24 seamen in upon us, which made all the spectators and us to think we were sinking; but not being able to come at, being so thronged, and all having given us over for lost, did hinder 100 more to leap in upon us. Among them that were left were my lord Roxburgh and laird Hopeton, and Mr. Littledale, Roxburgh's servant, and Dr. Levingston, and the President of sessions man; all being at the place where I jumped would not follow, since it seems they concluded more safety to stay in the vessel, than to expose themselves to any other hazard, all which persons in an instant were washed off and all drowned. There perished in this disaster above 200 persons; for I reckoned there were above 250 seamen, and I am sure there were 80 noblemen and gentlemen, their servants being excluded: my computation was we were about 330 in all, of which I cannot understand 130 to be found.

Our difficulties and hazards that were in that boat were wonderful to be all saved, for if they had not thought us all dead men I am sure there would have many more jumped into the boat above us, for we were so throng we had no room to stand; so when we were forcing ourselves off the ship, she being sinking by degrees, all the time was like to sink our boat down, and besides the waves were so boisterous that we were like to be struck in pieces upon the wreck so sinking: this was not but with great

difficulty we forced out the boat from the ship; and when we came to row to the nearest yacht the waves were such and we overloaded that we every moment thought to have been drowned; and being about mid way to the yachts, there were a great many swimming for their lives who caught all a dead gripe of our boat, holding up their heads above water crying Help; which hindrance was kept off and their hands loosed, telling them they would both lose themselves and us. This would not do to make them loose their grips; but they were forced by several in our boat, except one that took hold of me which I caused catch into the boat, lest I should have been pulled down; and when it pleased God to bring us wonderfully to one of the yacht's sides, being much less as one quarter mile distant they not daring come nearer by reason of the bank of sand upon which we were lost. And if it had not been that there had been guns shot from our ship, shewing them our distress by that sign, the other men of war that were immediately following would have come into that same disaster, but they immediately did bear off, and the four yachts came up as near as they durst, and sent off their boats to help; but all that could be done could not prevent this great loss of 200 men, as I have said.

I was in my gown and slippers lying in bed when she first struck, and escaped as I have said in that condition, when unexpectedly and wonderfully we came to the yacht's side called captain Saunders; we were like to be crushed in pieces by the yacht, which by reason of the great seas was like to run us down, till at length a rope was cast which was so managed that we came to the lee side, and there every man clam for his life, and so did I taking hold of a rope, and so made shift upon the sides till I came within men's reach, when at last I was hauled in. When I looked back I could not see one bit of the whole great ship above water, but about a Scotch ell of the staff, upon which the royal standard stood, for with her striking she came off the sand bank which was but three fathom, and her draught was 18 feet, so there was 18 fathom water on each side where she struck, for she broke in the deepest place. Now if she had continued on the three fathom, and broke in pieces there, all would have had time to save themselves; but such was the misfortune, that she wholly overwhelmed and washed all into the sea that were upon her decks expecting relief by boats which certainly would have been if she had but staid half

an hour more.—So that to conclude this melancholy account, all the above persons our countrymen that were of respect I have told.—There are of Englishmen of respect dead, my Lord Obryen, and my Lord Hyde's brother, who was lieutenant of the ship.—There are a number of noblemen and gentlemen's servants dead which I cannot name, but I hardly can speak with any but they have lost of servants either more or less. God make me thankful for this wonderful deliverance! Notwithstanding of the disasters his Highness has met with in this last sea voyage, yet he designs within five or six days with his Dutchess and lady Anne to take shipping for London.

Yesterday his royal Highness called the King's council, and there the King's will was declared for his chancellor who was president of the session, and my lord Queensberry treasurer, and my lord Perth justice general which Queensberry had before.

Earl of Dartmouth to Erasmus Lewis Esq;—Account of the Duke's shipwreck.

SIR,

Sandwell, Jan. 25, 1723-4.

THIS is only in answer to the last paragraph in yours of the 21st. My father was on board the Gloucester, but so little deserved to have the drowning of a 150 men (which the Bishop has so liberally bestowed upon him) laid chiefly to his charge, that it was in great measure owing to him, that any escaped after the ship had struck. He several times pressed the Duke, to get into the boat, who refused to do it, telling him, that if he were gone, no body would take care of the ship, which he had hopes might be saved, if she were not abandoned. But my father finding she was ready to sink, told him if he stayed any longer they should be obliged to force him out: upon which the Duke ordered a strong box to be lifted into the boat, which besides being extremely weighty, took up a good deal of time, as well as room. My father asked him with some warmth, if there was any thing in it worth a man's life. The Duke answered that there were things of so great consequence both to the King and himself that he would hazard his own rather than it should be lost. Before he went off he enquired for Lord Roxborough and Lord Obrian, but the confusion and hurry was so great that they could not be found: when the

A P P E N D I X.

Duke and as many as she would hold with safety were in the boat, my father stood with his sword drawn to hinder the crowd from oversetting of her, which I suppose was what the Bishop esteemed a fault; but the King thanked him publicly for the care he had taken of the Duke; and the Dutchess, who was not apt to favour him much upon other occasions, said upon this, that she thought herself more obliged to him than to any man in the world, and should do so, as long as she lived. I cannot guess what induced the Bishop to charge my father with the long-boat's not being sufficiently manned, for if that were true (which I much doubt) it was not under his direction, he being on board in no other capacity, but as a passenger and the Duke's servant: and I believe the reflection upon the Duke for his care of the dogs to be as ill grounded, for I remember a story (that was in every body's mouth at that time) of a struggle that happened for a plank between Sir Charles Scarborough, and the Duke's dog Mumper, which convinces me, that the dogs were left to take care of themselves (as he did) if there were any more on board, which I never heard till the Bishop's story-book was published. This is all in relation to that affair, that ever came to the knowledge of, Sir, your most faithful, humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

In the Depot. The dependance of the two royal brothers upon France was at this time so extreme, that Barillon writes, 18th July, 1683, that King Charles had thoughts of a marriage between the Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark; but that he and the Duke of York would take no resolution till they knew how far it would be agreeable to Louis; and that Lord Sunderland had proposed she should rather marry the Prince of Rhodé sur Yon, in order to tie Charles and Louis faster together.

In the Depot. France at this time meddled in almost every the most domestick affair of England. Barillon, as appears by his letters of the 10th and 28th of February, 1684, was uneasy that Lord Danby, however sunk in the capacity of hurting France, should be released from the Tower. But the Duke of York, who saw better the contempt of parliament which was implied in admitting a person to bail who had been committed by parlia-

ment, expressed himself thus: "Monsieur le Duc de York m'a dit on parlant sur cela, qu'il ne craignoit en facon du monde, que Milord Danbi fortoit, parceque ce feroit une assurance encore plus grande qu'il n'y auroit point de parlement de long temps." "The Duke of York told me, on speaking on that head, that Lord Danby's releasement could give him no fear, because it would be a still greater security that there was to be no parliament for a long time."

Barillon writes on the 13th November 1684, and 8th January 1685, In the *Depot*. that the scheme was communicated to him of reforming the Irish army, by bringing Papists into it, and making it a security for the King to truit to against his other subjects. And at an after period, to wit, on the 2d of April, 1685, he writes, that King James had given the Duke of Ormond's regiment of cavalry to Talbot (afterwards Lord Tyrconnel, and a Papist) because his brother had intended it.

Between the dissolution of Charles's last parliament and his death, Barillon's dispatches having no great political objects, are full of the intrigues of the court. They show that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, after the dissolution of the parliament, changed her conduct intirely, owed to the King she had been misled by the popular party in the affair of the exclusion, believing that it would procure quiet to the King, whereas she was now convinced that it was he who was aimed at through his brother, connected her interests with those of the Duke of York, and brought Lord Sunderland again into administration on his promise of doing the same.

I was at much pains to find out, whether there was any evidence among Barillon's dispatches of an intrigue, by the Dutchess of Portsmouth, at the end of Charles's reign, to bring the Duke of Monmouth to court at the expence of the Duke of York, who was to be sent away to Scotland; and another by Lord Halifax to bring about a reconciliation of the King with the Prince of Orange at the expence of France.

Barillon writes on the 7th of December 1684, that the Duke of York In the *Depot*. had then told him, that it was intended he should go to Scotland soon, to

hold a parliament there. He writes on the 14th and 18th December of that year, that the Duke of Monmouth was secretly in London: And a marginal note in Barillon's account of the death of King Charles hereafter to be printed says, that the King had then seen him. Barillon writes on the 8th January 1684, that Halifax was at that time at great pains to persuade the King to be reconciled to the Prince of Orange, and Duke of Monmouth. It appears from Barillon's dispatch of the 26th of July 1685, to be printed in Appendix to Part I. Book 2d, that Louis the XIVth had in the year 1684, discontinued the subsidy due to Charles by the secret treaty of the year 1681; the reason of which probably was, either because he thought he stood no longer in need of the friendship of Charles, or because he thought a reconciliation between him and the Prince of Orange impossible: and perhaps this might have irritated Charles against France, towards the end of his life. These things make it not impossible that some change was in agitation. But the evidence rather lies that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, whom Charles often duped as well as he did his ministers, was ignorant at least of that part of the intrigue which regarded the interest of the Duke of York. For on the 30th of November, 1684, Barillon writes, that the Dutchess of Portsmouth, thinking herself dying, had adjured the King to stand by his brother, and had made him swear to do so; and that Charles told this to the Duke of York, who desired Barillon to thank her. And Barillon in a letter in the next reign says, that the first visit which King James payed after his brother's death, was to the Dutchess of Portsmouth.

King Charles, two years before his death, came to know, that Louis the XIVth, in pretending to be his friend, had been intriguing against him with that part of his subjects which opposed him: and perhaps the consciousness that he was unpopular at home, distrusted by foreigners, and betrayed by that very Prince in whose cause he had suffered, brought on the melancholy which was observed in him towards the end of his reign.

The following three letters from Lord Preston, concerning the King's indignation at Falisseau, the person who had some years before been sent by the Whig party to form measures with the French court, are in Lord Preston's copy book of letters.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—King Charles refuses to receive Falisseau as Envoy, who had formerly been sent by the Whig party to the French court.

S I R,

Paris, December 16, S. N. 1682.

MONS. Spanheim, the Envoy of Brandenburg, drawing me aside yesterday, told me that he had of late been very uneasy, with the apprehension that his Majesty may have an ill opinion of him for the part which he hath seemed to have borne in the business of Monf. Falisseau, and that the great honour he hath always testified for him, and the great obligations which he hath to him, do oblige him to endeavour to justify and clear himself from having any design contrary to his service in whatever he hath done in that affair. He said, that when he was in England, the Elector, his present master, writ to him to find out a man, who would weekly give him a good account of what passed there, and that he would allow him a good pension for it. That accordingly he recommended one Mr. Eglington, who for some time continued to write; but his news being generally not very authentic, and often very stale, he was ordered to discharge him, and to find out another who might correspond more exactly and more faithfully with him. He then cast his eyes upon Monf. Falisseau, as one qualified to give the Elector satisfaction on this matter, he having also a year before recommended him to him as one capable of serving him at home. It is true, he said, that when he named him, he assured him he had known him in that employment, but that he had no dependance on any one; and that for himself, he had had no manner of habitudes or familiarity ever with any person in whose service he had been. Monf. Falisseau embracing the proposal, continued to write to Berlin for eight months entire, in which time the Elector was so well satisfied with his advices, that he wrote him word, he was resolved to make him his resident in England, so far was he from being the first mover of this thing. It could not then be imagined, he said, that he should be sent thither as an incendiary under the protection of a character, the Elector, his master, never having concerned himself in the intrigues of any court, it being also an instruction to all his ministers which he sent

In Mr. Graham's possession.

abroad, not to be of any cabals, or to countenance any factions in the court where they reside. He said more, that he found by his letters, that his Majesty would be moved again in this affair, and desired to receive the credentials of Monf. Falisseau. That the Elector was concerned at what had passed, and thought, that he not being born a subject of England, could not well be refused as a minister there, without some good cause assigned. However, he was very sure, that he being owned once one, if his Majesty had the least occasion to be dissatisfied with his conduct, upon intimation of it, he would forthwith be recalled. I answered, that I had heard what had passed concerning that person in England, but that I had not much enquired, why he was not owned as the Elector's resident; but perhaps the same reason that had obliged his Majesty to refuse him at first, might still be strong against his receiving of him now. He said, he hoped not; and that though he had no order to speak this to me, yet he was very glad of the opportunity of justifying himself in some measure in this matter to me.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Charles orders Falisseau to leave the kingdom.

S I R,

Paris, December 23, S. N. 1682.

In Mr. Graham's possession.

MONS. Spanheim took an occasion again yesterday to speak to me on the affair of Monf. Falisseau, he having received an account from England of his Majesty's last orders to him to depart the kingdom, as also the copies of the letters which passed betwixt the King and the Elector, which, I suppose, were transmitted to him from Berlin: by the favour of Mr. Blathwayte I was also advised of what had passed, and had also the copies of those letters which enabled me the better to justify the reasons which his Majesty had to do what was done. He protested much that he had no other design than what was innocent; however, he could have wished that his Majesty would not have expressed his resentment so suddenly against Falisseau, upon the receipt of the Elector's letter.

I answered, that he had more reason to be satisfied with the civility and respect which his Majesty had expressed to the Elector on the proceeding, because that whilst he bore the character of his resident, he was suffered to continue in England purely out of that consideration, though the reasons

were, at that time, as strong for sending him away as now, and was never ordered to depart the kingdom, till the Elector had, by his letter to his Majesty, declared that he had ordered him to desist from pressing to be acknowledged as his minister. He could not say much to this, but seemed to lay great blame upon the Imperial and Spanish ministers, as being the occasion of what had happened.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—On the same subject.

S I R,

Paris, February 10, S. N. 1683.

MONS. Spanheim yesterday, at Versailles, told me, that he was commanded by the Elector, his master, to acquaint me, that he was troubled, that he had given a character to Monf. Falisseau, since he was a person so unacceptable to his Majesty; if he had known that he would not have been agreeable to him, he would by no means have sent him; and he desired me to assure his Majesty of this. He said further, that his Electoral Highness was troubled and surprised at one expression in his Majesty's last letter to him, which seemed to intimate that he had held correspondence with his disaffected subjects, and given them encouragement to continue in their disobedience; and did assure me in his name, and did desire me to do the same to his Majesty, that he never had had any commerce with them, and that he had given no commission to his minister to entertain it, nor that ever he would: but that he did not think fit to answer the letter, because it might occasion new disputes, and rather hinder than promote that good intelligence which he would endeavour to have with his Majesty. Monf. Spanheim also, upon his own account, made professions of service to his Majesty, having received great obligations and favours from him. I told him, I should not fail to represent what he had told me to the King, my master, who, I doubted not, had the same desire of living well with his Electoral Highness, and that he would be ready, upon any occasion, to make it appear. You will be pleased to let me know in your next, if his Majesty will have any thing said in return to Monf. Spanheim.

In Mr. Graham's possession.

Charles was also informed by Lord Preston of the intrigues of Mr. Hampden, Mr. Montague, and Dr. Burnet, in France at this time.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Mr. Hampden recommended by Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris.

S I R,

Paris, January 20, S. N. 1683.

In Mr. Graham's possession.

I HAVE received the honour of two of yours, of January 1st, S. V. in answer to my letter concerning Mr. Hampden, and I most heartily thank you for it; you may be assured that I shall always acquaint you with any thing of consequence which comes within my knowledge, when I can ground my belief well. I own that at first sight, the circumstance of Mr. Hampden being recommended to the Archbishop of Paris is a little unaccountable; but if you will consider that there is not a more intriguing man in the world than the Archbishop, and also that he and father Le Chaise are employed under-hand to carry on all sorts of designs, as well temporal as other, by this King's ministers; and also that there can be nothing of more advantage to their religion, than to keep on foot the disputes amongst the English protestants, and the divisions in our church, for which no persons are fitter than those of Mr. Hampden's principles; you will not find it strange that he should have been addressed to him: Besides you will imagine that things of this kind being not so much avowed, yet it would be a little too plain to have given him recommendations to Mons. de Louvois or to Mons. de Colbert. Upon the whole matter, I have much reason to believe that the thing is true.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—To the same purpose.

S I R,

Paris, January 2, S. N. 1683.

In Mr. Graham's possession.

I HAVE been endeavouring for some time to trace Mr. Hampden the younger in his travels through France, Swisserland and Germany, in all which places he hath been extremely industrious to vilify and misrepresent our governors and government, both in church and state, and here in particular he hath blown up the Protestants, and given them strange impressions of the King and his ministers. At this, however, I should not have wondered much, because I know it is the principle of his family to hate their Prince, and to endeavour to ruin our monarchy. But I must

confess I am surpris'd at this, with which I shall acquaint you, and which I certainly know to be true, and can prove it by one of undoubted worth, who had it from his own mouth, which is, that he had a letter of recommendation from Mons. de Barillon to the Archbishop of Paris, and that he was at least four or five times with him during his stay here. This matter got wind amongst the Protestants, which made them entertain some suspicion of him, though before he was looked upon as one sent from Heaven to save them. He hearing of this, was forced to own that he had such a letter, but that he did not visit the Archbishop, but sent it by another hand. I must, Sir, speak the truth to you, and tell you that it is evident to him, who observeth the least, that the phanatick party is highly countenanced from hence, whatever may be pretended to the contrary; and that though the hand is at present invisible that keeps the breach open, yet in time the effect will shew its cause. I hint this, Sir, only to yourself: I confess I do not know what use you can make of it, more than that perhaps you will think fit to have an eye upon that gentleman, and that it may enable you to judge better of the proceedings of such men, who pretend to reform so very thoroughly as he and his party do, and also of their ends.

Lord Preston to the Lord M. of Hallifax:—Former intrigues of Montague, and present of Burnet with France.

M Y L O R D,

Paris, November 5, S. N. 1683.

SINCE my last to your Lordship, I had some more lights concerning Mr. Montague, and I have them from an original hand, and I dare assure your Lordship of the truth of them. He did twice, during his stay here, desire to see this King in private, and twice it was refused to him, he being told the last time, that his Most Christian Majesty did not think fit to see him at this time, when he had so good a correspondence with the King, our master, and when he, Mr. Montague, was so ill with him. When he could not obtain an audience, he then, by the same hand, desired to know, if he might not expect some money as a gratification, he having at this time occasion for it. He was denied that also, which made him make more haste away than he designed to do at his arrival here. I am told he intends to leave my Lady Northumberland at Montpellier, and to pass the winter himself in Italy; at least he pretends this. I remember

In Mr. Graham's possession.

I took particular notice of the word *gratification*, when this thing was told me, and I desired to know if that was his term which he used, and the person who told me, assured me a second time that it was. It need not be observed to your Lordship, *that gratification pre-supposeth service*. I have, since I had this account, considered why Mr. Montague should have been treated worse than Dr. Burnet, and I can only think of these reasons for it. First, he cannot be so useful at this time as the Doctor, who, if he be gone into England, may continue his former practices with the discontented party. In the next place, if Mr. Montague had had a reception, it could not have been excused so to the King, our master, as that of Dr. Burnet was by his most Christian Majesty, pretending not to know his character and circumstances. Or, perhaps, another reason might be, the present scarcity of money here, where they are begun to retrench in all sorts of expences. It is a question now often asked at this court in confidence, whether there has been really any such thing as a late conspiracy in England? Which I take to be one effect of the Doctor's late conversation here."

Two years after this, Lord Preston, in a letter to King James, dated April 28, 1685, to be printed in the Appendix to the next book, treats it as a thing known, that France had had pensioners in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles the II^d, against the interest of that prince.

Charles received yet a more mortifying stroke, for Lord Preston gave him intelligence that there had been a design in France, though afterwards stopped, to make his secret negotiations with the Dutchess of Orleans public. The circumstances of it are as follow.

It is known from English history, that Charles had been much pressed by Lord Halifax and Lord Keeper North, to call a parliament after the dissolution of his last one. In the *Depot* there is a letter from the Duke of York in Scotland, dated 27—17 November, 1681, to Barillon, lamenting and complaining, that the King, in answer to a memorial from Van Beuningen, the Dutch ambassador, had promised to call a parliament: and it appears from Barillon's dispatches, that France was alarmed with the fear of Charles's calling a parliament as well as the Duke of York. The power of discovering the original secret treaty, made at Dover in the year 1669, had given Louis a great superiority over Charles, because it

laid that Prince at his mercy. One of Barillon's letters, dated 3d July, 1680, to his own court, mentions that he had got a discretionary power to threaten Charles with that discovery, and "de regarder cet expedient comme un foudre, qu'il est bon de faire apprehender dans l'extremé necessité;" "to regard this expedient as a stroke of thunder, which it is proper to make use of in extreme necessity." I did not find in any of the papers at Versailles that the French court gave orders to make a discovery of Charles's secret negotiations with his sister. But the three following letters from Lord Preston, in Mr. Graham of Netherby's possession, make it not improbable that they did intend at, at the time when they were afraid of Charles's being persuaded to call a new parliament.

Lord Preston to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.—Abbot Primi's book about Charles's secret negotiations with the Dutcheſs of Orleans, intended to have been published by the French ministry.

S I R,

Paris, July 22, S. N. 1682.

"**L**'Abbé Primi, an Italian, having lately written, in his own language, an history of the late wars of this king, did the last week, at court, begin to present some copies of it, and amongst other persons did give one to Monſ. de Croissy; who the same day taking occasion to look upon the book, fell by chance upon that part of it, in which he speaks of the negotiations with England. He carried the book to the council, and having made a report to the King, in what manner Primi had spoken of those negotiations, he seemed to be extremely surpris'd, and his Majesty then gave order, that he should be immediately arrested and sent to the Bastile, as he then was, where he now remains, and that his papers should be seized, and all the copies of his book suppressed, which was done accordingly; but, however, some of them are dispersed abroad, though I cannot yet, by any means, get one of them to send to you, but I have obtained liberty to transcribe a passage out of it which concerns England most, which I send inclosed to you to shew his Majesty. The history of this Abbé Primi (as near as I can inform myself) is this: he came to the court some years since, upon no other account than to tell fortunes; he pretending great skill in physiognomy and palmistry, and under that pretext, he insinuated himself much into the company of the ladies, and amongst the rest, he became very particularly acquainted with Madame la Comp-

teffe de Soiffons. After some time, he thought that writing the history of this King and his actions would be a very good way of making his court; having also that prospect which others of his countrymen have, of succeeding Mons. L'Abbé Syri in his employ of historiographer in the Italian tongue, for which he hath a pension of 1000 crowns. But he having no great stock of learning, nor being well acquainted with the elegancies of his own language, became acquainted with Mons. de Rose, Secretary of the Cabinet, with Mons. d' Angeau, and with L'Abbé de Choisy, which last was to translate his history into French. These his friends, have obtained for him several gratifications from the King, which have also been given him upon account of his work. With these supplies he was enabled to make an impression of this book more than a year since, and hath shewed some parts of it to his friends, though he hath kept the first part of the history very close till he published it within these three days. Upon the first notice that I had of this book, I was resolved to have spoken to Mons. de Croissy about it, but hearing at the same time that the author was in the Bastile, and that the copies were suppressed, I resolved to say nothing till I should have the commands of the King, my master, in it. It is, I am told, reported about this town, that the King, my master, having notice of this book, sent to the King here an account of it, and also desired that the writer of it might be secured. All that I say to it is, that I do not believe the King, my master, hath yet seen or heard of the book, but that I do not doubt, but when he doth, he will demand satisfaction against the writer, finding himself so injuriously and basely treated, and so impudently abused by a false and mercenary scribbler. If the King will have any thing done in this matter, I shall be ready to obey his commands. However, I think it my duty to give you as early notice as I can of any thing which may reflect upon my master or the government, as this doth. *I am afraid this book is written with a design to disturb us, and if any thing can make some people madder than they are, this will. 'Tis said some copies are gone into England, doubtless to be reprinted there; therefore it would do well to have an eye upon the press.*

In Cypher.

Three things are very observable in this matter.

- I. *He hath had a pension upon the account of writing of history.*
- II. *He says he had memoirs from the ministers by order.*

III. *The liberty of printing the book was obtained by an extraordinary way; for the Chancellor ordered the privilege to be expedited at the request of the friends of the author, pretending never to have read it.*"

Lord Preston to the Earl of Clarendon.—To the same purpose.

My Lord,

Paris, July 20, 1682.

"I Must return your Lordship many thanks for the honour of your last.

I was very glad to find by it, that your lordship was in health, and that you continued your humble servant in your remembrance. I assure your lordship no one hath a more grateful remembrance of all your favours than I have; and no one shall be readier upon all occasions to acknowledge them. I have sent to your lordship by my brother that insolent book of Abbe Primi's, which though disavowed now, was certainly printed with the good leave of this court, but the man had the misfortune to publish it unseasonably. For it was calculated for a parliament, and so came out too soon, which obliged the ministry here to shew some resentment. And I will only desire your Lordship to peruse the licence at the end of the history, and then I will ask you, if you ever saw one more full and ample in your life. I could not get you the Italian one, but have sent you the translation, which is not near so full as the original. I could not get another in Paris; and when you have done with it, be pleased to shew it to Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

I believe it will be soon printed in Holland; it was reprinting at Geneva, and I got notice of it, and acquainted Monsieur de Croissy with it, and desired that orders might be taken to suppress it, which I hope is done."

Extract letter Lord Preston to Mr. secretary Jenkins.

Paris, December 16, 1682.

"L' Abbe Primi is lately set at liberty, and as I am very sure, hath a pension settled upon him, and a sum of ready money given him now."

The situation of King Charles was the more uneasy at the end of his reign, on account of the miserable disorder in which his domestic finances were involved. A pamphlet written by the late Mr. Carte, called *An*

Answer to the Bystander, proves to a demonstration that Charles's revenue, even though it had been managed with œconomy, was inadequate to the expences of government; and it is a very mean as well as false policy in an English parliament to starve an English King. But besides this, the careless character of King Charles, and that of many of those around him, who formed their characters on his, prevented this revenue, inadequate as it was, from going so far as it ought to have done. A Prince who depends upon his people, to be happy must be frugal.

Among Lord Keeper North's papers, in the possession of Doctor North, there is the following account, written by his Lordship, of the disorders in the management of King Charles's revenue.

An account of divers signal frauds in the conduct and disposition of the public revenues in the time of Charles the II^d, by reason of his remissness, which turned vastly to the loss of himself and the nation.—Written by Lord Keeper North.

I. In the Treasury.

It is a true saying, An empty treasury and a rich treasurer. For when there is a full Exchequer, there can be no pretences to delay payment, and there will be no extraordinary applications; all things go on even and just; and the King buys cheaper than other men, because he buys more; and if he doth not, officers may be justly named that buy for him, and are without excuse.

But when there wants money, and men croud to be payed first, give great gratuities for preference, cannot tell when they are abused, and so cannot complain, consequently they must sell dearer, and they who are entrusted to buy, having a pretence to make a bigger price than the market, do allow greater than needs and take gratuities, and presume they shall excuse themselves by want of credit.

Sir Stephen
Fox.

The guards solicit for want of pay. The gentleman who is paymaster offers, if they will allow 12d. per pound, he will save them the trouble of soliciting, and pay them punctually.

The King wants money to do it. The same person offers, if he may have good security and 8 per cent. he will supply the occasion. He bor-

rows money at 6 and 5, nay by credit of the cash is trusted with other men's running cash without interest, and so makes greater advantage than any officer in England.

Another offers to lend a great sum of money to pay off clamorous debts that lye upon the customs, so that they are anticipated for a great time, and no ready money to be expected. He finds out the creditors, and gives them his own security at time, or buys their debts beforehand. To secure him, he is made cashier of the customs, and only advanceth with one hand to receive with the other.

Richard Kent
the cashier.

The same device serves for other branches of the revenue.

Charles Dun-
comb.

The clerks and officers know what is likely to be ordered for payment of any great debt, and give out things to make it desperate, get the order revoked for that purpose, or any other way mortify the creditors, then buy the bills at one half per cent. Many times this advantage is got by intelligence only. Making of debts very bad is very profitable, for they may be bought in very cheap, and the King may be persuaded to pay them. The treasurer who knows this may find his account in it; for the leeches will pay for favour.

Gay, Lon-
des, &c.

Earl Danby,
Lonndes and
the Bertyes.

Earl of Southampton's profit lay in disposing of offices when he was treasurer. The King gives 8000 *l.* per annum in lieu of it. And afterwards the Lord treasurers have the 8000 *l.* per annum and recommend also, and it is necessary they should recommend.

Earl of South-
ampton.

Tin was at *L.* 2 : 10 per cent. an endeavour was for a pre-emption by the act; 80,000 weight of Tin was bought. But the act did not pass, then this Tin was the King's, and he was fain to sell it for loss. And before it was the King's, the coinage was stopped to make Tin dear; but that not doing it was the King's loss.

II. In the Wardrobe.

It is a way in the Wardrobe to get debts allowed as payed without vouchers by extraordinary warrant, and before the persons concerned know of it, to buy them at half price, by persuading them they are desperate. Whenever debts are vendible, the buyers procure or shew hard usage to make them cheap.

A P P E N D I X.

The Earl of Southampton Master of the Wardrobe died *L.* 30,000, in debt to several people who gave credit to the office; for he had received money to pay them. By his great merit his son gets to be pardoned all accounts, and so the heir and the lands became free. The creditors petitioned the King to be payed, but could not obtain it, because they had been already provided for by sending money to the office.

III. In Farms.

Men will be commissioners of the revenue, and manage all, that they may farm with advantage. They will take their farms in the name of beggars that the covenants to the King may be invalid.

IV. By Officers.

Old officers couzen, and then it is said to be worth while to check them by having a new officer for the purpose. And in a short time he comes into the confederacy. And then it is a new charge without benefit. Or they will say that if their salary be mended there will be no need. But when that is done, they cheat again afresh.

A man in office fit for employment begs leave to sell his office, and then is discontent for a new one, being destitute of employment.

Men will have employments who will spend more than their profit, and then make account the King owes them what they spend as for service, and therefore they must have other employments, so sea captains, ambassadors, &c.; and to oblige noblemen, governments must be made very chargeable, Jamaica, Virginia, &c.; whereas they would be better governed when cheaper.

The great offices of the butlerage and impost were paid out of the rent of the prisage duty, and perhaps *L.* 500 per annum only reserved out of which they were paid. But this *L.* 500 per annum was begged away, and they left in the lurch deservedly.

Old officers of the household are obsolete; so new officers are intrusted for personal diligence, and afterwards the place continues. Thus is the treasurer of the household and the master of the jewel house supplanted by the cofferer and by the treasurer of the chamber, &c. And diverse others

by the bed-chamber men. These changes at court and the reason of them were worth a history.

When the King is bent to put in a man for merit against the liking of his favourites, they will persuade the Prince it is better to keep the place void; there are enough besides; there needs no filling it; and so on; till they can incline the Prince to bestow it as they please.

When men cannot prevail with good natured Princes to remove commissioners, their way is to make supernumerarys so many, that of necessity they must be reduced, and upon the reducing them they in whose province it is may put out whom they please.

If a man be an enemy to the thing for the person's sake, and the Prince be for the person but will be advised of the thing; find a person grateful to the opposer, and that will allay him, and it may be make him promote it, and when he is engaged it may be turned to the old person.

Never let the merit of the person prevail to have a thing done, that ought not to be, for who set upon such projects, will never want persons of interest to press upon that score; and no stop can ever be put to such grants.

Princes should make establishments according to their own occasions, and not keep up useless charges. King James affected hunting and hawking, and had more officers relating to that than needed in another King's reign; and yet they were kept up.

If there be an invention of sheathing with lead, or nealing guns; take in partners, those who are to contract and to pay; so you may not only have fourteen years monopoly, but which is much better, the King will use it for his fleet; and although it be the worse way, or not worth the cost, the arts of court and interest will prevail.

Hales.
Sir John
Chiesly.
E. of Shaftes-
bury. Prince
Rupert. 60
per cent. 16
reduced.

Pretences to avails and fees grow insensibly to great absurdity, even against common sense; as that Woodward's shall have all windfall and dotard trees; and Farrier all incurable horses, and the like; and that whatever is presented belongs to them that wait. This discourages the giver, and the other encourageth knavery.

V. In Pensions.

All men are against keeping up useless pensions. But when they fall, one or other that hath the power to get his friend into a place, for his sake keeps up the pension.

Sir Job
Charlton.
Sir George
Jeffereys.

The Lord Chief Justice of Wales hath a pension, because he doth not practise: after him a man that hath interest, who doth practise, gets the place, and hath the pension continued, his companion being a favourite.

George Johnson gets a pension likewise, and sells the place with the pension; so the King gives a pension to be sold, and it must be continued because it is bought.

The masters of Chancery must have pensions that they may be men of worth; and they buy and sell their places; so that the pension comes but to augment the price, and mends not the quality of the office at all.

VI. By Boons and Grants.

Mr. Ellesden.

The King allowed £. 100 per annum out of the customs at Lime in Dorsetshire, for maintenance of the cobb, (that is mole) there. This was begged by Mr. Ellesden, a neighbour to the town.

Sir Robert
Holmes.

It was said that the fee farm rents of the Isle of Wight, and necessary to the government there, for the support of it, must not be sold. And the governor, Sir Robert Holmes, opposed the selling them for the sake of the government; and afterwards he begged them himself.

Sir Robert
Carr.
Sir Thomas
Chieflly.

Sir Robert Carr the chancellor of the Dutchy, begs 8 or 900 l. per annum of the Dutchy rents. Then Sir Thomas Chieflly begs all the arrears of the revenue in the name of Mr. Windham, amounting to £. 3000, so the revenue was to be let run into arrear, on purpose to be begged. He would have been farmer of the whole revenue to make it maintain the officers, and thereby have had all the casualties himself, as if the Dutchy were only to maintain the officers: Sure it were better to have the revenue annexed to the crown.

How is it possible for a Prince to be out of debt, when it is the interest of all about him to have him in debt; and when it is so natural and easy to run in debt, and when it is a crime to persuade him to be out of debt? For the parliament builds upon the needs of the Crown.

Sometimes a knave gets to be a receiver, or by some other means in the King's debt, and gets what he can, and hides: then if he be in favour, pleads inability to pay. This must presently be begged as a desperate debt, and he underhand procures it for an easy composition.

The sure way for debts to be paid, is to have such a contract, that what he (the receiver) binds himself shall be paid before tallies, and then when a debt comes to be paid, he can set it further off at pleasure. This is said to be at the custom-house.

Mr. Kent.

It has been an old trick of officers, to pretend to take no care of debts contracted before their own time, which makes applications warm, but is unjust, and destroys the Prince's credit. For the change of officers is at his pleasure, and more hazardous than life.

VII. In the Navy and Stores.

Chief commanders to the Straits, command more stores out of the store-ship than needs; the captain takes less, and the master of the stores sells the rest to the King again, and passeth his account according to bills and acquittances, and not according to actual delivery. Quære, What other ways they have to make such vast advantages?

The master of the stores, when there is great confidence with others, will give receipts for more than he actually receives, and the profit is divided. The remedy is best by shifting masters, or frequent inventories, but especially by spies that may betray them so as that they may not trust any one.

Old Mr.
Foley.

The Earl of Essex would have sold timber to the King, but the commissioners of the navy, or Sir Anthony Diar would not deal with him. But he was fain to sell it to Sir Charles Bickerstaff, who was their customer, and he sold it after to the King. The reason is plain why they will not deal with any but acquaintances.

Sir Charles
Bickerstaff.

The King's works must not be done by the great, but by the day; and reasons are found for it, that it may be dearer: and therefore they work lazily, purloin, go by the bell, and leave off at the stroke of the first found, as if there was peril in the proceeding. This is not only to the

King's loss, but prejudicial to the neighbourhood, that cannot have labourers diligent; and this charge also becomes the means of contracts by the great.

VIII. In the Public Money.

It hath been a plausible thing to have the mint go gratis, and so a great deal of money will be coined; and as a good effect of this, lists of great sums of money coined, are produced. But it is a great charge upon the government, for, by some artifice, careless coining is produced of pieces which though not equal one with the other, put together in great quantities shall answer weight. Then do the persons (not to say the goldsmiths) who brought in the bullion, take the weighty pieces and melt them down, and return them to the mint *toties quoties*, &c. whence it becomes a great policy to make the coin pay for the workmanship, and more to prevent melting, which will be practised, if money be cheaper than bullion.

The people, no question, who receive so much clipped money will endure it. But they who make this unjust profit will clamour at any such regulation. Collect then the wisdom of antiquity that went this way to work, and that forbade the taking of any clipped or counterfeit money."

In the *Depot* at Versailles, there is the following dispatch, which gives a very minute account of Charles the Second's behaviour in his last moments.

Depêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Fevrier 18, 1685.

In the *Depot*.

LA lettre que je me donne l'honneur d'écrire aujourd'hui à votre Majesté, est seulement pour lui rendre un compte exact de ce qui s'est passé de plus important à la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre. Sa maladie, qui commença le lundi 12 Fevrier au matin, recût divers changemens les jours suivans, quelquefois on le croioit hors de danger, et ensuite il arrivoit quelque accident qui faisoit juger que son mal étoit mortel; enfin le Jeudi quinziesme Fevrier sur le midi, je fus averti d'un bon endroit qu'il n'y avoit plus d'esperance, et que les medecins ne croioient pas qu'il dût passer la nuit; j'allai aussitôt après à Withal; Mr. le Duc d'York avoit donné ordre aux officiers qui gardoient la porte de l'antichambre de me laisser passer à toute heure; il étoit toujours dans la chambre du Roy son frere, et en sortoit de tems en tems pour donner les ordres sur tout ce qui se passoit dans la ville; le bruit se repandoit plusieurs fois par jour que le

Roy étoit mort: d'abord que je fus arrivé, Monsieur le Duc d'York me dit, " Les medecins croient que le Roy est en un extreme danger, je vous prie d'assurer votre maitre qu'il aura toujours en moi un serviteur fidèle et reconnoissant." Je fus jusqu'à cinq heures dans l'antichambre du Roy d'Angleterre; Monsieur le Duc d'York me fit entrer plusieurs fois dans la chambre, et me parloit de ce qui se passoit au dehors, et des assurances qu'on lui donnoit de tous costés que tout étoit fort tranquille dans la ville, et qu'il y feroit proclamé Roy au moment que le Roy son frere. feroit mort. Je sortis pendant quelque tems pour aller à l'appartement de Madame de Portsmouth; je la trouvai dans une douleur extreme; les medecins lui avoient ôté toute sorte d'esperance; cependant au lieu de me parler de sa douleur, et de la perte qu'elle étoit sur le point de faire, elle entra dans un petit cabinet, et me dit, " Monsieur l'Ambassadeur je m'en vais vous dire le plus grand secret du monde, et il iroit de ma tête si on le favoit: Le Roy d'Angleterre dans le fonds de son cœur est catholique, mais il est environné des evesques protestans, et personne ne lui dit l'état ou il est, ni ne lui parle de Dieu; je ne puis plus avec bienséance rentrer dans la chambre, outre que la Reine y est presque toujours; Monsieur le Duc d'York songe à ses affaires, et en a trop pour prendre le soin qu'il devoit de la conscience du Roy; allez lui dire, que je vous ai conjuré de l'avertir qu'il songe à ce qui se pourra faire pour sauver l'ame du Roy; il est le maitre dans la chambre; il peut faire sortir qui il voudra; ne perdez point de tems, car si on differe tant soit peu, il fera trop tard."

Je retournai à l'instant trouver Monsieur le Duc d'York; je le priai de faire semblant d'aller chez la Reine, qui étoit sortie de la chambre du Roy, et qu'on venoit de saigner parcequ'elle s'étoit évanouie: la chambre commune aux deux appartemens; je le suivis chez la Reine, et je lui dis ce que Madame de Portsmouth m'avoit dit. Il revint comme d'une profonde lethargie, et me dit, " Vous avez raison; il n'y a pas de tems à perdre; je hazarderai tout plustot que de ne pas faire mon devoir en cette occasion." Une heure après il revint me trouver, sous pretexte encore d'aller chez la Reine, et me dit, qu'il avoit parlé au Roy son frere, et qu'il l'avoit trouvé resolu de ne point prendre la cène que les evesque Protestans le pressoient de recevoir; que cela les avoit fort surpris, mais qu'il en demeureroit toujours quelques un d'eux dans sa chambre, s'il ne prenoit un

pretexte de faire fortir tout le monde, à fin de pouvoir parler au Roi son frere avec liberté, et le disposer à faire une abjuration formelle de l'hérésie, et à se confesser à un prestre Catholique.

Nous agitames divers expediens ; M. le Duc d'York proposa que je demandasse à parler au Roi son frere, pour lui dire quelque chose de secret de la part de votre Majesté, et qu'on feroit fortir tout le monde. Je m'offris à le faire ; mais je lui representai qu'outre que cela causeroit un grand bruit, il n'y auroit pas d'apparence de me faire demeurer en particulier avec le Roy d'Angleterre et lui seul, assez longtems pour ce que nous avions à faire. La pensée vint ensuite à M. le Duc d'York, de faire venir la reine, comme pour dire un dernier adieu au Roy, et lui demander pardon si elle lui avoit desobei en quelque chose ; que lui feroit aussi la même ceremonie. En fin Mr. le Duc d'York se résolut de parler au Roi son frere devant tout le monde, mais de faire ensorte que personne n'entendrait ce qu'il lui diroit, parceque cela oteroit tout soupçon, et on croiroit seulement qu'il lui parleroit d'affaires d'état, et de ce qu'il vouloit qui fût fait après sa mort ; ainsi sans autre plus grande précaution, le Duc d'York se pencha à l'oreille du Roi son frere, après avoir ordonné que personne n'approchat : j'étois dans la chambre et plus de vingt personnes à la porte qui étoit ouverte ; on n'entendoit pas ce que disoit M. le Duc d'York ; mais le Roy d'Angleterre disoit de tems en tems fort haut, *Oui, de tout mon cœur* ; il faisoit quelque fois répéter M. le Duc d'York ce qu'il disoit, parcequ'il n'entendoit pas aisément ; cela dura près d'un quart d'heure ; M. le Duc d'York sortit encore comme pour aller chez la reine, et me dit ; “ Le Roy consent que je lui fasse venir un prestre ; je n'ose faire venir aucun de ceux de la Duchesse, ils sont trop connus ; envoyez en chercher un vistement.” Je lui dis, que je le ferois de tout mon cœur, mais que je croiois que l'on perdrait trop de tems, et que je venois de voir tous les prêtres de la reine dans un cabinet proche de sa chambre. Il me dit, Vous avez raison ; il appercût en même tems le Comte de Castelmelhor qui embrassa avec chaleur la proposition que je lui fit, et se chargea de parler à la Reine ; il revint à l'instant et me dit, “ Quand je hazarderois ma tête en cecy, je le ferois avec joie, cependant je ne sçais aucun prêtre de la Reine qui entende l'Anglois, et qui le parle.” Sur cela nous résolumes d'envoyer chez le Resident de Venise chercher un prêtre Anglois ; mais parceque le tems pressoit le Comte de Castelmelhor alla ou étoient

les prêtres de la Reine, et y trouva parmi eux un prêtre Ecoſſois, nommé Hudelſton, qui ſauva le Roi d'Angleterre après la bataille de Vorcheſter, et qui a été excepté par acte du parlement de toutes les loix faites contre les Catholiques, et contre les prêtres ; on lui donna une peruque et une caſaque pour le deguiſer, et le Comte de Caſtelmelhor le conduiſit à la porte d'un appartement qui repond par un petit degré à la chambre du Roy ; M. le Duc d'York, que j'avois averti que tout étoit preſt, envoya Chiffins recevoir et conduire le Sieur Hudelſton : enſuite il dit tout haut, " Meſſieurs, le Roy veut que tout le monde ſe retire à la reſerve du Comte de Baths, et du Comte de Feversham." L'un eſt le premier des gentils-hommes de la chambre, et le ſecond étoit en ſemaine, et ſervoit actuellement. Les medecins entrerent dans un cabinet dont on ferma la porte ; et Chiffin amena le Sieur Hudelſton : M. le Duc d'York en le lui preſentant, lui dit, " Sire, voici un homme qui vous à ſauvé la vie, et qui vient à cette heure pour ſauver votre âme." Le Roy répondit, qu'il ſoit le bien venu ; enſuite il ſe confeſſa avec de grands ſentimens de devotion et de repentir. Le Comte de Caſtelmelhor avoit pris ſoin de faire inſtruire Hudelſton par un religieux Portugais Carme déchauffé, de ce qu'il avoit à dire au Roi en une telle occaſion, parceque de lui même ce n'étoit pas un grand docteur : mais M. le Duc d'York m'a dit qu'il ſ'acquitta fort bien de ſa fonction, et qu'il fit formellement promettre au Roi d'Angleterre, de ſe déclarer ouvertement Catholique ſ'il revenoit en ſanté : enſuite il recût l'abſolution, communia, et recût même l'extreme onction. Tout cela dura environ trois quarts d'heure. Chacun ſe regardoit dans l'antichambre, et perſonne ne ſe diſoit rien que des yeux et à l'oreille. La preſence de Milord Baths et de Milord Feversham, qui ſont Proteſtans, a un peu réſſuré les evesques ; cependant les femmes de la Reine, et les autres prêtres, ont vu tant d'allées et de venues, que je ne penſe pas que le ſecret puiſſe être longtems gardé.

Depuis que le Roi d'Angleterre eut communiqué, il y eut un léger amandement à ſon mal. Il eſt conſtant qu'il parloit plus intelligiblement, et qu'il avoit plus de force ; nous eſperions déjà que Dieu avoit voulu faire un miracle en le guériffant ; mais les médecins jugerent que le mal n'étoit point diminué, et que le Roy ne paſſeroit pas la nuit : cependant il paroifſoit beaucoup plus tranquille, et parloit avec plus de ſens et de connoiſſance qu'il n'avoit encore fait, depuis dix heures du ſoir juſqu' à huit heures du

Il l'avoit vu un peu auparavant en secret, et il retourna en Hollande.

matin. Il parla plusieurs fois tout haut à M. le Duc d'York avec des termes pleins de tendresse et d'amitié ; il lui recommanda deux fois Madame de Portsmouth et le Duc de Richemont ; il lui recommanda aussi tous ses autres enfans ; il ne fit aucune mention de M. le Duc de Monmouth, ni en bien ni en mal : il temoignoit souvent sa confiance en la miséricorde de Dieu. L'evesque de Baths et de Vels, qui étoit son prédicateur, faisoit quelques prières, et lui parloit de Dieu ; le Roy d'Angleterre marquoit de la tête qu'il l'entendoit : cet evesque ne s'ingera pas de lui dire rien de particulier, ni de lui proposer de faire une profession de foi ; il apprehendoit un refus, et craignoit encore plus, à ce que je crois, d'irriter M. le Duc d'York.

Le Roy d'Angleterre conserva toute la nuit une entière connoissance, et parla de toutes choses avec un grand calme ; il demanda à six heures, qu'elle heure il étoit, et dit, faites ouvrir les rideaux afin que je voye encore le jour ; il souffroit de grandes douleurs, et on le figna à sept heures dans l'opinion que cela adouciroit ses douleurs ; il commença à huit heures et demie à ne plus parler que très difficilement ; et sur les dix heures, il n'avoit plus aucune connoissance ; il mourut à midi sans aucun effort ni convulsion. Le nouveau Roi se retira à son appartement, et fut reconnu unanimement et ensuite proclamé.

J'ai cru devoir rendre un compte exacte à votre Majesté du detail de ce qui s'est passé dans cette occasion, et je m'estime bien heureux que Dieu m'ait fait la grace d'y avoir quelque part. Je suis, &c.

Translation.

Mr. Barillon to the King.—Particular account of the death of Charles the II.

February 18, 1685.

THE letter I do myself the honour to write to your Majesty to-day is only to give you an exact account of what happened, of most importance, at the death of the King of England. His illness, which began on Monday morning the 12th of February, had diverse changes the following days ; sometimes he was thought out of danger, and then something happened that made it judged his disorder was mortal ; in fine, on

Thursday 15 February about noon, I was informed from a good quarter, that there were no hopes, and that the physicians believed he could not hold out the night. I went immediately to Whitehall; the Duke of York had given orders to the officers who guarded the door of the anti-chamber to let me pass at any hour; he was continually in the King his brother's room; from time to time he came out to give orders upon what was passing in the town. The report was more than once spread that the King was dead. As soon as I arrived, the Duke of York said to me, "The physicians think the King in extream danger; I desire you to assure your master, that he shall always have in me a faithful and grateful servant." I was five hours in the King's anti-chamber. The Duke of York made me come into the bed-chamber several times, and spoke to me of what was passing without doors, and of the assurances given him from every quarter that all was very quiet in the town, and that he should be proclaimed King the moment the King his brother was dead. I went out for some time to go to the Dutchess of Portsmouth's apartment. I found her overwhelmed with grief; the physicians having taken all hopes from her: However, instead of speaking to me of her affliction and the loss she was on the point of sustaining, she went into a small closet, and said to me: "Monsieur the ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The King of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is surrounded with Protestant bishops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor speaks to him of God; I cannot with decency enter the room; besides that the Queen is almost constantly there; the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many of them, to take the care he ought of the King's conscience; go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to save the King's soul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will; lose no time, for if it is deferred ever so little, it will be too late."

I returned instantly to find the Duke of York, and begged him to make a pretence of going to the Queen, who had left the King's room, and who having fainted was just blooded. The room communicated with both apartments; I followed him to the Queen's, and told him what the Dutchess of Portsmouth said to me. He recovered himself as from a deep lethargy, and said, "You

are in the right; there is no time to lose. I will hazard all rather than not do my duty on this occasion." An hour after he returned under the same pretence of going to the Queen, and told me he had spoken to the King his brother, and found him resolved not to take the sacrament which the Protestant Bishops had pressed him to receive; that this had surprized them much, but that one or other of them would remain always in the room, if he did not find a pretence to make every body leave it; in order that he might have an opportunity of speaking to the King his brother with freedom, and disposing him to make a formal renunciation of heresy, and confess himself to a catholic priest.

We thought of various expedients. The Duke of York proposed that I should ask leave to speak to the King his brother, to tell him something in secret from your Majesty, and that every body should go out. I offered to do so, but represented to him, that besides the great rumour it would make, there was no likelihood of my being allowed to remain in private with the King of England and himself, long enough for what we had to do. The Duke of York then bethought himself of sending for the Queen, as if it had been to take her last farewell, and ask pardon of the King, if she had ever in any thing disobeyed him, who was on his part to return the same ceremony to her. At last the Duke of York resolved to speak to the King his brother in presence of the company, yet so as no person might hear what he said to him; because this would remove all suspicion, and it would be believed that he spoke to him only of affairs of state, and of what he wished to be done after his death. Thus, without any further precaution, the Duke of York stooped down to the King his brother's ear, after having ordered that no one should approach. I was in the room, and more than 20 persons at the door which was open. What the Duke of York said was not heard, but the King of England said from time to time very loud, *Yes, with all my heart*. He sometimes made the Duke of York repeat what he said, because he did not easily hear him. This lasted near a quarter of an hour. The Duke of York again went out as if he had gone to the Queen, and said to me: "The King has consented that I should bring a priest to him: but I dare not bring any of the Dutchess's, they are too well known; send and find one quickly." I told him I would do it with all my heart,

but I believed too much time would be lost; and that I had just seen all the Queen's priests in a closet near the chamber. He said, You are right: at the same time he perceived the Earl of Castlemethor, who with warmth embraced the proposal made him, and undertook to speak to the Queen; he came back in an instant and said: "Should I hazard my head, in this, I would do it with pleasure; but I do not know one of the Queen's priests who understands or speaks English." On this we resolved to send to the Venetian Resident for an English priest, but as the time pressed, the Earl of Castlemethor went where the Queen's priests were, and found amongst them one Hudelston a Scotchman who saved the King of England after the battle of Worcester, and who by act of parliament had been excepted from all the laws made against the catholics, and against the priests; they put a wig and gown on him to disguise him: and the Earl of Castlemethor conducted him to the door of an apartment that joined by a small step to the King's chamber. The Duke of York, to whom I had given notice that all was ready, sent Chiffins to receive and bring in Mr. Hudelston; soon after he said aloud: "The King wills that every body should retire, except the Earls of Bath and Feverham:" The first was Lord of the bed-chamber, and the other was in waiting. The physicians went into a closet, the door of which was immediately shut, and Chiffins brought Mr. Hudelston in. The Duke of York in presenting him, said: "Sire, here is a man who saved your life, and is now come to save your soul." The king answered, "He is welcome:" He afterwards confessed himself with the great sentiments of devotion and repentance. The Earl of Castlemethor had taken care to have Hudelston instructed by a Portuguese Monk of the barefooted Carmelites in what he had to say to the King on such an occasion; for of himself he was no great doctor; but the Duke of York told me he acquitted himself very well in his function, and that he made the King formally promise to declare himself openly a catholic, if he recovered his health. He then received absolution, the communion, and even the extreme unction; all this lasted about three quarters of an hour. In the antichamber every one looked at another; but nobody said any thing but by their eyes and in whispers: the presence of Lord Bath and Lord Feverham, who are Protestants, has satisfied the bishops a little; but the Queen's women and the other priests

saw so much going and coming, that I do not think the secret can be long kept.

He had seen him a little before in private, and the Duke returned to Holland."

After the King of England received the communion, his disorder became a little better; it is certain he spoke more intelligibly, and had more strength; we hoped that God was willing to work a miracle by restoring him; but the physicians judged his illness was not abated, and that he could not outlive the night. He nevertheless appeared much more easy, and spoke with more feeling and understanding than he had done from 10 at night to 8 in the morning. He often spoke quite aloud to the Duke of York in terms full of tenderness and friendship: he twice recommended to him the Dutchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of Richmond. He recommended to him also all his other children. He made no mention of the Duke of Monmouth, good nor bad. He often expressed his confidence in the mercy of God. The bishop of Bath and Wells, who was his chaplain, read some prayers, and spoke to him of God. The king shewed by his head that he heard him. The bishop was not officious in saying any thing particular to him, or proposing that he should make a profession of his faith; he was apprehensive of a refusal, but feared still more, as I believe, to irritate the Duke of York.

The King of England was perfectly sensible the whole night, and spoke upon all things with great calmness. At 6 o'clock in the morning he asked what hour it was, and said: "Open the curtains, that I may once more see day." He suffered great pain, and at 7 o'clock they bled him in hopes it might lessen his pain. At half an hour after 8 he began to speak with great difficulty: at 10 his senses were quite gone; and he died at noon without any struggle or convulsion. The new king retired to his apartment, was unanimously acknowledged, and then proclaimed.

I thought it my duty to give your Majesty an exact account of what passed on this occasion; and I esteem myself happy that God granted me the favour to have some part in it. I am, &c.

Notwithstanding that Charles the II^d, during more than two thirds of his reign, acted against the general inclinations of his subjects, yet he died

extremely lamented by them. It is not impossible that the following stroke of his character in the manuscript notes of the Earl of Dartmouth upon bishop Burnet's history, may account for this.

" I was told by one that was very conversant with him, that he had a constant maxim, never to fall out with any body, let the provocation be never so great. Which he said he had found great benefit by all his life. And the reason he gave for it was, that he did not know how soon it might be necessary to have them again for his best friends."

Perhaps a review of the whole of this Prince's conduct, as it appears from the papers above referred to, may show, that in Princes as well as in private persons, the common maxim is a true one, " That honesty is always the best policy."

B O O K II.

THE first conversation which King James had after his brother's death with Barillon, was a sure prognostic of his future fate. Barillon relates it as follows :

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685, Fevrier 19.

LE Roy d'Angleterre me fit hier au soir entrer dans son cabinet, et après m'avoir parlé de diverses choses de dedans qui ne sont pas de grande importance, il me dit, vous allez peut-être être surpris, mais j'espère que vous ferez de mon avis quand je vous aurai dit mes raisons. J'ai résolu de convoquer incessamment un parlement, et de l'assembler au mois de Mai. Je publierai en même tems une déclaration pour me maintenir dans la jouissances des mêmes revenus qu'avoit le Roy mon frere. Sans cette proclamation pour un parlement, je hazarderois trop de m'emparer d'abord de ce qui s'est établi pendant la vie du feu Roy : c'est un coup décisif pour moi d'entrer en possession et en jouissance ; car dans la suite, il me sera bien plus facile ou d'éloigner le parlement, ou de me maintenir par des autres voyes qui me paroistroient bien plus convenables. Beaucoup de gens diront que je me determine trop promptement à convoquer un parlement ; mais si j'attendois d'avantage, j'en perdrais tout le mérite : je connois les Anglois ; il ne faut pas leur temoigner de crainte dans les commencemens ; les gens mal intentionnés auroient formé des cabales pour demander un parlement, et se feroient attiré la faveur de la nation dont ils auroient abusé dans la suite ; je sçai bien que je trouverai encore des difficultés à surmonter ; mais j'en viendrai à bout, et me mettrai en état de reconnoître les obligations infinies que j'ai au Roi vótre maitre.

Je connois en quels embarras le feu Roy mon frere s'est jetté quand il s'est laissé ébranler à l'égard de la France : j'empêcherai bien qu'un parlement ne se mêle des affaires étrangères ; et je le separerai des que je verrai qu'ils feront paroître aucune mauvaise volonté.

C'est à vous à expliquer au Roi votre maitre ce que je vous dis, afin qu'il ne trouve pas à redire que j'aie pris si promptement une résolution si

importante, et sans le consulter, comme je le dois et le veux faire en tout; mais j'aurois gâté extrêmement mes affaires, si j'avois différé seulement de huit jours, car je serois demeuré privé des revenus que je conserve; et la moindre opposition, de la part de ceux qui auroient refusé de payer les droits, m'auroit engagé à les lever par force, au lieu que je prétendrai avoir la loy pour moi présentement; et il me sera fort aisé de réduire ceux qui voudront s'opposer à ce que je fais.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a ajouté à cela toutes sortes de protestations de reconnaissance et d'attachement pour votre Majesté; il me dit que sans son appui et sa protection, il ne pouvoit rien entreprendre de ce qu'il avoit dans l'esprit en faveur des Catholiques; qu'il savoit assez, qu'il ne seroit jamais en sûreté que la liberté de conscience pour eux ne fût entièrement établie en Angleterre; que c'est à cela à quoi il travaillera avec une entière application des qu'il y verra de la possibilité; que j'avois vu avec quelle facilité il avoit été reconnu et proclamé Roy; que le reste arrivera de la même manière en se conduisant avec fermeté et sagesse.

Je dis à sa Majesté Britannique que je ne prendrois pas le parti de répondre sur le champ à ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de me dire; que je ne pouvois jamais douter de la sincérité de ses sentimens à l'égard de votre Majesté; et que je le croiois trop habile et trop sage pour rien faire qui put altérer une liaison fondée sur tant d'expérience et de raison; que je rendrois compte à votre Majesté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit; et que quand j'y aurois pensé, je lui dirois librement mes sentimens, qui ne devoient être d'aucun poids jusques à ce que je parlasse de la part de votre Majesté; que je lui dirois cependant de moi même, et sans y penser d'avantage, que votre Majesté est en un tel état qu'elle n'a rien à desirer pour l'augmentation de sa puissance et de sa grandeur; qu'elle a donné des bornes à ses conquêtes dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu facilement les augmenter: que son amitié pour le feu Roi d'Angleterre et pour lui à qui j'avois l'honneur de parler, l'avoit engagé à soutenir leurs intérêts et ceux de la Royauté en ce pays cy; que Dieu avoit benit les desseins de votre Majesté par tout; et que j'étois assuré qu'elle auroit une joie sensible de son élévation au gouvernement de trois royaumes; que je ne doutois point que sa conduite ne fût toujours conforme à ce qu'il devoit à sa réputation, et à ses véritables intérêts, qui feront de conserver l'amitié de votre Majesté; et qu'il est juste de se rap-

porter de ses affaires pour le dedans à ce qu'il en jugera lui même. Je n'ai pas cru, sire, devoir combattre, sans y avoir pensé murement, une résolution déjà prise, et que mes raisons n'auroient pas fait changer : j'ai même estimé qu'il étoit de la dignité de votre Majesté que je ne parusse pas intimidé d'une assemblée de parlement, pour les seuls intérêts de votre Majesté, quand le Roy d'Angleterre temoigne n'en rien apprehender. Milord Rochester m'est venu trouver ce matin de la part de sa Majesté Britannique, pour m'expliquer plus au long les motifs de la convocation d'un parlement ; il a ajouté à tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit dit, que s'il n'avoit prevenu les requêtes qu'on lui alloit faire, le garde des sceaux et le Marquis d'Halifax n'auroient pas manqué de le presser d'assembler un parlement ; qu'il avoit voulu les prévenir, et faire connoître que ce qu'il fait vient de son pur mouvement ; que l'avantage présent qu'il tire de cette déclaration est de se mettre en possession du revenu qu'avoit le feu Roy d'Angleterre, aussi bien que de sa couronne ; qu'il auroit été trop à charge à votre Majesté s'il avoit été obligé de lui demander des secours aussi considérables que ceux dont il auroit eu besoin ; que ce qu'il fait ne l'exempte pas d'avoir recours à votre Majesté ; et qu'il espere qu'elle voudra bien dans les commencemens de son regne l'aider à en soutenir les poids ; que cette nouvelle obligation, jointe à tant d'autres, l'engagera encore d'avantage à ne se pas departir du chemin, qu'il a cru que le feu Roy son frere devoit tenir à l'égard de votre Majesté ; que ce sera le moyen de le faire independent du parlement, et de se mettre en état de se soutenir sans parlement, si on lui refuse la continuation des revenus dont le feu Roi jouissoit.

Milord Rochester n'a obmis aucune des raisons qu'il a cru propres à me convaincre, que votre Majesté n'hazarde rien en secourant présentement le Roi d'Angleterre d'une somme considérable ; que c'est soutenir son ouvrage et le mettre en état de ne se jamais démentir ; que pour lui, il n'a point changé de sentimens, et que son opinion étoit que le Roi son maître ne se peut bien soutenir sans l'aide et le secours de votre Majesté ; que ce seroit le laisser à la merci de son peuple, et en état d'être ruiné, si votre Majesté ne lui donnoit pas de nouvelles marques de son amitié dans une occasion si décisive ; et que de ce commencement dépendoit tout le bonheur de son maître.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James's apology to France for calling a parliament.—His aversion to parliaments.—His arbitrary views.—His zeal for Popery.—Gives a hint for money from France.

February 19, 1685.

Y^Esterday evening the King of England took me into his closet, and after having talked to me upon several home affairs of no great importance; he said, “ You may be perhaps surpris'd, but I hope you will be of my opinion when I have told you my reasons. I have resolv'd to call a parliament immediately, and to assemble it in the month of May. I shall publish at the same time a declaration that I am to maintain myself in the enjoyment of the same revenues the King my brother had. Without this proclamation for a parliament, I should hazard too much by taking possession directly of the revenue which was established during the lifetime of my deceased brother. It is a decisive stroke for me to enter into possession and enjoyment. For hereafter it will be much more easy for me either to put off the assembling of parliament, or to maintain myself by other means which may appear more convenient for me. Many people will say that I determine too hastily in calling a parliament; but if I waited longer I should lose the merit of it. I know the English; you must not shew them any fear in the beginning; the malecontents would have formed cabals to demand a parliament, and thereby have gain'd the favour of the nation, which they would afterwards have abused. I know very well that I shall yet find difficulties to surmount, but I shall get the better of them, and put myself in a condition to shew my gratitude for the infinite obligations I am under to the King your master.”

“ I know into what difficulties the deceased King my brother was thrown when he suffered himself to waver with regard to France: I will take good care to hinder parliament from meddling in foreign affairs, and will put an end to the session as soon as I see the members show any ill will.”

“ It is your part to explain to the King your master what I say to you, that he may have no cause to complain of my having taken so hastily,

so important a resolution, without consulting him as I ought to do, and will do in every thing ; but I should have hurt my affairs extremely if I had deferred it only eight days ; for I should have continued deprived of revenues which I now preserve, and the least opposition on the part of those who refused to pay the duties, would have engaged me in levying them by force : instead of which, I shall pretend now that I have the law on my side, and it will be very easy for me to reduce those who would oppose what I do."

To this the King of England added all kinds of protestations of gratitude and attachment to your Majesty ; he told me, that without your support and protection, he could undertake nothing of what he designed in favour of the Catholics ; that he knew well enough he should never be in safety, till a liberty of conscience was established firmly in their favour in England : that it was to this he was wholly to apply himself as soon as he saw a possibility ; that I had seen with what facility he had been acknowledged and proclaimed King ; and that the rest would come about in the same manner, by his conducting himself with firmness and wisdom.

I told his Britannic Majesty, I would not take upon me to make an answer upon the spot to what he had done me the honour to say to me ; that I could never doubt the sincerity of his sentiments with regard to your Majesty, and believed him too wise and too able to do any thing which might alter an union founded on so much experience and reason ; that I would give your Majesty an account of what he had said, and when I had thought upon it, would tell him my sentiments freely, which ought to be of no weight till I spoke to him on your Majesty's part ; that I could, however, tell him of myself, without thinking more of it, that your Majesty is in such a situation, as to have nothing to desire for the augmentation of your power and grandeur ; that you had put limits to your conquests at a time, when you might easily have augmented them ; that your friendship for the deceased King of England, and for him to whom I had the honour to speak, had engaged you to support their interests and those of monarchy in this country ; that God had blessed your Majesty's designs every where, and I was assured you would feel a sensible joy at his elevation to the government of three kingdoms ; that I doubted not but his

conduct would always be conformable to what he owed to his reputation, and to his real interests, which were to preserve your Majesty's friendship; and that it was just he should act with regard to the interior affairs of his kingdom as he should judge proper himself. I did not think myself, Sire, obliged to dispute without mature deliberation, a resolution already taken, and which my arguments would not have altered: I even esteemed it for your Majesty's dignity, that I should not appear intimidated by a meeting of parliament, on account of your Majesty's interests alone, when the King of England shewed so little apprehension of his own.

Lord Rochester came to me this morning from his Britannick Majesty, to explain more at large his motives for calling a parliament; he added, to what the King of England had said, that if he had not prevented the requests which would have been made to him, the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Marquis of Halifax would not have failed to press him to assemble a parliament; that his intention was to prevent them, and shew that what he did was of his own free motion; that the present advantage he means to draw from this declaration is, to put himself in possession of the revenue which the late King had, as well as of his crown; that it would have been chargeable to your Majesty, if he had been obliged to ask of you such considerable supplies as those he would have had occasion for; that what he does, does not however exempt him from having recourse to your Majesty; and he hoped, that in the beginning of his reign your Majesty would help him to support the weight of it; and that this fresh obligation, joined to many others, would engage him still more not to depart from the road which he used to think the deceased King, his brother, should have kept with regard to your Majesty: that this will be the means to make him independant of parliament, and to put him in a condition of supporting himself without parliament, if they should refuse him the continuation of the revenues which the deceased King enjoyed.

Lord Rochester omitted none of the arguments which he thought would convince me, that your Majesty hazarded nothing in supporting the King of England at present with a considerable sum of money; that it is supporting the work of this Prince, and putting it out of his power ever to swerve from it; that as for himself, he had not changed his sentiments, and his opinion was, that the King, his Master, could not support himself without your Majesty's

aid and supplies ; that it would leave him to the mercy of his people, and in a condition of being ruined, if your Majesty did not give him new marks of your friendship in so decisive a conjuncture ; and that from this beginning depended all his master's good fortune."

Such were the views of James. Louis, on his part again, prepared to make the same use of that Prince which he had made of his brother, and by the same means. For without waiting for James's hints for money, mentioned in this letter of the 19th of February, he had, as soon as he heard of the death of Charles, ordered money to be remitted to Barillon, for the service of King James. What effect that produced in the court of England will be seen in the following dispatch.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685, Fevrier 26.

In the Depot.

"JE recûs avant hier la dépêche de votre Majesté du 20 de ce mois, par le retour du courrier que j'avois dépêché; j'allai à l'instant trouver le Roi d'Angleterre; je lui donnai la lettre de la main de votre Majesté, qu'il eût la bonté de me faire lire; il me parut recevoir avec une entière sensibilité les temoignages de l'amitié de votre Majesté; je crus n'en devoir pas faire à deux fois, et ne pas différer à l'informer du soin que votre Majesté avoit eu, d'assembler en si peu de tems des lettres de change pour la somme de cinq cent mille livres, et de me les envoyer à fin que j'en puisse faire l'usage qui conviendrait à son service. Ce Prince fût extrêmement surpris, et me dit, les larmes aux yeux, " Il n'appartient qu'au Roi votre maître d'agir d'une maniere si noble et si pleine de bonté pour moi; je vous avoue, que je suis plus sensible à ce qu'il fait en cela, qu'à tout ce qui peut arriver dans la suite de ma vie; car je vois clairement le fonds de son cœur, et combien il a envie que mes affaires prosperent; il a été au devant de ce que je pouvois desirer, et à prévenu mes besoins; je ne saurois jamais reconnoître assez un tel procédé; temoignez lui ma reconnoissance, et soiez garant de l'attachement que j'aurai tout ma vie pour lui."

Je ne saurois, Sire, exprimer quelle joie eût ce Prince de voir une si prompte et si solide marque de l'amitié de votre Majesté, et la promptitude avec laquelle votre Majesté avoit envoyé une somme aussi considerable. Je lui dis, que pour ne rien dérober à ce qu'il devoit à votre Ma-

jesté, je lui avouerois franchement, que dans le trouble où je me trouvois au moment de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, je n'avois songé qu'à dépêcher un courrier pour en informer votre Majesté, et que je ne lui avois pas représenté combien il importoit de lui envoyer un prompt secours ; que si en cela j'avois fait un manquement, il étoit bien réparé par ce que votre Majesté a fait. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'interrompit, et dit, qu'il ne pouvoit assez admirer la prevoyance de votre Majesté, et le soin de lui donner si promptement une marque si essentielle de son amitié ; que votre Majesté n'y feroit point trompée ; et qu'il se souviendrait de ce qu'elle faisoit pour lui affermir la couronne sur sa tête.

Des que je fus sorti, il s'enferma avec milord Rochester, milord Sunderland, et milord Godolphin, et leur conta ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majesté, en des termes qui ajoutent encore à ceux dont il s'étoit servi avec moi. Ils vinrent l'un après l'autre me dire à l'oreille que j'avois donné la vie au Roi leur maître, et que quoi qu'il se tint assuré de l'amitié de votre Majesté, cette dernière preuve, donnée si à propos, l'obligeoit au delà de tout ce qu'on pouvoit croire.

Je m'attendois bien, que ce que votre Majesté a fait, produiroit un bon effet, mais je ne croiois pas en recevoir tant de témoignages de reconnaissance, et je vois par là, que peut-être avoit on voulu inspirer au Roi d'Angleterre quelque crainte que votre Majesté ne feroit pas de grands efforts pour le soutenir. Je dis pourtant cela de moi même, car j'ai vu dans tous les discours de sa Majesté Britannique une grande confiance en l'amitié de votre Majesté.

Je dois lui rendre compte de ce qui s'étoit passé la veille ; j'eus une conférence avec les trois ministres. Milord Rochester, comme président du conseil, m'expliqua en peu de mots ce qu'ils avoient chargé du Roy leur maître de me dire, qui se terminoit à représenter à votre Majesté le besoin de ses affaires, et combien il lui importoit d'être secouru dans le commencement de son regne.

Milord Rochester entra ensuite dans la discussion de traité fait avec le feu Roy d'Angleterre ; nous convinmes de tout, même de ce qui restoit pour le parfait paiement des trois années de subside échues. Milord Ro-

chester dit qu'il y avoit eu toujours entre lui et moi un differend sur le compte, en ce qu'il s'étoit attendu, et avoit cru, que votre Majesté donneroit deux millions par an, pendant trois ans ; qu'il étoit vrai que j'avois dit de mon côté, que je n'avois jamais en pouvoir de promettre que quinze cent mille livres pour chacune des deux derniers années ; que cette difficulté n'avoit pas été terminée ; et que l'on n'avoit pas même parlé de la quatrième année, qui est presqu' échüe, parcequ'on ne prevoyoit pas que votre Majesté eut voulu discontinuer un subside au feu Roy d'Angleterre, dont, la conduite en tout étoit si agréable à votre Majesté, et s'étoit si peu démentie en toutes occasions. Je répondis à cela, que je ne prendrois pas le parti de rien contester sur des matieres de fait, à moins qu'elles ne fussent entiere-ment constantes ; que je n'avois pu excéder mes pouvoirs, et que je ne l'avois pas fait, ainsi qu'il n'y avoit qu'à se tenir à ce que dont nous etions convenus ; et que je ne laisserois pas de représenter à votre Majesté tout ce qui s'étoit dit par eux, afin qu'elle vit ce qu'elle jugeroit convenable à son service, et au bien des affaires du Roy d'Angleterre.

Milord Rochester finit en disant, nous n'avons jamais eu de contestation, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur et moi ; car comme ce que le Roy son maitre a fourni, étoit une gratification sans conditions, je n'étois pas en droit de disputer sur le plus ou le moins ; je crois pourtant, que ce que nous avons fait ensemble a été pour le service des deux Roys, et que l'un et l'autre ne s'en sont pas mal trouvés : il ajouta que son sentiment étoit de traiter encore de la même maniere, et d'établir une confiance et une liaison pareille à celle qui a déjà si bien reussi. Je convins de ce qu'il avoit avancé ; j'y ajoutai que quoique le feu Roi d'Angleterre ne se fût pas obligé formellement à renoncer à son traité avec l'Espagne, il avoit néanmoins tenu sur cela la conduite qu'on en devoit attendre ; que le Roy d'àpresent étoit encore plus libre ; et qu'il n'étoit en aucune façon du monde obligé à ce traité, de l'exécution du quel le Roy son frere avoit jugé être suffisamment dispensé. Les trois ministres convinrent de ce que je disois, et me dirent, que le Roy leur maitre se tenoit entierement degagé de l'obligation, ou étoit entré le feu Roy, quelque legere qu'elle fut.

Je promis d'écrire à votre Majesté efficacement pour favoriser la demande, que devoit faire milord Churchill à votre Majesté, d'un secours present et considerable. Nous eumes hier une autre conference par ordre de

sa Majesté Britannique, mais il ne fût plus question de rien de ce qui avoit été traité dans la précédente. Les ministres s'efforcèrent, l'un après l'autre, à me faire entendre, qu'ils ne croioient plus devoir ni capituler ni discuter les interets du Roy leur maitre avec moi ; que votre Majesté les avoit mis en état de ne rien dire ; et qu'un procédé si franc et si genereux de sa part avoit obligé le Roy leur maitre à leur donner ordre de me temoigner sa reconnaissance, et de me prier de la représenter à votre Majesté telle qu'il la ressent ; que milord Chercheil n'avoit autre charge que de remercier votre Majesté, et que pour le surplus, on se remettoit à ce que je connoissois de l'état des affaires pour porter votre Majesté à faire ce qu'il lui plairoit, jugeant que l'on ne devoit rien demander à un Prince qui a prévenu ce qu'on pouvoit attendre de lui.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me parla hier plusieurs fois, et me dit, qu'il est pénétré de reconnaissance, et qu'il se croit en état de ne rien craindre, étant assuré comme il l'est de l'amitié de votre Majesté. Je me suis peut être trop étendu sur tout cela, mais il est, ce me semble à propos, que votre Majesté connoisse combien sa Majesté Britannique et ses ministres ont été sensibles à ce que votre Majesté a fait. Je n'ai point encore donné d'argent, il faut quelques jours pour l'échéance des lettres de change, dont on ne veut pas même que je presse trop le payement, pour ne pas faire soupçonner à la bourse ce qui se passe ; ainsi je recevrai encore des ordres de votre Majesté, avant que je sois en état de faire aucun payement considerable. Il ne me paroît pas même qu'on ait aucune inquietude icy de toucher de l'argent ; on se fie tellement à votre Majesté, que l'on croit l'argent aussi bien chez moi que s'il étoit à Withal. Je suis peutêtre trompé, mais je ne pense pas que votre Majesté puisse rien faire qui lui soit de plus grande utilité pour l'avenir, que d'avoir prévenu ce que l'on pouvoit desirer en une occasion si importante.

Sa Majesté Britannique me dit encore hier au soir. "Je ne regarde pas l'état ou je suis, mais l'état ou je pouvois être. Tout est paisible en Angleterre et en Ecosse ; mais le Roy votre maitre m'a secouru dans un tems qu'il ne pouvoit savoir s'il y auroit une sedition à Londres, et si je n'en serois pas chassé."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Monsieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Louis sends James 500,000 livres.—James receives it with tears in his eyes.—The joy of Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin.—Churchill sent to France to ask more money.

February 26, 1685.

“**I** Received the day before yesterday your Majesty’s dispatch of the 20th of this month by the return of the courier I sent. I went that instant to wait on the King of England. I gave him the letter of your Majesty’s hand, which he was so good as to make me read: he seemed to receive your Majesty’s testimonies of friendship with the greatest sensibility. I thought I could not delay informing him of your Majesty’s care in getting in so short a time, bills of exchange for the sum of five hundred thousand livres, and sending them to me, in order to my making such use of them as should be most conducive to his service. This Prince was extremely surprized, and said with tears in his eyes, “It is the part of the King your master alone, to act in a manner so noble, and so full of goodness to me. I own to you that I feel more sensibly what he has done in this, than any thing that may happen to me in the course of my life: for I plainly see the bottom of his heart, and how desirous he is that my affairs may prosper. He has even outrun what I could possibly wish, and has prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge such a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and be my pledge for the attachment I shall for ever have to him.”

I cannot, Sire, express what joy this Prince had to see so speedy and so solid a proof of your Majesty’s friendship, and the readiness with which you had sent so considerable a sum. I told him that not to detract from what he owed to your Majesty, I would frankly own to him, that in the trouble I was in at the time of the deceased King of England’s death, I had thought of nothing further than dispatching a courier to inform your Majesty of it; and that I had not represented how much it imported to send him a speedy supply; and if in this I had been guilty of a neglect, it was well repaired by what your Majesty had done. The King of England interrupted me, and said, he could not sufficiently admire your Majesty’s foresight and care in giving him so speedily such an essential mark of your

friendship; that your Majesty should not be deceived, and that he would remember what you had done to fix the crown upon his head.

As soon as I was gone, he shut himself up with the Lords Rochester, Sunderland and Godolphin, and informed them of what I had told him on the part of your Majesty in terms which added still to those which he had used to me: they came to me one after the other to whisper in my ear, that I had given life to the King their master; and that though he had assured himself of your Majesty's friendship, this last proof of it given so apropos, obliged him beyond all that could be believed.

I expected that what your Majesty has done would produce a good effect, but could not believe I should receive so many testimonies of gratitude; and I see by it that people were willing to have created a fear in the King of England that your Majesty would not make any great efforts to support him: I say this, however, of myself; for I have seen, from all the discourses of his Britannick Majesty, a great confidence in your Majesty's friendship.

I must give your Majesty an account of what passed in the evening: I had a conference with the three ministers: Lord Rochester, as President of the council, explained to me in few words what they had in charge from the King their master to say to me, which ended in representing the necessity of his affairs, and how much it imported him to receive supplies in the beginning of his reign.

Lord Rochester then entered into the discussion of the treaty made with the deceased King of England. We agreed on every thing, even as to what remained for the complete payment of the three last years subsidy. Lord Rochester said, there had always been a difference between him and me in accounting. Because he always expected and believed that your Majesty would give two millions a year during three years; that it was true I had always said on my side that I had never had a power to promise more than fifteen hundred thousand livres for each of the two last years; that this difficulty had not been ended; and that they had not even spoken of the fourth year which was now almost elapsed, because they did not foresee that your Majesty would have discontinued the deceased King of

England's subsidy, whose conduct upon the whole was so agreeable to your Majesty, and been so uniform on all occasions. To this I answered, that I could not take upon me to dispute any thing on matters of fact, unless they were quite plain; that I could not exceed my powers, and had not done it, so that we could only keep to what was agreed on; and that I should not fail to represent to your Majesty all that they had said, to the end you might judge what was convenient for your service, and the advantage of the King of England's affairs.

Lord Rochester finished by saying, The ambassador and I never had a contest; for as what the King his master gave was a gratification without conditions, I had no right to dispute upon the *more* or *less*; I believe however that what we did together has been for the service of the two Kings, and that neither the one nor the other has been the worse for it. He added, it was his opinion still to treat in the same manner, and to establish a confidence and union similar to that which had already succeeded so well. I agreed in what he advanced: and added, that though the deceased King of England was not formally obliged to renounce his treaty with Spain, he had nevertheless preserved that conduct with regard to it which could have been expected; that the present King was still more free from the treaty with Spain, and not in any shape obliged to a treaty, from the execution of which even the King his brother thought himself sufficiently dispensed. The three ministers agreed to what I said, and told me that the King their master held himself entirely disengaged from the obligation, however light it was, which the deceased King had entered into.

I promised to write effectually to your Majesty to favour the demand Lord Churchill is to make of a present and considerable supply. We had yesterday another conference by his Britannick Majesty's orders, but there was nothing more said on what was treated of in the preceding one; the ministers strove one after another to make me understand that they did not think it their duty to capitulate, or discuss the interests of the King their master with me; that your Majesty had put it out of their power to say any thing; and that a proceeding so frank and so generous on your part had obliged the King their master to give them orders to assure me of his gratitude, and to beg me to represent it to your Majesty

such as he feels it; that Lord Churchill had no other charge than to thank your Majesty; and for any thing further, they appealed to what I knew of the state of affairs to induce your Majesty to do what you shall please, judging that they ought not to ask any thing from a Prince who had prevented what they might have expected from him.

The King of England spoke to me several times yesterday and said, that he is penetrated with gratitude, and that he believes he has nothing to fear, being assured as he is of your Majesty's friendship. I have perhaps too much enlarged upon all this, but it appeared necessary that your Majesty should know how much his Britannick Majesty and his ministers have been sensible of what you have done. I have not yet given any money. It will be some days before the bills of exchange become due, the payment of which they would not have me press too much, lest a suspicion should arise upon Change of what is passing; so that I may still receive your Majesty's orders again before I can make any considerable payment; it does not even appear that they have any uneasiness here about the money. They confide so much in your Majesty that they believe the money as safe with me as at Whitehall; I may be deceived, but I do not think your Majesty could have done any thing of greater use to you for the future, than having prevented what they might have desired on so important an occasion.

His Britannick Majesty said again to me yesterday in the evening, I don't regard the state in which I am at present, but the state in which I may be. All is peaceable in England and Scotland; but the King your Master helped me at a time when it could not be known if there might not be a sedition in London, and whether I should not be driven out of it."

Upon the death of King Charles, the Prince of Orange endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between King James and himself, and for this purpose sent over Monsieur Overkerque from Holland, and wrote himself to the King's minister the Lord High Treasurer Rochester to intreat his good offices. James received his advances with the same insincerity with which he suspected they were made.

In the *Depot*.

Barillon writes on the 26th of February 1684-5, that it having been said the Prince of Orange was to wait upon the King to vindicate himself, the King told Barillon that he would receive the visit, if the Prince asked leave to make it: Barillon adds; "Il y entre un peu de plaisir, que sa Majesté Britannique prendra de voir ce Prince réduit à se soumettre." "There enters into the matter a little pleasure, which his Britannick Majesty will take to see the Prince reduced to submission."

In the *Depot*.

On the first March 1684-5, Barillon writes that James, on making an apology to him for having written to the Prince of Orange upon the death of King Charles, used these words: "Qu'il lui avoit écrit deux lignes de sa main, pour lui donner simplement part de la nouvelle, sans y ajouter aucune autre temoignage ny d' amitié ny de bienveillance." "That he had written him two lines with his hand, merely to inform him of the news, without adding any other testimony either of friendship or good will." The letter of notification is in King William's box, and confirms Barillon's relation. It is in the following words.

James the II^d, to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the death of King Charles.

Whitehall, February 6, 1685.

"I Have only time to tell you, that it has pleased God Almighty, to take out of this world, the King my brother. You will from others have an account of what distemper he died of, and that all the usual ceremonies were performed this day in proclaiming me King in the city, and other parts. I must end, which I do, with assuring you, you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

In the *Depot*.

On the 8th of March 1685, Barillon writes to his court, that James told him he was obliged to preserve appearances with the Prince of Orange, in order to prevent the popular party from finding a head, and to make them believe the Prince and he were united; but that the King added, he knew the Prince too well to be deceived by him.

The following dispatch gives a particular account of what passed between King James, and Monsieur Overkirk when the Prince sent him to England.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Mars 1, 1685.

J' Arrive de Whithall : le Roy d' Angleterre m'a mené ce soir dans son cabinet, et m'a dit que le Sieur Ouerkerque lui avoit fait demander une audience particuliere un peu avant son souper ; que l' ayant admis, il lui avoit dit, M. le Prince d' Orange non seulement se repentoit de sa conduite auprès du feu Roy d' Angleterre, mais qu'il reconnoissoit de bonne foi les fautes qu'il avoit commises envers sa Majesté Britannique à présent régnante ; qu'il fera tout ce que sera en son pouvoir pour les reparer, et pour meriter ses bonnes grâces par une soumission entiere à ses volontés, et un attachement sincère à ses intérêts ; et qu'il suivroit ponctuellement ce qui lui seroit prescrit. Le Roy d' Angleterre m'a dit que sa réponse avoit été, qu'il verroit toujours avec plaisir M. le Prince d' Orange dans son devoir et temoigner un véritable repentir du passé, mais qu'il ne pouvoit admettre ses soumissions, ni croire les protestations qu'on lui feroit de sa part sincere, si sa soumission n' étoit entiere et sans exception ; que le feu Roy d' Angleterre et lui avoient établi une liaison avec votre Majesté à laquelle M. le Prince d' Orange avoit toujours été opposé, et que s'il vouloit changer de sentimens à l' egard du dedans de l' Angleterre, il falloit le faire aussi à l' egard de votre Majesté, et tenir une conduite differente de celle qu'il a tenue depuis longtems à son egard ; que ce premier pas étoit d' une absolue nécessité, afin qu'il put ajouter quelque foi à ce qui lui seroit dit de la part de M. le Prince d' Orange."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James refuses to receive the submissions of the Prince of Orange, unless he shall connect himself with France.

March 1, 1685.

I Am just come from Whitehall : the King of England took me this evening into his closet, and told me that Mr. Overkerque had asked a private audience of him a little before supper ; that having admitted him, he said, that the Prince of Orange not only repented of his conduct to the deceased King of England, but sincerely acknowledged the

faults he had committed towards his Britannick Majesty now reigning; that he would do all in his power to make reparation, and to merit his good graces by an entire submission to his will, and a sincere attachment to his interests; and would follow punctually what should be prescribed to him. The King of England told me his answer was, that it would always give him pleasure to see the Prince of Orange in his duty, and shew a true repentance of what was passed; but he could not admit his submissions, nor believe the protestations made on his part to be sincere, if his submission was not complete, and without exception; that the deceased King of England and himself had maintained an union with your Majesty, which the Prince of Orange had always opposed; and if he inclined to change his sentiments with regard to the home affairs of England, he must also do it with regard to your Majesty, and observe a different conduct from that which he had held for a long time past with regard to you; that this first step was absolutely necessary in order to his being able to give any credit to what might be said on the Prince of Orange's part."

In the Depot.

Barillon writes to his court on the 5th and 19th of March, 1685, that James had desired of Overkirk that the Prince should remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and his adherents from the British regiments in the Dutch service, and had renewed his application for the Prince's attaching himself to France; that the Prince had consented to the two first articles, but had avoided giving an answer upon the last. Part of this relation is also confirmed by the following letters from the King and his Queen to the Prince, in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is pleased with the concessions which the Prince has made.

Whitehall, March 6, 1685.

"**T**HIS day, just before dinner, as I came from seeing one of the regiments of guards in Hyde Park, I received your's of the 11th, with which, and what M. Overkerk said to me since, I am fully satisfied, and shall rely upon the assurance you gave me in your letter, and what he said to me from you, which has had all the effect with me you can desire. It is now very late, and I have had so much business all this day, till now,

that I have not time to say all I intended; and as to the proposing some officers to you, in the place of those you have turned out, by the next I shall recommend some to you, and shall soon dispatch Skelton into Holland to you, in the room of Mr. Chudleigh; and you may be sure, that so long as you keep those measures with me which you profess, of which I make no doubt, you shall find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

"I Would not let this bearer, Mons. Overkerke, return back to you, without writing to you by him, and assuring you, at the same time, that it shall not be my fault if we do not continue upon very good terms. He can give you so true an account of all things here, I having informed him the best I can of affairs here, so that I need say no more now, but to assure you, you shall ever find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 17, 1685.

"WHAT you have written to me lately, and the assurances you have given by Mons. Overkerk, have so fully satisfied me, that I have ordered this bearer, Mr. Skelton, (whom I send to succeed Mr. Chudleigh) to assure it you from me, and hope, for the time to come, the same confidence will be established between us, as our near relation and the good of our family requires. What else I have to say, I refer to him, to whom you may give entire belief, and have charged him also to let you know what measures I intend to take as to affairs abroad, that there may be no mistakes, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

"THE line you sent me by Mr. Overke, and the compliments he made me from you were so obliging, that I know not how to thank you half enough for it, but I hope you believe that all the marks you give me of your friendship are very agreeable to me, and so must desire the conti-

A P P E N D I X.

nuance of it, which I am sure I shall always deserve from you; for nothing can ever alter me from being, with all sincerity, and without compliments, truly yours,

M. R.

Pray follow my example, and write to me without any ceremony, for it is not to be minded between such friends as we are."

In King William's box there are the two following answers from Lord Rochester to the letters which the Prince of Orange had written him concerning his desire to be reconciled to the King. The first is without date, but must have been written before the other, because he receives the Prince's advances with a distance, as to particulars, which, perhaps, was decent in the prime minister of another Prince. The other enforces the King's desire of having Monmouth removed from Holland.

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.

"C'EST avec bien de la joye que je viens de recevoir de la part de votre Altesse des marques de son resouvenir, et c'est avec toute le soumission imaginable que je luy rends très humbles graces de l'honneur qu'elle me fait de m'honorer de ses commandemens, et de toute la bonté qu'elle temoigne y avoir pour moy. Je puis assûrer votre Altesse, qu'elle ne se trompera point, en me faisant l'honneur de croire, que je ne manqueray point a mon devoir en tout ce qui sera de son service; tous mes souhaits ne tendants à rien plus dans ce monde, que de voir votre Altesse aussi bien dans l'esprit du Roy qu'il convient à une personne si etroitement unie à sa Majesté par naissance et par alliance; à quoi j'espère voir de si grands acheminements depuis peu, que je ne puis douter d'un bon et heureux succès. Et je crois ne devoir pas celer à votre Altesse qu'elle a en ses mains propres, toute ce qu'elle demande; ne vous trompes en vous faisant accroire que vous pouvez avoir besoin de mes services, ou que mes pauvres soins puissent être utiles pour un ouvrage de si grand importance. Permettez moi de vous dire que votre Altesse ne doit pas avoir besoin, et par conséquent ne veut avoir, d'entremetteur auprès du Roy, et que la forte inclination que votre Altesse temoigne pour faire ce que le Roy attend de vous, et la bonté que sa Majesté a toujours eu a votre égard, ne peuvent manquer de vous combler de joye et de contentement; dans laquelle personne au monde n'aura

plus de part, que celui qui avec toute sorte de soumission demande l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, et qui sera toute sa vie un de vos plus obéissans et plus zelés serviteurs.

ROCHESTER."

Translation.

Earl of Rochester to the Prince of Orange, written soon after the death of Charles.—In answer to one asking his good offices with King James.—General assurances of zeal for his service.

"IT is with much joy that I have received marks of your Highness's remembrance, and it is with all the submission imaginable that I give you most humble thanks for the honour which you have done me of honouring me with your commands, and for all the goodness which you shew to me in your letter. I can assure your Highness, that you will not deceive yourself in doing me the honour to believe, that I will never fail in my duty in every thing that will be for your service; all my wishes tending to nothing more in this world, than to see your Highness as well in the favour of the King, as is proper for a person so strictly united to his Majesty by birth and by alliance, to which, I hope, I see such great approaches, within this little time, that I cannot doubt of a good and happy success. And I think I ought not to conceal from your Highness, that you have in your own hands every thing you can ask. Be not deceived in believing that you can have need of my services, or that my poor cares can be useful in a work of so great importance. Permit me to say, that your Highness ought not to have need of, and consequently cannot wish to have a mediator between you and the King, and that the strong inclination which your Highness shews to do what the King expects of you, and the goodness which his Majesty has always had with regard to you, cannot fail to fill you with joy and contentment: in which nobody in the world will have a greater share, than he, who with all sort of submission, asks the honour of your good graces, and who will be all his life one of your most obedient and zealous servants."

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Advises him to remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland.

“**I** GIVE your Highness most humble thanks for the favourable expressions you are pleased to use towards me, in two letters of the 10th and 13th instant, that your Highness hath lately honoured me with, and since you are pleased to encourage me in the freedom with which I spoke to *Monf. d’Overkirke* and writ to your Highness, I think it agreeable to your mind, as well as to your service that I should continue it; and therefore I beg leave to say this to you, as a thing that I cannot but think the King would take well of you, though I have not his orders to say so much; and it is in relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who is said to be always very near the Hague, if not in it: upon which I would offer you this in short, that as it cannot be for your Highness’s service that it should be imagined he is there with your privy, so it may be presumed, that considering the authority your Highness hath, and the good intelligence you cannot be supposed to want, that he can be there, and your Highness not know it. I hope your Highness will not be offended with me for stating the matter in this manner, which I may do the better, because I do not suspect your Highness is privy to his being there; but then, methinks, your Highness might let every body see, that if you knew he were so near you, it would be very disagreeable to you; the consequence of which would be, that he could not stay long there. I do not believe the King hath the intention of driving him from country to country, and to make all places uneasy to him; but, on the other hand, it is not at all necessary, nor in truth decent, considering the circumstances he hath put himself in, that he should be hovering just over against England, and as it were always in a readiness to transport himself. Your Highness may be pleased to make the best use you think fit of this humble advice that I presume to offer you; it is only for yourself I mention it, and I am the rather induced to it by your own commands to me, to advertise your Highness of any thing that I think you might do that would be agreeable to the King, and by an expression in your own letter to me, that you do not love to do things by halves; and so I leave it to your Highness’s judgment with all the submission that I owe.

Whitehall, April the 14th, 1685.”

These letters from James and Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange, were soon followed by the King's recalling the Prince's favourite Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney) from Holland, where he commanded the British troops in the Dutch service, and had been envoy from England; and by the appointment of Mr. Skellton to be envoy there. It appears from Barillon's letter to his court 29th March 1685, that Skellton had orders from James to act in concert with d'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, and from others of Barillon's letters, that Skellton was always ready to irritate James against the Prince of Orange. The Prince therefore remonstrated against both measures, but afterwards submitted. A copy of his letter to King James on this subject is in his box, as follows.

In the Depot.

Prince of Orange to James the Second.

A Fortlandyck, ce 25 Juin, 1685.

“ JE n'aurois pas manqué d'avoir répondu à la lettre que votre Majesté m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire par le dernier ordinaire, si Monsieur de Sidney n'avoit été sur son départ. Je ne puis dissimuler à votre Majesté que j'aurois fort souhaité qu'elle eu trouvé bon de l'avoir laissé icy; puisque je la puis assurer, qu'il n'a jamais eu de ministre en ce pais qui y a mieux réussi, et qui lui a rendu de plus fidels services; il est impossible aussi qu'il y aye personne qui soit plus zélé pour son service, dequoi je puis répondre; et ce sont là les raisons qui me le font fort regretter et tous les honnetes gens du pais; et qui m'ont obligé à luy donner le regiment de feu Mr. le Comte d'Offeri, et le commandement des troupes en chef des sujets de votre Majesté qui sont en ce service, messieurs les Etats n'ayant point trouvé bon en ce tems de paix de disposer de la charge de general, dequoi Monsieur Sidney informera plus particulièrement votre Majesté, et de ce qui s'est passé en cette affaire; ne doutant pas qu'elle n'approuve le choix que j'ay fait, puisqu'asseurement je n'aurois peu trouver personne qui lui auroit été plus fidele, ni plus attaché à ses interets: de quoy j'ose demeurer guarand. Je supplie votre Majesté de ne point trouver mauvais que je luy represente de nouveau, le tort qu'elle feroit à ses interets en ce pais si elle y envoie Monsieur Skelton. Je n'ay rien contre sa personne, et même veux croire qu'on luy a fait tort de quoy on l'accusé: mais c'est un chose que l'on n'otera jamais icy des esprits des gens, et j'ai encore d'autres raisons, surquoy je me suis expliqué au long, en un lettre que j'ay écrit l'ordinaire passé à

In King William's box.

milord Hyde, laquelle sans doute il aura communiqué à votre Majesté : ainsi j'espère qu'elle ne me voudra point donner cette mortification, d'envoyer ici quelqu'un avec lequel je ne pouvois point vivre en bonne intelligence : cela n'empêchera pourtant pas que je ne tâche à servir votre Majesté avec la même ardeur et application que j'ay toujours fait : et il n'y a rien qui puisse arriver, qui me fasse changer l'inclination fixe et l'attachement que j'ay pour ses intérêts : et je serois l'homme du monde le plus malheureux si elle n'en étoit entièrement persuadé, et qu'elle n'eut la bonté de me continuer un peu de part en ses bonnes grâces ; puisque je ferai jusqu'au dernier soupir de ma vie, avec plus de zèle et de fidélité que qui que ce soit de

Votre Majesté, &c."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to James the Second. Remonstrates against recalling Sidney, and sending Skelton as envoy to Holland.

Fortlaerdyke, June 25th, 1685.

"I Would not have failed to have answered the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write me by last post, if Mr. Sidney had not been going away. I cannot dissemble with your Majesty that I could have wished your Majesty had thought proper to have left him here ; since I can assure you that there never was a minister in this country who succeeded better, or who did you more faithful services ; it is also impossible that any person can be more zealous for your service, for which I can answer. And these are the reasons which made me and all the honest people of this country regret him, and which have obliged me to give him the regiment of the deceased Earl of Ossery, and the command in chief of your Majesty's subjects in this service, the States not having thought proper in this time of peace, to dispose of the charge of General, of which Mr. Sidney will inform your Majesty more particularly, and of what has passed here upon that affair. I doubt not your Majesty will approve of the choice I have made, since assuredly I could not have found a person who would have been more faithful to your interests, for which I will remain his pledge. I intreat your Majesty not to take it amiss, that I represent to you anew the hurt you will do your interest in this country, if you send Mr. Skelton to it. I have nothing to say against his person, and am even inclined to believe

they did him wrong in what he was accused of, but it is a thing that never can be removed from the imaginations of people here; and I have besides other reasons, upon which I explained myself at large, in a letter which I wrote last post to my Lord Hyde, which, without doubt, he will have communicated to your Majesty; so that I hope you will not mortify me so far, as to send any one here with whom I cannot live in good intelligence. That, however, will not prevent me from endeavouring to serve your Majesty with the same ardour and application which I have always done, and nothing can happen which can make me change the fixed inclination and attachment which I have for your interests; and I should be the most unhappy man in the world if you was not persuaded of it, and should not have the goodness to continue me a little in your good graces, since I shall be, to the last breath of my life, with more zeal and fidelity than any one can be, Your Majesty's, &c.

The following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange during the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, are in King William's box.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Warns him of Monmouth's intention to rebel.

St. James's, April 28, 1685.

I Received yours, of the 30th, by the last post, but had not time to let you know it on Friday last; and by letters, which came over by the same packet, have it confirmed to me, that some of the fugitive rebels, which have lurked long in Holland, have had a meeting with the Duke of Monmouth there very privately, and have some design in hand on Scotland, or elsewhere, and that they have bought arms, and are sending them by the way of Amsterdam, for the West Highlands of Scotland, with an intention of making a raising there; but of this Skelton will give you a further account; and this day I spake to the ambassadors here about the rebels and fugitives that are there, that they may be sent away out of the country, according to what is stipulated in the treaty, which, I hope, you will get done, it being very necessary to have those turbulent traitors driven out of Holland, which is all I have to say now, but to assure you, I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, May 5, 1685.

I SEE by the last letter I had from you from Loo, of the 9th of this month, that you were to go very soon to the Hague. I hope that the ships which were to have sailed from the Texel, with cannon, arms and ammunition for Scotland, have been stopped by your's, or the States orders, before they got out, or that some vessels I have sent that way may have met them; you see how busy and restless that rebellious party are. I hear that Lord Argyle is already gone for Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth has designed to go either after him, or come over hither into England, in a short time, to make, if he can, some disturbance; but I am preparing for him and the other in both kingdoms. I have reason to believe that the Duke of Monmouth is still in Holland, either at Rotterdam or Amsterdam. The parliament in Scotland have settled the Excise and Customs upon the crown for ever: 'tis a good beginning. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you, you shall always find me very kind to you.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that Argyle's ships have escaped.

May 12, 1685.

ON Saturday last I had yours of the 15th, by which I see the orders were given for sending those fugitives out of your country, and I make no doubt but that you will do your part to have it well put in execution, you seeing how necessary it is it should be done. I see, by the same letters, how vexed you are, that the three ships, laden with arms and ammunition, from Amsterdam, got out to sea, notwithstanding the orders you had given to stop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains still in Holland, as it is reported. I have sent all the necessary orders both into Scotland and Ireland, in case they land there, and for England, I suppose, they will hardly think of doing it. As for other matters, all things continue very quiet here; and the parliament being so near, I have so much business upon my hands, that I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as you can desire.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, May 19, 1685.

I HAVE now two of yours to answer, the one of the 22^d, the other of the 25th, and do easily believe if you had been at the Hague, the Lord Argyle, with his three ships, had not got out; and see, by the same letter, that what I had desired of the States, concerning my fugitive subjects, was ordered, which I take as kindly as can be desired, and as you say, I am sure you will look to its being well executed. Lord Treasurer shewed me the paper you mentioned in yours of the 25th: I believe the intelligence is true, and the rather, because yesterday I had letters from Scotland that gave me an account of Lord Argyle's having been at the Isle of Orkney, in his way towards the west of Scotland, or north of Ireland: he sailed from those isles the 8th, old stile, so that I expect every day to hear of his being landed. I have reason to believe the phanatick party have a design to rise if they can in some part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here; I am taking the best care I can to prevent it; and now you see how little trust is to be given to what the Duke of Monmouth says. The parliament meet this day, the Lords were all sworn, the Commons chose their Speaker, I approved him, but it will be Friday before they can enter upon any business, for till then they will hardly have made an end of swearing and taking the test. I have not time to say more, but to assure you, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desires three Scotch regiments to be sent to Scotland.

Whitehall, May 22, 1685.

YOU will hear from others how well the parliament have behaved themselves this day, after I spoke to them, so that I need not repeat it. This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunstaffnage, in the shire of Lorne, in the west Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the interest he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe he will get a good number of disaffected men together; and though

I make no doubt, by God's help, that the rebels will soon be mastered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worst, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propose to you, the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your service, to be sent over into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the sooner it is done, the more reason I shall have to take it very kindly of you. What else I have to say I must refer to him, not having time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Refuses to accept the Prince's offer to go to Scotland with the Scotch regiments.

Whitehall, June 2, 1685.

LAST night I had yours of the 5th, by which I see you had received mine, in which I desired you to lend me the three Scots regiments to be sent to Scotland, and was the next day to propose it to the States, which, I hope, by the next, to hear they have agreed to; for though I have reason to believe, that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet such a body of old good men as those three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take very kindly of you what you offer concerning yourself; but besides that you cannot be spared from where you are, this rebellion of Argyle is not considerable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you, as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourself. The last letters I had from Scotland were of the 28th, which gave me an account that Argyle was in Kintire, and had summoned all his men to come thither to him on the 26th; so that I am apt to believe, that if some of the frigates I sent for that coast have not got thither by that time, that he is by this landed in Ayre or Galloway, or some of the western shires, which is the only thing he has to do; but the parliament having done so well, and all things being so quiet here, will discourage all the rebels wheresoever they are. My daughter, the Princess of Denmark, was this day brought to bed of a girl. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Argyle's motions.

Whitehall, June 5, 1685.

ON Wednesday night I received yours of the 9th, by which I see how much I am obliged to you and the States, for lending me the three Scotch regiments, which I shall always acknowledge to be a very great obligation. I ordered immediately a man of war from the Downs to make the best of her way to see if she could get time enough to the mouth of the Maese to convoy them to Leith. As for the rebels in Scotland, by letters I had from thence yesterday morning, of the 31st, from Edinburgh, and the 30th from Aire, from Lord Dumbarton, I heard, that Argyle was making a show to land at Largs in Cunningham, which is about twenty miles from Glasgow, and that Lord Dumbarton was marching thither with the troops he had with him; but I am apt to believe it is but a feint, and that Argyle only does it to draw Lord Dumbarton as far as he can from Galloway, and then go with all the men he has thither in his ships and boats, by which means he may get thither four or five days at least before Dumbarton can be with him, and increase his numbers with the common people of that country, which are most of them of his mind; and this sure is the best party he can take, if some of my frigates be not there time enough to hinder him. I expect this night, or to-morrow to hear more from thence, and very soon what is become of the Duke of Monmouth, and the ship he bought at Amsterdam. All things are, God be thanked, very quiet here, and the several countries seem very ready to draw together and oppose him wheresoever he land. Yesterday, a letter from Poole in Dorsetshire, for an officer of the customhouse, informed, that a frigate of mine on that coast had taken a vessel with four or five thousand arms in it; but hearing nothing more of it this day, I doubt the truth of it. My daughter, the Princess of Denmark, was taken ill this morning, having had vapours, and other accidents which sometimes trouble women in her condition, which frightened us at first; but now, God be thanked, our fears are over: she took some ordinary remedies, and has slept after them most of this afternoon and evening, and is in a very good way; which is all I shall say to you now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—Account of Argyle and Monmouth.

Whitehall, June 12, 1685.

I Have received your's of the 15th, in which you give me an account of your having seen the Scotch regiments. I thank you for the care you took of appointing a convoy for them, though I believe, the frigate I sent for the same purpose, got to the mouth of the Maese before they were ready to sail. I do not hear any thing of the Duke of Monmouth since he sailed from the Texel; if he be gone through the channel for Scotland, some of my frigates, that I have sent that way, may chance to light on him; if he had designed to have landed any where in the West of England, as some thought he intended, as the winds have been since he sailed, I must have heard of it; so that I think he must be gone for Scotland, through St. George's Channel, or intends to land somewhere in Cheshire, or Lancashire, where I have taken the best care I can to hinder his doing much harm. From Scotland I had news, that Argyle, instead of landing at Largs on the main, was gone to the Isle of Bute, and that three of my frigates were come to the road before Aire on the 5th; and that within two or three days they designed to attack Argyle's ships, of which I expect very soon an account, and believe, he, Lord Argyle, will be in an ill condition before Monmouth get up to join him. All things, God be thanked, continue very quiet here. I thought to have said more, but have not now time to do it, and assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

James the Second to the Prince of Orange.—The Duke of Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 15, 1685.

THOUGH the Duke of Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on Thursday evening, I got not notice of it till Saturday morning; he found nobody in the town, I mean of the militia, and so possessed himself of it: besides the ship he was in himself, there came with him two other ships of about one hundred ton each; and by what I have been yet informed of, I do not hear he brought on shore with him above two hundred men, since which several of the common sort of people have flocked in to him, who he has armed, having brought with him great store, and by a spy I had lately amongst them, they give out they are three thousand, but he tells me they are not half so strong, and that then there was never a gentleman came in to him, but one Trenchard that I had sent to seize

some days before Monmouth's landing, and had got away, and was one of the late conspiracy with him, and had got out upon the Habeas Corpus act. The militia of the neighbouring countrys are by this got together, and marching to him, and I have sent down nine companies of foot, four troops of horse, two of dragoons, which are all to be at Salisbury by to-morrow night, with seven small field-pieces, to march forward if occasion be. There has been some little fighting already between the rebels and some of the Dorsetshire militia, at a place called Bridport, some three miles from Lyme, into which quarter, some two hundred foot, and one hundred horse of the rebels fell, and at first killed one Mr. Strangavais, and another gentleman, and took two or three more; but more help coming to the militia, they beat back the rebels, killed some, and took five, with several arms they flung away in their hasty retreat. This happened on Saturday, and every moment I expect to hear of some more action, and in a few days I hope to send you a good account of this affair. He now takes upon him to be King, as you will see by the declaration he has put out, which by order of the Lords was burnt by the hands of the hangman. Sure there was never a more lying, malicious paper than that. I was this day at the parliament in my robes, to pass two money bills, two private ones, and another for attainting of the Duke of Monmouth, and I hope, in a few days he will not be in a very good condition. I have not time to say any more, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire. I had forgot to tell you I had received yours of the 19th."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desires the three English regiments to be sent over, because Monmouth is advancing.

Whitehall, June 17, 1685.

"WHEN I wrote to you yesterday, I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth shut up within Lyme, but by the fault of those of Devonshire or Somersetshire, he has opened his way towards Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increase his numbers; and though with those troops I have raised, and am raising, I make no doubt of mastering him in some small time, yet to make all sure, I desire you to lend me the three English regiments that are in your service,

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R

A P P E N D I X.

and they may be sent over with all possible speed. I have charged Mr. Skellton to speak to you at large upon this affair, and so shall say no more but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's motions.

Whitehall, June 19, 1685.

"THE rebels, by the fault of the country militia, have opened their way to Taunton, where their numbers will no doubt increase. It was last night, as I am informed, before the Duke of Monmouth got thither. The Lord Churchill with some of my horse and dragoons, with the militia of Dorsetshire, were to join the Duke of Albemarle with his Devonshire men to follow the rebels to-morrow. I intend to send Lord Feversham with three battalions of the foot guards, one hundred and fifty of the horse guards, sixty grenadiers on horseback, two troops of horse, and two of dragoons, to march towards the rebels. I am raising store of horse and foot, and men come in very fast, and the nobility and gentry are very zealous for my service; and offer me to raise me men enough, they being very sensible, that they design nothing less than their destruction, as well as that of the monarchy; but by God's assistance, I make no doubt in some time to put an end to this rebellion. I have not time to say more at present, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, June 23, 1685.

"THE Holland letters are not yet come, but the wind being now good, expect them every hour. As for news, the Gazette will tell you all that was here till it came out, concerning the Duke of Monmouth, who was then at Taunton; but by letters I had this morning from the Duke of Albemarle from Wellington, I hear, that he, the Duke of Monmouth, was marched from Taunton to Bridgewater, and so intended to continue his march towards Bristol, where, I believe, he will find good resistance, for by this, Lord Feversham, with the horse and dragoons with him, may be either at Bristol or the Bath, as he pleases, and will have with him several of the militia troops, who when alone do not do well, but will make a good show and fight, when they have old troops to show them the way.

Lord Churchill will be up with Lord Feversham within a day or two, and then there will be likelihood of some action, which I make no doubt, by God's blessing, will be for my advantage. In the mean time I am getting what troops I can together here, to be in a good posture. The Duke of Monmouth now has taken upon him the title of King, and signs as I do, and wrote the other day to the Duke of Albemarle to persuade him to lay down his arms and submit to him; which not being done, the Duke of Monmouth caused him to be proclaimed a traitor to him. As to the particulars of Argyle's being taken, you can see it in this printed paper, sent from hence, by which the rebellion in that country will soon have an end. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you, I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Declines accepting the Prince's offer to come over to England.

London, June 30, 1685.

"TWO days since I had yours by Monsieur Bentinke, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with, and I take very kindly from you all the offers you made me by him, and I make no doubt, but by God's help, your sending me the three regiments I desired of you (the three Scotch being arrived this day at Gravesend) to put a speedy end to this rebellion. As to your coming over, which he told me you were ready to do, if there were any necessity of it, I do not at all think it proper at this time for our common interest, it being as necessary for you to stay in Holland at this conjuncture, to keep all things well there, as it is for me to stay here in London. I have discoursed at large with M. Bentink upon this subject, who will also give you an account of it. However, I take it as kindly from you as if you had come, and am as sensible as you can desire, of what you have already done. As for news, Lord Feversham followed the rebels the day after they marched from before Bath, and being advanced with some command of foot, and some of his horse and dragoons, found the rebels at a place called Phillipsnorton. He sent his foot on to see how they were posted, and what could be done upon them; who found the rebels very well posted in a very strong ground, not to be forced, with so few men; and so drew up before them, and hindered their march, and when the rest of his men came up to him, thought it not fit to engage, and

went to Bradford, which was not far off, to refresh his men, who were very much harassed, having marched nine days without any rest. In this small occasion, the Duke of Grafton, who went on with, and commanded the detachment of foot, had like to have been cut off by a party of the rebels' horse, who came out to fall into his flank, but were charged and beaten by the grenadiers on horseback, and Mathews, that commanded the rebels' horse, killed by Lieutenant Vaughan. Of my men only seven or eight were killed, and some twenty wounded; not one officer had any harm, and but one volunteer killed. I have not time to say more, but assure you, shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Much pleased with the regiments sent by the Prince.—Monmouth retreats.

Whitehall, July 3, 1685.

"I Received on Wednesday your's of the 6th, by which I see the English regiments were to be embarked by the beginning of this week, and must again thank you for them, and if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I saw this morning, I shall be doubly pleased; for as to these I have seen, there cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleased with them than I am, and must again thank you for them. They quarter this night in Southwark, and are to march to-morrow for Houndslow, and so forwards, as I shall have news of the rebels' motion. I heard yesterday they had been at Wells, which they had sufficiently plundered, church and all, and were marching to Gasenberry, I believe in their way to Bridgewater, to get near the sea-side there, having a mind as I believe to speak with his ship somewhere thereabouts; but it will be ill fortune if some of my ships do not light on her, for I have two, I caused fit out at Bristol, going to look out for her that way, and others which are going about the Land's end after her. I have not heard from Lord Feversham this day, but believe he marched yesterday from Frome after the rebels; he did not march after them the day before to be sure which way they bent, he being to cover Bristol, and to see they give him not the slip this way; if they go west, he will press them hard. They, the rebels, desert apace; which is all I shall say now but to assure you, I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth defeated.

Whitehall, July 7, 1685.

“ I Am sure it will please you very well to hear that it has pleased God, to give my troops good success against the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had summoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feversham marched on Sunday last from Somerton to a village called Weston, which is within some two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troupes, which consisted of about two thousand foot, in six battalions, and some seven hundred horse and dragoons, and eighteen small field pieces: the Earl of Pembroke with some horse and foot, of the militia were quartered in a village behind him, having not tents, to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himself at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horse, and came on with that great order and silence, that our parties which were out to see if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced straight on to our camp, hoping to surprise them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within pistol shot of our foot. Our horse in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being so covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebels horse, which consisted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the first charge, but did not pursue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great resistance, but at last were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken. How many were slain of them was not then known, nor how many prisoners: just now I have heard again from Lord Feversham, of last night ten o'clock, in which he gives me an account that he was master of Bridgwater, that what horse of the rebels which escaped, had taken their way towards Bristol, that he had sent two parties of horse, the one to Canham and the other to Bradford, to see to intercept them; that as to the Duke of Monmouth, he believed he got off only with forty horse. I have reason to believe now that the countries will rise upon them, so that he will have

difficulty enough to get away. Lord Feversham has left some men in Bridgwater, and is marched to Wells, where he is to be this night: 'tis so late that I can say no more, but to assure you you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth taken.

Whitehall, July 10, 1685.

"**I**N my last I told you how lord Feversham had totally defeated the Duke of Monmouth. Now I can tell you that it hath pleased God to let the Duke be taken; he and lord Grey, so soon as their horse were beaten, went away and left their foot; and some hours after, with two others, put themselves in disguise, and went as far as their horses would carry them towards Poole; when they were tired, they quitted them, and endeavoured to get on foot to the sea-side; but lord Lumley, with some of the Suffex militia, had the good fortune to take them both, the lord Grey on the 7th, and the Duke of Monmouth on the 8th, with a Brandenburgher, that was with them, whose name I do not yet know. I have ordered them to be brought up hither under a strong guard; which is all I have time to say to you now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—His interviews with Monmouth and lord Grey.

Whitehall, July 14, 1685.

"**I** Have had yours of the 17th, and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two first desired very earnestly to speak with me, as having things of importance to say to me, which they did, but did not answer my expectation, in what they said to me: the Duke of Monmouth seemed more concerned and desirous to live, and did behave himself not so well as I expected, nor so as one ought to have expected, from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have signed the warrant for his execution to-morrow. For lord Grey, he appeared more resolute and ingenious, and never so much as once asked for his life: his execution cannot be so soon, by reason of some forms which are requisite to be complied with. 'Tis so late that I have not

time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Monmouth's execution.

Whitehall, July 17, 1685.

"I Find by yours of the 21st, that you had heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very solicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one, who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wednesday on the Tower-hill. He died resolutely, and a downright enthusiast. Mr. Bentick will be soon with you, who will be able to inform you of all the particulars, which are too long for a letter; Richard Goodenough is taken in Devonshire, they are in hopes to have Farguson also, so that few of the chief rebels are escaped. I have not time to say more, and be assured I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices that the rebellion is ended.

Whitehall, July 19, 1685.

"THE kind message you sent to the King by Mr. Bentinck, and your good wishes, I believe brought us good luck, for God be thanked here is an end of all troubles, and in such a manner as that we may hope never to see the like again as long as we live. I have desired this bearer to give you a thousand thanks for all the marks you give me of your friendship, both by him, and in your letter. I am extremely pleased with it; and desire nothing more than the continuance of it, of which I will not doubt, being resolved to show myself upon all occasions, truly and sincerely yours."

M. R.

For my son, the Prince of Orange.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Lords Brandon and Stamford seized.

Whitehall, July 24, 1685.

"I Had this evening yours of the 27th, and certainly you are very much in the right, in what you say concerning the late Duke of Monmouth. I have now made further discovery, and have sent this evening lord Stamford to

the Tower, and have ordered lord Brandon to be taken up and sent thither also. I was yesterday at Houndslow to see some six thousand men were there. It is so late that I have not time to say more, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

In the *Depot*.

Notwithstanding these smooth letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, Barillon writes to his court 21st of May, 1685, that the King complained to him that the Prince of Orange had permitted lord Argyle to fail. On the 7th of May he writes, that the King said he was to keep on fair terms with the Prince only till the session of parliament should be over; and at an after period near the time of the revolution he writes, that the King told him, it was very lucky there had been no occasion for trying the fidelity of the regiments which the Prince of Orange had sent over in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; for that most of the officers were disaffected.

Lord Dartmouth's manuscript-note on page 631, Vol. 1, of Bishop Burnet's history, is in these words: "Fletcher told me he had good grounds to suspect, that the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition, with design to ruin the Duke of Monmouth." The authority is high. Fletcher was in a situation to know, and he was incapable of lying.

The effect of the King's suspicion soon appeared in his insisting to appoint the commander of the six British regiments in the Dutch service, in the place of Mr. Sidney, whom he had recalled. At first he proposed that lord Pembroke should have the command. The Prince consented; but the appointment did not take place. Afterwards the King recommended lord Carlingford, a Roman catholic. But the Prince positively refused his consent, and the King yielded in his turn.

The correspondence on this subject is in King William's box, as follows.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Proposes Lord Pembroke to command the British troops in the Dutch service.

Whitehall, July 29, 1685.

"I Have spoken my mind so freely to this bearer Mr. Bentick, and so fully instructed him of all things here, that I need say little to you by him. Richard Goodenough is brought hither, and confirms very exactly

what the late Duke of Monmouth and Lord Gray have said : I have not spoken to him yet, but I am to examine him myself to-morrow. I need not say more to you now, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

I have charged this bearer to make a proposal to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, who considering all things I think very fit for the command I propose to you."

James the III to the Prince of Orange.—Presses for Lord Pembroke's command.—Is to make a camp at Hounslow.

Whitehall, August 10, 1685.

"I Had not time the last post to let you know that I had received yours of the 6th from Dieren, by which I am glad to see you were so satisfied with what Mr. Bentick had said to you from me, and shall not alter from it. As to what you desire to have concerning some authentick proofs against some in Amsterdam, at present I can say no more than the note I gave Mr. Bentick has informed you, but now when the trials come on of several of the rebels, shall see what further light can be got. As to what concerns lord Pembroke's affairs which I recommended to you so earnestly, I hope that if you press the States to it, they will agree to it, especially when you may tell them no pension will be desired, now in time of peace; and for a regiment, that as I keep Canon here, he lord Pembroke may have it. 'Tis true he has seen no service, he is a stout, ingenious, and industrious man, and one on whom I can entirely rely, and so will be sure to propose none, nor recommend any to you, but such as are truly loyal, which is of great consequence to me; for as they are yet composed, there are some officers, and many soldiers, were better out than in those regiments; and besides that, he has really served me eminently well in this last affair, against the Duke of Monmouth; all which considerations will I hope prevail with you, to do your part to get it done, and then sure the States will not be against it. As for news, all things continue very quiet here, and are like to continue so, though the republican and presbyterian party are as willing as ever to rebel, only want an opportunity. I shall have most of my new foot at Hounslow by the next week, where I intend they shall all camp, for some time; which is all I have to say, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

*James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for Lord Pembroke's affair.
—Commends the appearance of the troops encamped at Hounslow.*

Windfor, August 25, 1685.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 27th, by which I am very glad to find you do agree to what I propos'd to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, and thank you very kindly for doing it, and shall send to advertise him of it, that he may make what haste he can over to you, to thank you for your kindneses to him. As for the names of any of the magistrates of Amsterdam, when I can get any authentic proofs against them, I shall let you have it, which, I fear, will be hard to be got, though 'tis certain some of them knew of the Duke of Monmouth's design. On Saturday last I saw some of my troops at Hounslow, they consisted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other seven new raised regiments; of horse there were twenty squadrons, and one of grenadiers on horseback, and one of dragoons, and really the new troops of both sorts were in very good order, and the horses very well mounted: I was glad that the Marechal d'Humieres saw them, for several reasons. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.

Prince of Orange to Mons. Bentinck.

In King William's box.

“ J E suis en un extreme embarras de ce que le Roy à trouvé bon de me nommer le Comte de Carlingford pour commander les six regimens de ses sujets qui sont en ce service icy, puis qu'il n'y a rien au monde que je desire plus que de satisfaire sa Majesté en tout ce qui pourroit dependre de moy. Mais comme le dit Comte est Catholique, et que cela me feroit un tort extreme en ce pais-ci si je donnois commandement de ces six regimens à une personne de cette religion; et que vous vous souviendrez sans doute que je fus obligé de faire la même representation au feu Roy a l'égard du Comte de Dunbarton; et que sa Majesté eut la bonté de n'y plus insister, je me trouve forcé de vous prier de représenter cecy au Roy, esperant que sa Majesté aura la même bonté, et qu'elle ne voudra pas que je me fasse un si grand tort en ce pais, dont elle ne peut tirer aucune service. J'aurois fait directement cette representation au Roy, si je n'avois cru qu'il étoit

plus respectueux de le faire par votre moien ; dont je vous prie de prendre la peine, et cela de la maniere que vous jugerez le plus convenable ; et vous obligerez extremement celui qui fera toujours entierement à vous."

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Mons. Bentinck.—Refuses to give the command of the English regiments in the Dutch service to Lord Carlingford, recommended by the King.

"**I** AM under an extreme embarrassment from the King's thinking proper to name the Earl of Carlingford to me for the command of the six regiments of his subjects who are in this service, because there is nothing in the world I desire more than to give satisfaction to his Majesty in every thing that depends upon me. But as the Earl is a Catholick, and it would hurt me extremely in this country if I gave the command of these six regiments to a person of that religion ; and as I was obliged, which no doubt you will remember, to represent the same thing to the deceased King with regard to the Earl of Dunbarton ; and as his Majesty had the goodness upon that not to insist upon it any longer, I find myself forced to represent all this to the King, in hopes that his Majesty will have the same goodness, and that he will not wish me to do so great an injury to myself in this country, without bringing any advantage to him. I would have made this representation directly to the King, if I had not thought that it was more respectful to do it by your means. I intreat you to take the trouble of it, and that in whatever manner you think proper, and you will oblige extremely him who will be always entirely yours."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Presses him, from the King, to give the command of the British troops in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford, a Papist.

"**I**N obedience to your Highness's commands, which I received by your letter of the 19th of this month, I have represented to the King what you directed me concerning my Lord Carlingford, and the prejudice it would be to your Highness if he commanded the King's subjects in Holland ; upon which his Majesty has ordered me to assure your Highness that he will never desire any thing of you that can possibly be disadvantageous

to you; and if my Lord Carlingford's being at the head of those troops could be so, he would never have writ to you about it, nor would continue to press it as he does. His Majesty not thinking it unreasonable for him to recommend a man of quality and honour such a one as he likes to be over his subjects, and that his being a Catholick is no argument against it, since men of that religion have been so often employed in Holland in all places and at all times. That when my Lord Dunbarton was proposed by the late King, the noise of the plot and the clamour of the faction were at the height, which was the reason his late Majesty pressed it no further; but all that being over long ago, and his present Majesty employing Catholicks where he finds they are fit, he cannot but desire that my Lord Carlingford may command those regiments, and thinks the alterations of times and persons ought to be considered. This his Majesty has directed me to write to your Highness, to which I have nothing to add, but that I am sure the King would be very well pleased if this might be done, and that he will take it extremely well of your Highness if you could comply with him in it. For my particular, I am very sorry that you should desire any service of me out of my power, being, with the greatest respect and submission possible,

Your Highness's

Windfor,
August 24, 1686.

Most faithful, most humble,
And most obedient servant,

S U N D E R L A N D. P.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.

A Dieren, ce 12 de Sept. 1686.

“ J AI reçu, la jour avant mon depart de la Haye, celle que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire du $\frac{24 \text{ Aoust,}}{4 \text{ Sept.}}$ par ordre du Roy sur l'affaire de milord Carlingford. Il ne feroit pas bienseant, et j'ay trop de respect pour sa Majesté, d'entrer plus avant en raisonnement sur cette matiere; ainsi je n'ai qu'à vous prier de vouloir de ma part supplier sa Majesté tres humblement d'avoir la bonté de ne plus insister sur cette affaire, et je le prendrai comme une grande grace. Je suis bien marri d'être obligé de vous donner tant de peine; je vous prie de ne le pas trouver mauvais, et de me croire toujours, &c.”

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.—Refuses positively to give the command of the British troops, in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford.

Dieren, September 12, 1686.

“THE day before I left the Hague, I received the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on $\frac{24 \text{ Aug.}}{4 \text{ Sept.}}$ upon my Lord Carlingford's affair. It would be not decent, and I have too much respect for his Majesty to enter further into reasonings on that matter; and therefore I have only to beg you will humbly intreat his Majesty, on my part, to have the goodness not to insist upon this affair, and I will take it as a great favour. I am sorry to give you so much trouble, and I crave you not to take it amiss, and to believe me always, &c.”

In the mean time, Lord Churchill not having succeeded at Paris in getting money for his master from the French court, King James and his ministers renewed their attempts with Barillon. The following dispatch relates the particulars. I print the whole of it, though long, because, I presume, the effect of it will be, to make every British reader, even at this day, shudder, when he reflects what an escape from arbitrary power our ancestors made at the Revolution.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, 1685, Mars 26.

“J'AI eu plusieurs conférences depuis quelques jours avec le Roy d'Angleterre, et avec ses ministres, dans les quelles j'ai été fort pressé de représenter à votre Majesté l'état au quel sont les affaires de ce pays cy, et de lui demander en même tems un secours qui puisse mettre sa Majesté Britannique en état de se soutenir, et de ne pas succomber sous les efforts qu'on doit s'attendre que feront ses ennemis dès que l'occasion s'en présentera: milord Rochester, milord Sunderland, et milord Godolphin me sont venu trouver ensemble, et m'ont expliqué les besoins qu'avoit le Roy d'Angleterre d'un secours présent; c'est à dire d'une somme considérable d'argent pour pouvoir se conduire avec la fermeté nécessaire envers le parlement, et ne lui accorder aucune des conditions prejudiciables à son autorité, qui lui seront

indubitablement proposées en lui accordant le revenu dont le feu Roy d'Angleterre jouissoit. Ils me dirent que la resolution étoit prise de ne point accepter ce que le parlement voudroit accorder pour un tems limité, parceque ce seroit établir une nécessité d'assembler le parlement, qui changeroit la forme du gouvernement, et qui rendroit le Roy leur maitre entierement dépendant de cette assemblée; que plustot que de tomber dans cet inconvenient il en faudra venir d'abord aux remedes extrêmes, casser le parlement, et se maintenir à force ouverte dans la jouissance des revenus accordés au feu Roy d'Angleterre pour sa vie seulement; qu'on ne doit pas présumer que cela puisse être fait sans opposition; et qu'il faut être en état de reprimer d'abord les premiers troubles qui seront excités; qu'on ne peut les prevenir en levant de nouvelles troupes avant la séance du parlement, ni en faissant venir des forces etrangeres qui, dans le commencement que le parlement sera cassé, causeroient plutôt une révolte generale en Angleterre, qu'elles ne serviroient à réduire les rebelles; qu'ainsi le seul remède est que sa Majesté Britannique soit en état de faire un grand effort, et de se soutenir avec une somme d'argent qui facilitera tous ses desseins, au lieu que s'il faut attendre le secours dont on aura besoin, le tems se passera avant qu'on en puisse tirer les avantages qui seront indubitables d'abord.

Les trois ministres s'étendirent sur la gloire qu'auroit votre Majesté de conserver la couronne peu affermie encore sur la tête du Roy leur maitre, et n'obmirent aucune des raisons qui doivent porter votre Majesté à le mettre en état de lui devoir la conservation et le bonheur de son regne. La conclusion fût qu'ils ne doutoient pas que votre Majesté ne voulut bien dans la suite accorder le même subside au Roi leur maitre qu'elle avoit accordé au feu Roy, et même ne rien diminuer sur les deux dernieres années des trois comme on avoit fait; c'est à dire un subside de deux millions par chaque année pendant trois ans; qu'outre ce subside, il étoit d'une absolue nécessité que votre Majesté voulut envoyer icy avant l'assemblée du parlement un fonds de deux millions, qui feroient avec ce qui reste dû de l'ancien subside une somme de trois millions; que l'état des affaires du Roi ne demandoit pas un moindre secours; et que votre Majesté, voulant lui témoigner une amitié sincere et effective, feroit plus par ce secours present que par tout ce qu'elle pourroit faire dans la suite.

Je temoignai être surpris d'entendre la proposition d'une somme si considerable, et en même tems celle d'un subside réglé; je leur dis qu'une

demande plus modérée seroit plus convenable dans les commencemens, puisque l'on pouvoit être assuré que le secours de votre Majesté ne manqueroit pas au besoin, et qu'on avoit vu que votre Majesté avoit prevenu même la demande qu'on lui pouvoit faire, des qu'elle avoit pu croire que sa Majesté Britannique pouvoit en avoir besoin : que je trouvois aussi qu'il n'étoit pas nécessaire de régler des à present un subside, avant que de voir ce qu'il arriveroit de l'assemblée du parlement, et sans savoir si il ne se porteroit pas à donner au Roy d'Angleterre la jouissance de tous les revenus pendant sa vie, au quel cas il se trouveroit en état de se soutenir plus aisement et de maintenir son autorité. La replique à cela fût, quoiqu'il arrivât du parlement on ne devoit pas s'attendre, que le Roy leur maitre fût en état de pouvoir subsister par lui même en l'état où il devoit être pour sa sureté ; qu'il auroit besoin de faire encore une augmentation dans ses troupes, et de remettre ses vaisseaux en bon état ; que sa resolution étoit prise de demeurer toujours attaché à votre Majesté, et ainsi qu'il ne craignoit pas de s'engager à demander un subside pendant plusieurs années, sachant bien que votre Majesté seroit contente de sa conduite en tous les tems, et ne se repentiroit pas de le mettre en pouvoir de lui temoigner sa reconnoissance. Le même jour que j'eus cette conference, le Roy d'Angleterre me mena dans son cabinet ; il me repeta ce que ses ministres m'avoient dit, et y ajouta tout ce qui peut persuader un attachement inviolable de sa part aux interets de votre Majesté. Je lui dis que je ne pouvois pas lui parler de la part de votre Majesté sur ce que ses ministres m'avoient dit, ne l'ayant pas prévu ; que je le priois de mon chef de considerer ce que votre Majesté avoit fait d'abord pour prevenir ses besoins ; que je croiois que cette épreuve le devoit porter plutôt à laisser à votre Majesté le choix de ce qu'elle desiroit faire, que de lui demander avec empressement une somme considerable comme une chose d'une absolue necessité ; que la fixation d'un subside me paroissoit aussi être prématurée ; et qu'une entiere confiance en votre Majesté ne l'engageroit pas moins qu'une demande précise et formelle ; que je croiois que la maniere d'agir de votre Majesté à son egard, doit aussi attirer de lui une maniere differente de ce qui se pratique ordinairement ; et que si j'osois le conseiller, je croirois qu'il ne seroit pas nécessaire dans ce commencement de faire autre chose que d'établir une confiance reciproque, et une entiere intelligence sur tout ce qui peut arriver.

La réponse du Roi d'Angleterre a été, qu'il penseroit à ce que je lui disois ; qu'il me parleroit encore à fond ; et que je visse milord Rochester, pour pouvoir convenir avec lui de ce qu'il seroit plus à propos de faire présentement. Je vis milord Rochester, et j'essayai de lui persuader que la demande d'une somme si considérable, jointe à celle d'un subside, ne feroit pas un si bon effet auprès de votre Majesté, que si on se contentoit de représenter l'état des affaires, qu'ensuite on se remit à ce que votre Majesté jugeroit plus convenable à faire de sa part ; qu'il importoit dans le commencement de son ministère d'établir une confiance entière entre votre Majesté et le Roi son maître, et que rien ne fût refusé de ce qui seroit demandé ; que si je ne connoissois ses bonnes intentions par une longue expérience, je croirois qu'il auroit inspiré le conseil d'une demande si forte, pour jetter votre Majesté dans l'inconvenient de refuser la première chose qui lui est demandée par sa Majesté Britannique ; qu'il devoit croire que je parlois de mon chef et sans ordre, n'ayant pu prévoir que l'affaire dont il est question dut être agitée ; que j'aimois mieux prévenir des difficultés qui pourroient survenir que de faire espérer icy plus qu'on ne doit attendre.

Milord Rochester me dit qu'il croioit inutile de me parler de sa conduite passée, puisque nous avions, lui et moi, pendant quatre ans menagé seuls et sans la participation d'autres personnes, des intérêts assez difficiles à concilier ; que j'étois témoin de son procédé tant qu'il avoit eu la confiance du feu Roy d'Angleterre ; qu'il esperoit que je lui rendrois cette justice de n'avoir rien vu en lui de l'incertitude et des changemens si frequens en ceux qui l'avoient précédé dans les affaires ; qu'il ne pretendoit pas tirer vanité de ce qui s'est passé pendant les quatre dernières années ; qu'il croioit que le feu Roy d'Angleterre avoit fait fort sagement et fort utilement pour ses intérêts de s'unir étroitement avec votre Majesté ; que votre Majesté de son côté avoit trouvé de la facilité à l'exécution de tous ses desseins, pour ne rien dire de plus avantageux de sa liaison avec le feu Roy d'Angleterre ; que tant que les finances ont été entre ses mains, il a laissé aller les payemens des subsides en la manière que je l'ai voulu, et que par ce moyen, il s'est passé une année entière sans qu'il ait été question de la continuation de ce subside, quoique dans cette dernière année Luxembourg ait été pris, et la paix faite en la manière que votre Majesté la voulut prescrire à ses ennemis : qu'en tout cela il croit avoir bien servi son maître, sans avoir rien fait de

contraire aux intérêts de votre Majesté ; qu'ainsi il merite qu'on prenne à présent confiance en lui, et que ce qu'il peut conseiller soit bien interprété ; que son dessein n'est pas de diminuer l'opinion que je puis avoir de son credit, mais que je connois le Roy son maitre, et que je vois clairement qu'il agit en tout par lui même, et que personne ne sçait mieux que lui l'état de ses affaires ; que sa resolution est prise de demeurer inviolablement attaché à votre Majesté ; qu'il n'y aura ni changement ni variation dans sa conduite, et que votre Majesté peut faire un fond assuré sur lui à l'avenir ; qu'avec le secours present, et la promesse du subside, le Roi son maitre fera en état de réprimer les premiers efforts qui se feront contre lui, et qu'après s'être bien établi, il dirigera toute sa conduite au dehors, pour se conserver une amitié et une protection à laquelle il devra sa conservation et la prospérité de ses affaires ; qu'à son égard de lui, je le connoissois assez pour savoir qu'il ne croioit pas de la dignité et des vrais intérêts de son maitre de marchander avec votre Majesté, ni de lui demander trois millions pour en obtenir deux ; que le besoin étoit pressant, et qu'il n'étoit arrivé de longtems une conjoncture pareille à celle-ci ; que votre Majesté jouissoit d'une paix glorieuse après avoir donné le repos à l'Europe par une sagesse plus digne d'admiration encore que ses conquêtes ; qu'il avoit de bonne foi, que la conduite de votre Majesté en tout, attire une profonde veneration, que personne n'en est plus rempli que lui ; qu'il espere que votre Majesté ne voudra pas diminuer quelque chose de ce qui lui est demandé en une occasion où il s'agit de tout pour le Roy son maitre.

J'ai eu depuis cela une longue conference avec le Roy d'Angleterre dans laquelle il m'expliqua à fond ses desseins et l'état de ses affaires ; il me dit, qu'il connoissoit l'aversion que le peuple d'Angleterre avoit pour la religion catholique, mais qu'avec le secours de votre Majesté il esperoit surmonter cet obstacle ; que son unique but étoit d'y travailler ; et qu'il savoit assez que jamais il ne seroit en une entière sureté que la religion catholique ne fût établie en Angleterre de façon à ne pouvoir être ruinée ni detruite ; que cela ne se pouvoit faire qu'avec le tems, et en prenant de grandes precautions pour l'avenir ; qu'il avoit beaucoup de vûes sur cela, dont je serois informé quand il en seroit tems ; que presentement il s'agissoit de jetter les fondemens de son regne et de s'établir ; que le secours dont il avoit besoin m'avoit été expliqué ; que son humeur étoit fort opposée à faire des demandes excessives, mais qu'il n'hésitoit pas

aussi à exposer ses besoins à votre Majesté, ayant bien resolu d'être tout sa vie attaché à ses interêts : que quand il saura sur quoi il peut faire un fondement assuré, il entreprendra des choses à quoi il n'osera songer, s'il n'est pas en état de les soutenir. Que tout ce que votre Majesté a fait de glorieux pour sa personne, et d'avantageux pour son état, ne l'est pas d'avantage que le seront les suites de ce que votre Majesté fera presentement en sa faveur, parcequ'un secours present, et l'opinion qu'on a déjà de l'appui de votre Majesté pour lui, le mettront en état de venir à bout de tous ses bons desseins ; qu'il les conduira avec la participation de votre Majesté, et conformément à ses intentions ; que le rétablissement de la religion catholique en Angleterre ne peut réussir que sous la protection et par les secours de votre Majesté ; que Dieu la mise en un état de grandeur et de puissance, où aucune Roy de France n'a été depuis plusieurs siècles, pour être le restaurateur de la religion en Angleterre.

Je dis à ce Prince que je representerois à votre Majesté ce qu'il me disoit ; que je le priois cependant de se remettre à ce que votre Majesté resoudra, et de ne se pas tellement renfermer à aucune demande precise, que votre Majesté ne connoisse qu'il soumet à son jugement et à sa decision la conduite d'une affaire de si grand poids, et qui demande tant de precaution et de si puissans secours ; que je suis assez informé que votre Majesté ne desire rien d'avantage que le rétablissement de la religion en Angleterre, mais que cette entreprise est remplie de difficultés, et sera traversée fortement si elle n'est conduite avec tout la prudence possible ; que c'est ce qui se doit concerter avec votre Majesté, et prendre des mesures solides qui ne puissent manquer ; qu'ainsi il est juste de s'en rapporter à votre Majesté. Je vis encore hier au soir le Roy d'Angleterre, il me pressa de rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit connoitre qu'il attendra avec impatience ce que votre Majesté aura determiné, parceque toute sa conduite doit être dirigée sur la resolution que votre Majesté voudra prendre.

J'ai eu une longue conference en particulier avec milord Sonderland ; il me paroît informé à fond des intentions et des desseins du Roy son maitre ; il le croit entierement resolu de s'attacher à votre Majesté, et de ne menager M. le Prince d'Orange qu'autant qu'il est necessaire presentement, pour ne lui pas fournir des occasions de faire eclater sa mauvaise volonté ; il m'a dit, que ceux qui voudroient réunir le Roy d'Angleterre et M. le Prince d'Orange seroient fort aisé que votre Majesté ne fit pas presentement pour le Roi d'Angleterre tout ce qu'il peut desirer, pour pouvoir dans la

suite trouver quelque moyen de la faire panacher du côté du Prince d'Orange, ce qui deviendra entierement impossible, si votre Majesté repond à ce que sa Majesté Britannique attende presentement de son amitié."

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James asks a supply and subsidy from France.—His views.—Conferences with Godolphin, Rochester, and Sunderland, and their views.

March 26, 1685.

"WITHIN these few days, I have had many conferences with the King of England, and his ministers, in which I have been much pressed to represent to your Majesty the state of affairs in this country, and at the same time to ask such a supply of money as may put the King of England in a condition to support himself, and not sink under the efforts which it is expected his enemies will make, as soon as an occasion offers. Lord Rochester, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, came to me together, and explained the need the King of England had of a present supply, that is to say, of a considerable sum of money, in order to enable him to conduct himself with a necessary firmness towards his parliament, and not to grant any of those conditions prejudicial to his authority, which undoubtedly will be proposed to him at granting the revenue which the deceased King enjoyed. They told me the resolution was taken not to accept what the parliament would grant for a limited time, because it would establish a necessity of assembling the parliament, which would change the form of government, and render the King, their master, entirely dependant on that assembly. That rather than fall into this inconvenience, it would be better to have recourse directly to violent remedies; dissolve the parliament; and maintain himself by open force in the enjoyment of the revenues granted for life to the deceased King of England; that it ought not to be presumed this can be done without opposition, and they ought to be in a condition of opposing instantly the first disturbances which shall be raised: That they cannot prevent them by levying fresh troops before the sitting of parliament, nor by bringing in a foreign force, which on the first dissolution of the parliament would rather cause a general revolt in England, than serve to reduce the rebels; that thus the only remedy is, that his Britannic

Majesty be in a condltion of making one grand effort, and of supporting himself with a sum of money which would facilitate all his designs: on the contrary, if he must wait for the supply he stands in need of, the time will be gone before any advantages can be drawn from it, but which are undoubted, if the supply be immediate.

The three ministers enlarged upon the glory your Majesty would acquire by preserving the crown as yet but tottering on their master's head; and omitted no reasons which could induce your Majesty to put him on a foot of owing the preservation and happiness of his reign to you. The conclusion was, they did not doubt but your Majesty would henceforth grant the same subsidy to the King their master, which you had given to the deceased King, and even not lessen the two last years of the three, as had been done; that is to say, a subsidy of two millions per annum, for three years: That besides this subsidy, it is absolutely necessary that your Majesty send here before the meeting of parliament a fund of two millions, which will make, with what remains of the old subsidy, a sum of three millions: That the state of the King's affairs required no less a supply; and that your Majesty, by shewing him a sincere and effectual friendship, would do more by this present supply, than by all that could be done hereafter.

I shewed my surprize at hearing the proposal of so considerable a sum, and of a regular subsidy besides. I told them a lesser demand would have been more proper in the beginning, since they might be assured that your Majesty's assistance would not be wanting in time of need; and they had already seen, that your Majesty had even prevented the demand that might have been made, as soon as you believed his Britannic Majesty was in need: That, moreover, I did not think it necessary to regulate at present a subsidy before it was seen what would happen on the parliament's meeting, and without knowing if they were inclined to give the King of England the enjoyment of all the revenues during his life, in which case he would be in a condition to support himself more easily, and maintain his authority. The reply to this was, that whatever might arise from parliament, it was not to be expected that the King, their master, would be able to subsist by himself in the manner he ought for his safety; that it

would be necessary to make an augmentation of his troops, and put his ships in a good condition ; that his resolution was taken to remain always attached to your Majesty, and therefore he was not afraid to ask a subsidy for some years, well knowing that your Majesty would, at all times, be contented with his conduct, and not repent putting it in his power to shew his gratitude.

The same day I had this conference, the King of England took me into his closet, and repeated to me what his ministers had said, adding every thing that could persuade me of the most inviolable attachment to your Majesty's interests. I told him, I could not speak to him, on the part of your Majesty, upon what his ministers had said to me, not having foreseen it ; that I begged of him, in my own particular, to consider what your Majesty had already done to prevent his wants ; that I thought this proof should rather lead him to leave your Majesty the choice of what you inclined to do, than to importune you for a large sum as a thing of absolute necessity ; that the fixing of a subsidy appeared to me to be premature ; and that an entire confidence in your Majesty would not less engage you than a precise and formal demand ; that I thought the manner in which your Majesty had acted towards him, ought also to induce him to take different methods than are ordinarily practised ; and if I dared to advise him, I believed it would not be necessary, in the beginning, to do any thing more than to establish a reciprocal confidence, and an entire correspondence upon future emergencies.

The answer the King of England made, was, that he would think upon what I had said ; that he would speak to me again fully, and that I should see Lord Rochester to agree with him on what would be most proper at present. I saw Lord Rochester, and endeavoured to persuade him, that the demand of so considerable a sum, joined to that of a subsidy, would not have so good an effect with your Majesty, as being contented with representing the state of affairs, and then referring to what your Majesty may judge most fit to be done on your part ; that it behoved him, in the beginning of his ministry, to establish an entire confidence between your Majesty and the King, his master, and that nothing which could be refused, should be asked ; that if I did not know his good intentions from a long experience, I should have believed that he had advised so great a demand with a view to throw your Majesty into the incon-

venience of refusing the first thing his Britannick Majesty had asked of you; that he ought to believe I spoke from myself and without orders, not having been able to foresee the affair in question would be agitated; that I loved more to prevent difficulties which might arise, than to give greater hopes here than they ought to expect.

Lord Rochester said, he believed it unnecessary to speak to me of his past conduct, since he and I had for four years managed alone, and without the participation of any other person, interests sufficiently difficult to be reconciled; that I was a witness of his conduct as long as he had the confidence of the deceased King of England; that he hoped I would do him the justice to think I had never seen in him that uncertainty and those changes so frequent in the persons who had preceded him in the management of affairs: that he did not pretend to be vain upon what had passed during the last four years; he believed the deceased King of England had acted very wisely and very advantageously for his interests by uniting himself strictly with your Majesty; that your Majesty on your side had found a facility in the execution of all your designs, to say no more of the advantages of your alliance with the deceased King; that whilst the finances were in his hands he let the payments of the subsidies be just as I pleased, and by this means a whole year had passed over without any mention being made of the continuation of this subsidy, although in this last year Luxembourg was taken, and the peace made in such a manner as your Majesty prescribed to your enemies: that in all this he believed he had served his master well, without having done any thing contrary to the interests of your Majesty; that he therefore deserved to have confidence placed in him at present, and what he advises should not be misinterpreted: that he does not mean to lessen the opinion I may have of his own credit, but that I knew the King his master, and clearly saw he acted in every thing of himself, and nobody knows better than he does the state of his own affairs; that his resolution was taken to live inviolably attached to your Majesty; that there will be neither change, nor wavering in his conduct, and that your Majesty might have a positive dependance upon him for the time to come; that with a present supply, and the promise of a subsidy, the King his master would be in a condition to repel the first efforts that can be made against him, and after being well established

at home, and his conduct will be directed abroad to preserve a friendship and protection to which he will owe the preservation and prosperity of his affairs; that as for himself I was well enough acquainted with him to know what he did not believe it was for his master's dignity or true interests to haggle with your Majesty, nor to ask of you three millions to obtain two; that the necessity was pressing and for a long time there had not happened a conjuncture parallel to this; that your Majesty enjoyed a glorious peace after having given repose to Europe by a wisdom more worthy of admiration than your conquests; that he sincerely declared your Majesty's conduct in every thing deserved a profound veneration, and that nobody was more filled with it than himself; that he hoped your Majesty would not diminish any thing of what was asked of you on an occasion where the King his master's all was at stake.

Since that, I have had a long conference with the King of England, in which he explained to the bottom his designs, and the state of his affairs; he told me that he knew the aversion the people of England had to the catholic religion, but with support from your Majesty he hoped to surmount this difficulty; that his sole aim was to bring it about, and that he sufficiently knew he could never be in entire safety till the catholic religion was established in England in such a manner as not to be ruined or destroyed; that this could not be done but with time, and by taking great precautions for the future; that he had many views upon it, of which I should be informed when it was time; that at present the business was to lay the foundations of his reign and to establish himself; that the assistance he stood in need of had been explained to me; that it was very opposite to his inclination to make excessive demands, but he also did not hesitate to expose his necessities to your Majesty, having firmly resolved to be all his life attached to your interests. That when he knew what he might certainly trust to, he would undertake things which he would not dare to think of, unless he be in a capacity to support them. That all your Majesty had done glorious for your person, and advantageous to your state, will not be more so, than the consequences of what your Majesty shall at present do in his favour, because a present supply, and the opinion already conceived of your Majesty's supporting him, will put him in a condition to bring all his designs to succeed. That he will conduct them

with your Majesty's participation, and conformable to your intentions; that the re-establishment of the catholic religion in England cannot succeed but under your protection, and by the help of your Majesty's supplies; that God has put you in a state of greatness and power, to which no King of France for many ages arrived, in order to your being the restorer of religion in England.

I told this Prince, that I would represent to your Majesty what he had said; in the mean while I begged of him to refer himself to what your Majesty might resolve, and not attach himself so much to any precise demand, as to hinder your Majesty from seeing that he submits to your judgement and decision the conduct of an affair of such weight, and which requires so much precaution, and so powerful an assistance; that I am sufficiently informed your Majesty desires nothing more than the re-establishment of religion in England; but that this undertaking is full of difficulties, and will be strongly opposed, if not conducted with all possible prudence; that as this is what ought to be concerted with your Majesty, and such solid measures taken as cannot fail, it is but just to refer himself to your Majesty.

Yesterday evening I again saw the King of England; he pressed me to give your Majesty an account of what he had said to me, and told me that he should wait with impatience for your Majesty's determination, because all his conduct will be directed by the resolution which your Majesty will take.

I have had a long conference in private with Lord Sunderland; he appeared to me to be informed to the bottom of the intentions and designs of the King his Master. He believes him entirely resolved to attach himself to your Majesty, and to keep measures with the Prince of Orange only as far as it is at present necessary not to furnish him with occasions for making his ill will break forth. He told me, that those who were for reuniting the King of England and the Prince of Orange would be very glad that your Majesty should not do at present what the King of England desires of you, in order to be able hereafter to find some means of making him lean to the Prince of Orange's side, which will become entirely impossible if your Majesty yields to what his Britannick Majesty at present expects from your friendship.

Several of Barillon's dispatches besides this one prove that James had formed a determined resolution to levy the late King's revenue, whether parliament should grant it or not. Barillon writes thus to his court, March 1, 1686. "Cependant la possession fait une espece de droit, et sa Majesté Britannique paroît fort resolu de s'y maintenir à quelque prix que ce soit." Possession, however, gives a sort of right, and his Britannick Majesty appears very resolved to maintain it, be the consequence what it will." On the 9th April, he writes thus to his court. "Le Roy continue à agir avec beaucoup de fermeté et d' hauteur, il ne me paroît point même avoir d' inquietude de l' avenir, quand le parlement ne lui accorderoit les revenues dont le feu Roy son frere jouissoit, et sa resolution semble prise de s' y maintenir et d' en continuer la jouissance." "The King continues to act with much firmness and haughtiness, he does not even appear uneasy for the future, even though parliament should not grant him the revenues which the King his brother enjoyed, and his resolution seems determined, to maintain and continue the possession of them."

In the *Depot.*In the *Depot.*

Even when James submitted to act by a parliament, he scorned to court the members. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 30th of April, 1685. "Ce n'est pas le chemin que ce Prince pretend tenir ; et rien n'est plus opposé à ce qu'il à dessein de faire. Il aura une conduite ferme et resoluë. L' introduction faite par le Comte de Danby d' acheter les voix du parlement à si mal reussi, qu' on ne songe plus à s'en servir ; et à dire la verité, si on recommencoit à le mettre en pratique on tomberoit dans les memes inconveniens. Le Roy d' Angleterre veut que ses affaires se fassent, par la necessité ou le parlement se trouvera de lui accorder ce qu'il est resoluë de prendre, si on ne lui l' accorde pas ; c'est à dire les revenues dont le feu Roy jouissoit." "This is not the road which this Prince intends to follow ; and nothing is more opposite to what he designs to do. He will keep a firm and resolute conduct. The method introduced by the Earl of Danby of buying votes in parliament succeeded so ill, that it is no longer thought of, and to speak the truth, if it should again be attempted to be put in practice, the same inconveniences would attend it. The King of England wants to do his business by putting the parliament under a necessity of granting him what he is resolved to

In the *Depot.*

In the Depot. take, if they do not; that is, the deceased King's revenues." And on the 13th of December 1685, he writes thus: "Le grand tresorier voudroit aussi qu' on employat de l' argent à gagner des voix dans le parlement. Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne a de la repugnance à prendre ce chemin, ayant connu quels inconveniens il en est arrivé par le passé, parceque tous ceux qui vouloient avoir de l' argent ou des charges se signaloient contre la cour pour y parvenir." "The treasurer was also for employing money to gain the votes in parliament. The King of Great Britain was against taking this step, having formerly known the inconveniences which happened from it; because all those who wanted money or posts distinguished themselves against the court to obtain them."

In the Depot. Barillon's dispatch of the 30th of May 1685, mentions that he had some time before received a remittance of one million 500,000 livres, and that he had told King James it was to be employed in his service if needed. But Barillon's private instructions were not to give it unless in the event of the King's dissolving his parliament, and being obliged to use force against his subjects. For on the 17th of May 1685, Barillon writes thus: "Votre Majesté me permet, par sa dernière dépêche, de donner toute la somme que je pourray avoir entre les mains, si je vois le parlement cassé, et que le Roy d' Angleterre soit réduit à contraindre ses sujets par la force à se soumettre." "Your Majesty permits me, by your last dispatch, to give all the sum that I may have in my hands, if I see the parliament dissolved, and the King of England reduced to make his subjects submit by force."

In the Depot. It appears from Barillon's dispatch of the 16th of April 1685, that his objects were to get the King to act without parliaments, and to separate himself from Holland, and that the lures he threw out were the assistance of France to establish the King's authority and the Roman catholic religion; that James and lord Rochester converted these lures into reasons for France's giving an immediate supply of money; but that Sunderland (who probably saw better where France pointed) went farther, and directly proposed an alliance with France, and a total separation from the Prince of

Orange and the house of Austria; and that Lord Godolphin in all these matters steered a moderate course. In this dispatch he says he had told James, that the intentions of France were “ de l’ ayder à maintenir son autorité, et à établir la religion catholique; que ces choses paroissent unies, et ne se pouvoient separer;”—“ to assist him to support his authority, and establish the catholic religion; that these things appeared united and unseparable:” That James pressed for money from France saying he could not observe “ une conduite ferme et haute, si on n’ est bien assuré d’ un secours qui ne puisse manquer;”—“ a firm and high conduct if he was not secured of a supply which could not fail:” And that lord Rochester in asking money also from France for his master, used these words: “ Qu’il étoit question presentement d’ établir son autorité, et de donner une forme assurée au government; que je connoissois assez combien il importe d’ être en état icy, de donner la loy et non pas de la recevoir.” “ That the question at present was, to establish his (*i. e.* the King’s) authority, and give a firm form to government; that I sufficiently knew of what importance it was to be in a condition here of giving the law and not receiving it.”

The dispatch then relates the sentiments of Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, as follows:

Extrait d’ une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Avril 16, 1685.

“ **M**lord Sonderland à compris d’abord qu’il étoit bien plus à propos de prendre des engagements formels et reciproques; que le Roy son maitre doit rechercher tout ce qui lui peut assurer l’ amitié de votre Majesté. Il pose pour un fondement assuré, que le parlement, le Prince d’ Orange, et la maison d’ Autriche doivent être considérés comme ayant des interêts inseparables, et qu’il est impossible de desunir; qu’ ainsi pour être bien avec votre Majesté, il faut non seulement s’abstenir de toute liaison avec eux, mais meme s’en separer avec éclat, et lever le masque quand il en sera tems; c’est à dire, après que le parlement aura accordé les revenus. Je suis demeuré dans une grande retenue sur les nouveaux engagements qu’ on pourroit prendre; je me suis contenté d’ insinuer la proposition que

votre Majesté m'a ordonné de faire à cet égard, et j'ai cru devoir la faire naître plus comme une suite naturelle de ce qui se traitoit, que comme une ouverture de la part de votre Majesté. Milord Godolphin m'a parlé dans le même sens que milord Rochester ; quoiqu'il soit du secret, il n'a pas grand credit, et songe seulement à se conserver par une conduite sage et modérée. Je ne pense pas que s'il en étoit cru, on prit des liaisons avec votre Majesté, qui pussent aller à se passer entièrement de parlement, et à rompre nettement avec le Prince d' Orange.

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mons. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Different counsels of Sunderland and Godolphin.

April 16, 1685.

“**L**ORD Sunderland was directly of opinion, that it was much more proper to take formal and reciprocal engagements ; that the King, his master, ought to court every thing which could ensure him of your Majesty's friendship. He fixes it for a fundamental principle, that the parliament, the Prince of Orange, and the House of Austria ought to be considered as having inseparable interests, and that it is impossible to disunite them ; and that therefore to be well with your Majesty, it is necessary not only to refrain from all alliance with them, but even to separate from them with éclat, and take off the mask when it shall be time, that is to say, when the parliament shall have granted the revenues. I kept upon the reserve concerning the new engagements which might be taken ; I contented myself with insinuating the proposition which your Majesty ordered me to make on that head, and thought it was better to let it arise as a natural consequence of what was treating, than as an overture on the part of your Majesty. Lord Godolphin talked to me in the same stile with Lord Rochester ; though he be in the secret, he has no great credit, and thinks only to keep himself in by a wise and moderate conduct. I do not think that if his opinion was trusted, that they would enter into engagements with your Majesty to go on entirely without a parliament, and to break totally with the Prince of Orange.”

After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had settled a vast revenue upon James, he still continued, as Barillon relates, to beg

a subsidy from France. A dispute between him and France, at this time, shews the minute attention of his genius to money. It was mentioned in chapter 3d of the Appendix to the Review, that James, when Duke of York, had offered to lend his own money in France, as a mark of his confidence in Louis, and to facilitate a money treaty with his brother, which was then in prospect. Barillon now writes, on the 13th September, 1685, *In the Depot.* that the Duke's money had been lent out, in Courtin's name, to the Hotel de Ville at Paris, that James was demanding it from Courtin, that Courtin in accompting for the money, deducted ten or twelve thousand livres because the fund was fallen, but that James insisted the sum lent should be remitted without any deduction. Barillon adds, " Il s'agit des dix ou douze milles francs de plus ou de moins. Cette perte quoique modique feroit regardé ici avec chagrin, et comme un manque de consideration pour sa Majesté Britannique." " The dispute is about ten or twelve thousand livres, more or less. This loss, although moderate, would be looked upon here with chagrine, and as a want of consideration for his Britannick Majesty." About the same time Barillon received orders from his court, to let James know, that they would give no subsidy at present, because they thought he stood in no need of it. And Barillon writes, on the 25th October, 1685, that he had payed in all to James only 800,000 livres.

The remittances from France above-mentioned, did not escape the vigilance of Lord Preston, the King's ambassador at Paris, who had been kept ignorant of them by both courts. Among Lord Preston's letters there is the following one.

Lord Preston to King James.—Advises him of remittances of money from France to England.—Speaks of French parliamentary pensioners in the late reign.

A private advice to the King.

Paris, April 28, S. N. 1685.

"**Y** Our Majesty may be pleased to remember, that some weeks since I acquainted you with an advice which I had received, that a considerable sum of money was returned from hence into England immediately after the death of the late King; I am now, Sir, assured of the truth of it, and that it was remitted by the court banquier, Monf. Grusse. I cannot possibly assign the sum to your Majesty, but by conjectures, which are something

In Mr. Graham's possession.

probable, it should have been about a million of this money, which is about 83 or 84000 pounds of ours. I know also that one of Monf. Grusse's servants went about that time into England, he being not willing, as is likely, to have trusted such an affair to the ordinary post. That I might have better grounds for what I inform your Majesty of, I have privately informed myself by some banquiers how the exchange went about that time betwixt London and this place, and they all agree, that some weeks after the King's death, the exchange fell considerably, because that the great need which they who remitted the money had of bills, obliged them to take them at any rate. But the remitting was quickly at a stop, and in eight or ten days the exchange mounted to its ordinary train. I will not presume to write my conjectures to your Majesty for what use this money may be designed, and I wish and hope, with all my heart, that my jealousies may be vain. But, perhaps, your Majesty will think fit to have an eye that no practices may be set on foot with our new members of parliament. I hope, however, no great ill of that kind can be done, since, by good fortune, we shall have very few of their old pensioners amongst us."

In the *Depot*. Soon after this, James renewed the defensive treaty with the Dutch, and Barillon, in his letters of 26th November, and 13th December, 1685, imputes it to France's having refused him the subsidy he asked. In the last of these letters he represents James as extremely out of humour with France on this account, and that he talked of holding the ballance of power in his hands.

These things created a coldness for some time between France and James. During this interval James applied to the court of France in defence of the principality of Orange; but Louis and his ministers treated his application with a haughty disregard.

There are the following letters on this subject in King William's box.

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—The King interposes about the principality of Orange.

"I HAVE received the honour of your Highness's letter of the 30th of January, upon which the King commanded me to write to Sir William Trumball, and I did so, in the following words. "His Majesty would have you let Monsieur de Croissy know, that he cannot think that

the answers you have received upon your memorials and instances concerning the proceedings at Orange, are such as he ought to be satisfied with; and that therefore his Majesty hopes the most Christian King will, upon further consideration, have more regard to the instances his Majesty has made in behalf of the Prince of Orange's just pretensions." This the King commanded me to write as being fit, though he does not expect much from it. The greatest happiness I can ever propose to myself, is to be able to serve your Highness on this or any other occasion, by which you might see with how much zeal and respect, I am

Your Highness's

Whitehall,

Jan. 26, 1685-6.

Most faithful, most humble,

And most obedient servant,

S U N D E R L A N D P."

Extract of several letters from Sir William Trumbull at Paris.—Concerning his application in favour of the principality of Orange.

December 5, 1685.

"I HAVE communicated the affair of the principality of Orange to the Dutch ambassador, and received an account from him of the several instances he has made from time to time to this court, but without any effect. The same day I entered into that matter with Monsr. de Croissy, who told me, that the Most Christian King had sent orders to Monsieur Barillon to speak with his Majesty about it: that he could give me no other answer than what he had often given to the Dutch ambassador and others, which was, that the King acknowledged no sovereignty there; that although he had left the Prince of Orange for some time in quiet, so long as his conduct might deserve it, yet now having opposed his Most Christian Majesty so openly, he did not think fit to keep any longer the same measures, and that all was now done there, his troops being come away. When I urged the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the prince of Orange was restored to his said principality, with all the rights, &c. in the same condition and the same manner that he had enjoyed before; and that I desired the Most Christian King to consider further, the near alliance between his Majesty and the Prince of Orange, obliged his Majesty to interpose in a matter of such consequence; he replied, that he would speak to the King of it, and represent what I had said."

December 12

"As to the affair of Orange, he said, this King could give me no other answer, than to the same purpose he himself had given me before, that all was now done there, and the troops come away; that this King resolving to have but one religion in his country, thought himself obliged, in conscience and justice, to take order for their conversions in that place as he had done in others; which being done, the temporal jurisdiction was left in the same condition that it was before. That he hoped the King, my master, would be satisfied with this answer, and not interpose in a thing wherein he had no interest, but leave this King free to do as he thought fit in his own dominions.

This was the substance of his answer; adding, that the right of sovereignty did not belong to the Prince of Orange, but to the house of Longueville, which the King had taken care to put into a course of trial before a competent judicature, and would be determined in due time."

January 2.

"I gave in yesterday several memorials: That concerning the Prince of Orange, Monsr. de Croissy seemed extremely to resent, that his Majesty should again interpose in a matter, which, he said, did not at all concern him."

January 9.

"The answer I received yesterday about the principality of Orange, is, in all respects, the same I had before, whereof having given your Lordship an account at large, I need not repeat any part of it. The King's troops are come again into that town (as your Lordship will find by the extract I sent the last post) and the ministers still detained in prison, which proceeding is more rigorous than the others received here, all the ministers being ordered to go out of the kingdom, which is what those of Orange desire."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 12th, 1685-6.

I Have acquainted the King with what your Highness was pleased to write me in your letter of the 12th: upon which his Majesty commanded me to send to your Highness a copy of Sir William Trumball's last memorial; and to assure your Highness, that his Majesty has done what he could possibly think fit to do in the affair of Orange, towards your satisfaction, having spoke to the ambassador of the French king here, as

warmly as his envoy had order to speak there; and he does now desire to know what your Highness would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can.

It is a great mortification to me, that a business which passes through my hands, and that is of so great concern to your Highness, should have such ill success. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribute to your service, I should think them all well employed, wishing for nothing so much in the world as to be able to let your Highness see how zealously and how truly I am, Sir,

Your Highness's

Most faithful, most humble,

And most obedient servant,

S U N D E R L A N D, P."

Extract of a letter from Sir William Trumbull to Lord President Sunderland.—

On the same subject.—France refuses satisfaction.

Paris, Feb. 17-27, 1685-6.

"**M**onsieur de Croissy continues still indisposed with the gout, and yesterday gave audience in his bed concerning the memorial I had presented about Orange. He told me he had represented it to the King, who continued still in his former resolution, that he acknowledged no sovereignty of Orange to belong to the Prince, and that although, for some reasons, he did forbear to have that right adjudged, yet that it was his incontestibly, and that he had no other answer to give me; adding this late occasion of displeasure, by reason of the Prince's refusal to deliver the children of one Mons. Bose (a counsellor of the parliament of Tholouse, and formerly of the protestant religion, but lately changed). Mons. Bose had sent his children thither, intending afterwards to escape himself: But since he made instances by Mons. d'Avaux to have them sent back, which, he said, the Prince denied, and insisted further to keep what money they had brought with them, as a provision and subsistence for them. He told me the King had given orders to stop the Prince's receiving any part of his revenues of Orange, till he had given satisfaction in this matter."

James, however, being bent upon the establishment of popery and of his own power at home, resisted, during his whole reign, the endeavours of the Prince of Orange to engage him in measures or alliances hostile to France. The following, among other letters from him to the Prince of Orange, in King William's box, shew how determined he was upon peace with France; and that the only war he approved of was against the Turks.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desirous of peace in Europe.

Windfor, September 1, 1685.

“ON Saturday last I had yours of the 30th of August and the 3d of September both together; by the first of which, I find, you then had received an account of the good news from Hungary, which was as welcome to me as to any body; and I make no doubt will contribute as much to the peace and quiet of Europe, as the good condition it has pleased God to put my affairs in; and I am sure I will still do my part, that the peace Christendom now enjoys may be continued. I have not time to say more now, but that I shall still be as kind to you as you can desire.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Desirous of peace in Europe, and of friendship with the States.

Whitehall, November 6, 1685.

“I HAVE had yours of the 9th from Loo, and am glad to find you were so well satisfied with the account you had from the ambassadors, and I shall still do my part to preserve peace in Christendom, and the good understanding which is between the States and me. As for news, there is little stirring here. On Monday the parliament is to sit. I have so much business now upon my hands, that you must not wonder if my letters be not longer; and you may be assured you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious to preserve peace.

Whitehall, February 2, 1685-6.

“I HAVE had yours of the 5th, in which you say, some, where you are, begin to be alarmed at a voyage the King of France is to make this spring. All that I can say upon it is, that I do not think he will do

any thing to disturb the peace of Christendom for several reasons, and his ministers here say it also; and I do what I can to let them see the inconveniencies that may happen to their master, should he begin a war, and will still do what is in my power to prevent it. As for news, the Duke of Grafton had this morning the misfortune to kill Jack Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's brother; it was Talbot gave the first offence, and sent the challenge, as I am told. The Duke of Grafton is withdrawn, and I have not yet heard what the Coroner's inquest have found it. It is late, and I have not time to say more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

Whitehall, February 16, 1686.

"I HAD yours of the 19th by the letters which came on Friday last, but so late that I had not then time to answer it. I see by it, you have still some apprehensions, as if France intended, by themselves, or some of their allies, to interrupt the peace of Christendom; I confess I hardly believe it, I am sure I hope they will not, and they endeavour to persuade me they have peaceable intentions. As for news, there is little stirring here, and besides I am called away to go to the play, so have not time to say more, but that you shall ever find me very kind to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange—Is not moved by French encroachments.—Desires only war against the Turk.

Whitehall, October 19, 1686.

"I Have now two of yours to answer; the first of the 14th, which I had by Mr. Skelton, and the other of the 17th, which I had not time to answer by the last post; since when I have got a blow with a twig in my left eye, as I was a-hunting on Saturday last, which made my eye a little sore, and though it be now, God be thanked, pretty well, yet I dare not write much; so that all I shall say upon what you say, as to the affair of Namur and Hunninguen, is, that as to the first, the Spaniards have had a very civil and satisfactory answer to it; so that that is at an end. For the other, I do not think it of such consequence, as to the Germans, as to set all Christendom in a flame, except that they have a mind to fall upon

France; and I am still of the same mind I was to do my part, that there may be no war but against the Turk. You shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 8, 1687.

"I Have now received yours of the 11th from Dieren, and by it find you expected my daughter there with you that night. I suppose you have by this seen the answer the emperor's envoy in France had to the memorial he gave in to that King, by which you will see the truce is not like to be broken, so that the war against the Turk may be still carried on. I shall still do my part to preserve the peace of Christendom. It is late, so that I have not time to say any more, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is desirous to guarantee the twenty years truce.

Whitehall, May 10, 1687.

"I Have had yours of the 13th, by which I find, that you in Holland are not alarmed at the King of France's journey to Luxembourg. Those who are jealous of it, will, I am confident, be soon out of their pain. I suppose Mr. Dyckvelt will give you an account of two memorials have been given me, the one by the Count Caunitz, and the other by the Spanish ambassador, both of them to desire me to endeavour to persuade the King of France to let me be guarantee of the truce. You may be sure I will do my part to persuade that King to it, since nothing can contribute more than that to continue the peace in Christendom. I have not time to say more, but that you shall still find me as kind as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices at success against the Turks.—Intent on the peace of Christendom.

Windsor, September 19, 1687.

"I Received yours of the 15th just before I left the Bath, but coming then away for this place, I could not let you know it sooner. I have had a full account of what has passed in Hungary, and hope by the next

letters from thence to hear what advantage the Germans have made of their victory, and that at least they will get good winter quarters by it. The good success the Venetians have had in the Morea, will, I hope, also have a good effect as to the peace of Christendom, which is what I always so much desire should be continual. I came to this place on Saturday, and hunted in my way from Winchester hither, had a very good chase, and got to my journey's end before night. The Queen is yet at the Bath, and will come from thence so soon as she has used the remedies there as long as usually they do. This place affords no news, and so have no more to say, but that you shall still find me kind to you.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the prosecution of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.

Windsor, September 10, 1685.

"I Received yours of the 13th so late on Tuesday last, that I had not then time to let you know I had had it, by which, I find, you were well satisfied with the review you had made of your troops. I have now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at present here, though the presbyterian and republican party are still very busy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord Chief Justice is making his campaign in the west, and when the parliament meets, some of the peers which are in custody will be tried. I intend to go to Winchester on Monday next, and from thence to Portsmouth, and to be back here the Saturday following, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me to be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Western circuit Jefferys's campaign.—Enumerates the detail of severities.

Windsor, September 24, 1685.

"Since I came back from Winchester I received yours of the 21st from Loo, by Mr. Sidney, and having been a-foxhunting on Tuesday last, had not then time to let you know it: I was this day again at the same

sport, the weather being now very proper for it, having ended stag-hunting the day I returned hither. As for news there is little stirring, but that Lord Chief Justice has almost done his campaign; he has already condemned several hundreds, some of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others sent to the plantations; which is all I have now time to tell you, but that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Interests himself for Orange.—Intends to get Saxton pilloried by one trial and hanged by another.

Whitehall, January 15, 1686.

"I Charged my daughter by the last post, to let you know, how I came not to write to you then, in answer to yours of the 11th, since when I have had yours of the 18th, and you may easily believe I am sorry Sir William Trumbul has had no better an answer to the memorial he gave in concerning the affair of Orange; I shall still continue doing my part in pressing it. Lord Delamer was tried yesterday, and quitted by his peers, he had good luck, as well as just judges, that the only positive witness which came in against him, was proven to have sworn falsely, for though the rest of the evidence against him was only hear-says, yet all the world was satisfied, he did design to have risen with Lord Macklesfield and Lord Brandon. As for Saxton, which was the perjured witness against Lord Delamer, I have ordered he shall be first prosecuted for perjury, that he may keep company with Oates, and then after he has stood in the pillory, to be tried for being with the Duke of Monmouth in arms."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the Prince for giving refuge to the rebels in Holland.

Whitehall, March 7, 1686.

"I Would not let this bearer return into Holland without writing to you by him, and must need tell you that it does really seem strange to me that so many of the rebels should be connived at Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, and other of the provinces, and permitted to live so publicly as they do: I have charged the bearer to speak to you more at large upon this affair, which is of great concern to me; for so long as those rebellious people are permitted to stay there, they will still have the

opportunities of corresponding with the disaffected here and stirring them up to sedition, whereas if they were driven out of the seven provinces, they could not be so dangerous. Pray consider of this, and how important it is to me, to have those people destroyed : but of this and what else I have to say must refer it to this bearer, and to assure you, you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the rebels are to be expelled from Holland.—Is to make an encampment at Hounslow.

Whitehall, May 7, 1686.

"**W**HEN I came from Newhall on Tuesday night, where I had been a-stag-hunting and had had very good sport, I found both yours of the 7th and 10th here, by the last of which I find the States of Holland had agreed to comply with the treaties in banishing out of their provinces those of my rebellious subjects, which have sheltered themselves so long there ; and by what you say make no doubt but that the States General will do the like, and I am sure you will do your part to have it effectually put in execution, it being a thing of the last consequence for the peace and quiet of my kingdoms to have those turbulent men driven out of the seven provinces, for when once removed from thence, they can do no mischief, tho' the republican spirit increases every day amongst us here ; but should they be but conived there, they would still be contriving new designs to disturbe me, for that restless and rebellious party will never be quiet. I am now preparing to go to Windsor next week, for most of the Summer, and on the 20th of this month I am to have twelve battalions of foot encamped on Hounslow-Heath, as for the horse and dragoons I do not intend to have them there till the middle of next month ; as for the news you had out of Spain as if the French Squadron was arrived in the bay of Cadiz, it was a mistake, for I have a frigate, newly come from thence, in a fortnight's time, that saw none of them there when he sailed thence. By the last letters from Paris I hope that affair will be accommodated, which is all I shall say now, but that you shall ever find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Windfor, May 18, 1686.

“ Since I wrote to you by the last post I have had three, the one by the post of the 21st, by which I find the States General had resolved to banish my rebellious subjects out of the seven provinces, and I make no doubt of your doing your part to have it put in execution, since you know of how great concern it is to me, to have those seditious people sent away from thence. I have another letter from you from captain Steuart of an older date, and one from you also by M. General Mackay, with whom I have spoken fully with, upon all the several heads you charged him to speak with me of, and do assure you that I easily believe all he has said to me from you, and you need not fear that it is in any body's power to do you ill offices with me. As for what concerns the brigade of my subjects which are with you, he will give you a particular account, of what past between us upon that subject. Having not time now to do it myself, nor to say any more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

In the Depot.

Barillon in his dispatch of the 26th of July 1685, says that he saw the Duke of Monmouth pass through the apartments of the palace to his interview with the King; that his arms were tied behind, but his hands free; that none but the two secretaries of state were present at the interview; and in his letter of the 30th of July, that the Duke gave no information against the Prince of Orange.

Barillon says, that the Duke in the Tower desired to see his Dutchess, that she refused unless lord Clarendon should be present, and that when she went, the conversation was “aigre de part et d'autre.” “Sharp both on the one side and the other.”

In the Depot.

In the Memoirs to which the present papers are an appendix, there is an anecdote related upon tradition of King James's having payed a visit to the Dutchess of Monmouth on the morning of her husband's execution, and left with her a grant of his forfeiture. Barillon's dispatch of the 17th of June 1686, confirms one part of the story. It contains these words, “Touts les biens de M. le Duc de Monmouth en Ecosse et en Angleterre lui (*i. e.* the Dutchess) ont été rendu.” “All the Duke of Monmouth's estate in Scotland and England has been restored to his Dutchess.”

B O O K S III. and IV.

UPON the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, King James became intoxicated with his prosperity. Instead of disbanding his army he encamped it on Hounslow-Heath, and resolved to make it the great instrument of his power.

Barillon's dispatches are strewn thick with the expressions of an arbitrary disposition, which flew from James when he felt himself no longer under any controul.

The rebellion was no sooner begun than Barillon in his letter of the 25th of June 1685, informed his court of the use which James was to make of it. The words of the dispatch are: "Il me paroît que le Roy d'Angleterre a été fort aisé d'avoir une pretexte de lever des troupes, et qu'il croit que l'entreprise de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne servira qu'à le rendre plus maître de son pays." "It seems to me that the King of England is very glad to have a pretence for raising troops, and he believes that the Duke of Monmouth's enterprize will serve only to make him still more master of his country." In the Depot.

On the 30th of July 1685, Barillon writes thus to his court: "Le projet du Roy d'Angleterre est d'abolir entierement les milices, dont il a reconnu l'inutilité et le danger en cette dernière occasion, et de faire s'il est possible, que le parlement établisse le fond destiné pour les milices à l'entretien des troupes réglées. Tout cela change entierement l'état de ce pays ici, et met les Anglois dans une condition bien différente de celle où ils ont été jusques à présent. Ils le connoissent, et voyent bien qu'un Roy de différente religion que celle du pays, et qui se trouve armé, ne renoncera pas aisement aux avantages que lui donne la défaite des rebelles, et les troupes qu'il a sur pied." "The King of England's scheme is to abolish the militia entirely, the uselessness and danger of which he found on this last occasion, and if possible to make the parliament apply the fund In the Depot.

intended for the militia, to maintain the regular troops. All this entirely changes the state of this country, and puts the English in a different condition from what they have been in till now. They know it, and perceive very well that a King of a different religion from that of the country, and who is armed, will not easily renounce those advantages which the defeat of the rebels, and the troops he has on foot, give him."

In the Depot.

On the 6th of August 1685, Barillon writes to his court thus: "Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que quoi qu'il arrive, il conservera les troupes sur pied, quand meme le parlement ne lui donneroit rien pour les entretenir. Il connoit bien, que le parlement verra mal volontiers cet etablissement, mais il veut être assuré du dedans de son pays, et il croit ne le pouvoir être sans cela." "The King of England told me, that let what would happen he would keep the troops on foot, even though the parliament should not give him any thing towards their maintainance. He knows very well the parliament will very unwillingly see this establishment; but he wants to be sure of himself at home, and believes he cannot be so without it."

In the Depot.

On the 8th of July 1686, Barillon writes, "Il caresse beaucoup les officiers de ses troupes, et s'explique assez ouvertement, qu'il n'en conservera point dont il ne se croit entierement assuré." "He caresses the officers much, and explains himself openly enough, that he will keep none but those on whom he may entirely depend."

King James could not conceal even from the Prince of Orange the pleasure which he felt from the encampment of his army at Hounslow.

King James to the Prince of Orange.

Windfor, June 29, 1689.

"I Was sorry to find by yours of the 2d of July, that you had had sore eyes, but am very glad to find it now over, and had lasted but so short a time; I believe it was the extreme heats which caused it. All the troops I intended to have at Hounslow are now camped there, in the new camp I designed they should be; they continue very healthy there, having been but four buried since the first camping of the foot upon that heath.

I was there yesterday and saw them for the first time in battalle altogether; they are all good men, and the horse and dragoons well mounted, and all very orderly. To-morrow the Queen's and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp. I have not time to say more, the post being ready to go, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

On the 29th of October 1685, Barillon writes to his court. " Il (James) ajouta, que son dessein étoit de faire revoquer par le parlement l' Acte du Teste, et l'Acte de Habeas Corpus; dont l'un est la destruction de la religion catholique, et l'autre de l'autorité royale." " He (James) added, that his design was to make the parliament revoke the Test Act, and the Habeas Corpus act; one of which was the destruction of the catholic religion, and the other of the royal authority."

In the Depot.

On the 10th December 1685, Barillon represents the sentiments both of Charles and James upon the habeas corpus act, that great charter of English liberty: " Le feu Roy d'Angleterre, et celui cy, m'ont souvent dit, qu'un gouvernement ne peut subsister avec une telle loy." " The deceased King of England, and the present one, have often said to me, that a government could not subsist with such a law."

In the Depot.

James had the idea of converting even his fleet into an instrument of his power at home. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 19th December, 1686. " Le Roy d'Angleterre continue à faire travailler avec soin au rétablissement de ses vaisseaux. Il n'y a nulle apparence que ce soit dans le dessein de faire une guerre au dehors; mais ce Prince est persuadé, qu'il est fort convenable à ses interêts de remettre la marine de l'Angleterre en meilleur état qu'elle n'étoit, et qu'il viendra bien plutôt à bout des choses qu'il desire de ses peuples, quand ils le verront avoir une armée et une flotte prête pour se faire obeir au dedans, et pour empêcher que les factieux ne puissent recevoir des secours considérables du dehors, si les affaires venoient au point d'une rupture ouverte dans le dedans de l'Angleterre."

In the Depot.

✦ The King of England continues to carry on the refitting of his ships with diligence. There is no appearance that this is designed for a foreign war; but he is persuaded, that it is very necessary for his interests to put the marine of England in a better state than it was, and that he shall

much sooner gain what he desires from his people, when they see he has an army and fleet ready to make himself obeyed at home, and to prevent the factious from receiving any considerable assistance from abroad, if affairs should come to the point of an open rupture in England.

In the Depot. On the 29th July 1686, Barillon writes to his court, “Le Roy d’Angleterre temoigne ouvertement sa joye de se trouver en état de faire des coups hardis et d’autorité. Il recoit avec plaisir les complimens qu’on lui fait sur cela. Il m’en a fort parlé, et m’a fait entendre qu’il ne se relachera point.” “The King of England openly shews his joy at finding himself in a condition to strike bold and authoritative strokes. He receives with pleasure the compliments which are made him upon it. He has spoken much to me about it, and given me to understand that he will not relax.”

Lord Rochester saw too late the consequences of the doctrine of the King’s independance upon parliament, with which he had flattered him in the first months of his reign; and wished, but in vain, to repair the mischief. Barillon, on the 11th March 1686, relates a conversation between the King and Lord Rochester on this head: Rochester said, “Que son sentiment étoit toujours, qu’un Roy d’Angleterre étoit bien plus considerable, et bien plus heureux, quand il étoit d’accord avec son parlement, et qu’il pouvoit en tirer les secours dont il a besoin.” *In the Depot.* Sa Majesté Britannique a répondu, “Que son sentiment étoit, que le parlement d’Angleterre seroit plus soumis, et plus disposé a se bien conduire quand il verroit que sans son secours on seroit venu à bout de tant des choses importantes; et que sa resolution étoit de ne pas regner precairement.” “That he (i. e. Rochester) always thought a King of England was much more considerable, and much more happy, when he was upon a good footing with his parliament, and that he could draw from them what supplies he stood in need of.” His Britannick Majesty answered, “That he was of opinion, the parliament of England would be more submissive, and more disposed to behave well, when they saw that without their assistance, so many matters of importance could be effectuated; and that his resolution was, not to reign precariously.”

In the Depot. Barillon, in his letter of 29th November 1685, to his court, describes thus the external manner of James, when he prorogued his parliament. “Le

prince repondit aussi avec des marques de fierté et de colere sur le visage, que faisoit assez connoître ses sentimens." " This Prince gave his answer likewise with marks of haughtiness and anger upon his face, which made his sentiments sufficiently be known."

There is, in King William's box, the following letter from the King to the Prince of Orange upon this prorogation.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of parliament.

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1685.

"I Have had yours of the 4th, in which you write to me about your concerns of Orange. I had this day an account from Sir William Trumbull, that he had spoken to Monsieur de Croissy about it, according to his orders, and I shall by the next order him to insist, and press it still, and will also speak this night to Mr. Barillon about it, and will continue doing my part that you may have satisfaction. I am as sorry as you can be, that I was obliged to prorogue the parliament; I hope when they meet next, they will be in better temper, and consider the true interest of the nation, and not be deceived by some ill men who fill their ears with fears and jealousies. As for news, lord Brandon received his sentence on Saturday last, and was to have been executed on Friday, but I have reprieved him, upon his having petitioned me for my mercy, and acknowledged his crimes, which is all I shall say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

There is also in the box the following letter from the King to the Prince concerning lord Halifax, whom the King had dismissed from his service, because he would not give his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

James the II^d to the Prince of Orange.—Has removed Lord Halifax.

Whitehall, October 20, 1685.

"Since the last post went hence, I have had yours of the 22^d and 25th from Dieren; and if you have had as good weather where you are as we have had here, you will have had good hunting weather. As for news I have found it necessary for my service to lay aside Lord Halifax, now.

that the parliament is so near, for reasons best known to myself. Lord Chamberlain is fallen very sick at his house in the country, and I am told is in great danger. It is so late I have not time to say more to you, but to assure you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

The King's zeal for popery kept pace with his attempts to arbitrary power. Barillon writes to his court, on the 30th April, 1685, that James had desired the Lords Sunderland, Godolphin and Rochester to attend him to the door of his chapel, where he was to go with his guards and officers of his court; that the two first consented, but the last refused.

It is probable that Lord Sunderland, even from the beginning, adopted his master's sentiments in favour of popery. There is in the Depot the following dispatch on this subject, so early as the month of July, 1685.

Extrait d'une Dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

In the Depot. "MILORD Sunderland est entré fort avant avec moi, et m'a paru informé à fond de ce qui s'est passé entre le Roy d'Angleterre et moi sur le sujet de la religion catholique. Ce ministre m'a dit, je ne sçais pas si on voit en France les choses comme elles sont icy, mais je défie ceux qui les voyent de près de ne pas connoître que le Roi mon maitre n'a rien dans le cœur si avant que d'établir la religion catholique; qu'il ne peut même selon le bon sens et la droit raison avoir d'autre but; que sans cela il ne fera jamais en sûreté, et sera toujours exposé au zèle indiscret de ceux qui échaufferont les peuples contre la catholicité, tant qu'elle ne sera pas pleinement établie. Il y a une autre chose certaine, c'est que ce plan là ne peut réussir que par un concert et une liaison étroite avec le Roy votre maitre; c'est un projet qui ne peut convenir qu'à lui, ni réussir que par lui; toutes les autres puissances s'y opposeront ouvertement, ou le traverseront sous main. On sçait bien que cela ne convient pas au Prince d'Orange, mais il ne sera pas en état de l'empêcher, si on veut en France se conduire comme il est nécessaire, c'est à dire, menager l'amitié du Roy d'Angleterre et le soutenir dans son projet.

Je vois clairement l'apprehension qu'ont beaucoup de gens d'une liaison avec la France, et les efforts qu'on fait pour l'affoiblir; mais cela ne sera

au pouvoir de personne si on n'en a pas envie en France; c'est sur quoi il faut que vous vous expliquiez nettement, et que vous fassiez connoître que le Roy votre maitre veut aider de bonne foi le Roy d'Angleterre à établir fermement icy la religion catholique."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mons. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland engaged thoroughly in the interests of popery.

July 16, 1685.

"**L**ORD Sunderland has entered very far with me, and appears to be informed to the bottom of what has passed between the King of England and myself upon the subject of the catholic religion. This minister said to me, I do not know if they see things in France as they are here, but I defy those who see them near, not to know that the King, my master, has nothing so much at heart, as to establish the catholic religion; that he cannot, even according to good sense and right reason, have any other end; that without it he will never be in safety, and always exposed to the indiscreet zeal of those who will heat the people against the catholic religion as long as it is not fully established. There is another thing certain, which is, that this plan cannot succeed but by a strict concert and union with the King, your master; it is a project which is suitable only to him, and which cannot succeed but through him; all the other powers will openly oppose it, or counteract it under hand. It is well known that it is not suitable to the Prince of Orange, but he will not be in a condition to hinder it, if they conduct themselves in France as is necessary; that is to say, if they manage the King of England's friendship, and support him in his design.

I see clearly the apprehension many people have of an alliance with France, and the efforts they make to weaken it; but that will not be in the power of any one, if France does her part; it is upon this you must explain yourself clearly, and make it known that the King, your master, will sincerely assist the King of England in establishing the catholic religion firmly here."

In this dispatch Barillon repeats the following expressions of King James to him, "Qu'il avoit été élevé en France, et mangé le pain de votre

Majesté, et que son cœur étoit François." "That he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majesty's bread, and that his heart was French."

In the *Depot*.

On the 26th March, 1686, Barillon gives his court the following account of the council of seven, mentioned in the *Memoirs* to which the present papers are an Appendix. "Le Comte de Puez à été joint aux autres Seigneurs Catholiques, que le Roy d'Angleterre consulte, et qui s'assemble souvent avec milord Sunderland, pour deliberer sur les affaires qui se presente; c'est un espece de conseil, independent de tout autre, et dans le quel les resolutions les plus importantes se prennent; c'est a dire, celles qui regardent la religion." "The Earl of Powis has been joined to the other Catholic Lords, whom the King of England consults, and who often meet at Lord Sunderland's, to deliberate upon matters that offer; it is a sort of council, independent of any other, and in which the most important resolutions are taken; that is to say, those which relate to religion."

In King William's box there are the two following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, which, if not contradicted by other evidence, would do honour to his spirit of toleration.

King James to the Prince of Orange, Jan. 15th, 1686.—Intreats him to give protection to regular priests in Holland.

"I MUST now write to you about an affair, which, as a Christian, and one who is concerned for you, I could not omit doing; it is to desire you to hinder, by your authority, the banishing out of Rotterdam, and other towns in Holland, the regular priests, I mean the Monks, Friars and Jesuits; since it will not only be a great hardship to the poor Catholics, but will be a real prejudice to your trade and commerce by driving out so many as will leave the country, if they cannot have the regulars with them, and that will certainly be the consequence if the regulars be sent away: and methinks that though in France the Huguenots are so severely dealt with, that should not make you in Holland follow such an example, which must be really prejudicial to the true interest of your government. I could say much more on this subject, but have not time, and so must end with assuring you of my being as kind to you as you can desire."

James the IIId to the Prince of Orange.—Pleased that the Prince has saved the priests.—The King's spirit of toleration.

Whitehall, January 26, 1686.

“ I HAVE received yours of the 30th, in answer to one I had written to you concerning the regular priests, and am very glad to find by it that they will not be sent away, and hope you will still continue of the same mind, and do easily believe you are not for prosecuting any merely for their religion: I always was, and will be of that mind; and am of your opinion, that it was the very hard usage the Huguenots had, and have still in France, which made that affair of the regulars be talked on where you are, and hope, as to that, you will continue of the same mind you are. As for news, Lord Arran, the Duke of Ormond's sonne, died yesterday of a fever, and Lord Digby of the same distemper a day or two before. We have had pretty hard frosts every morning, and clear weather for some days past, but the ice is not thick enough to be cut to be put into the ice-houses; which is all I have to say now, but to assure you, that I shall ever be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

But men oftimes deceive themselves. While James was boasting of these sentiments of toleration to the Prince of Orange, he was congratulating the French on the want of it, in revoking the edict of Nantes. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 4th October, 1685.

“ Sa Majesté Britannique a aussi entendu avec joye, ce que je lui ay dit du progresz merveilleux dont Dieu benit les soins de votre Majesté à l'égard des conversions de ses sujets; n'y ayant point d'exemple qu'il soit arrivé une pareille chose en aucun tems, n'y en aucun pays, avec tant de promptitude. Sa Majesté Britannique croit bien, qu'un ouvrage si important ne demeurera pas imparfait, et que Dieu fera la grace à votre Majesté de l'achever entierement.” “ His Britannic Majesty also heard with pleasure, what I told him of the wonderful progress with which God had blessed your Majesty's cares with regard to the conversion of your subjects; there being no example of a similar thing happening at any time, or in any country, with so much promptitude. His Britannic Majesty believes, that so important a work will not remain imperfect, and that God will grant

In the Depot.

you the favour to finish it entirely." And on the 18th August, 1686, Barillon writes thus, " Monf. Adda a fait part au Roy d'Angleterre de ce que le Pape a dit dans le consistoire sur le sujet de votre Majesté; et de ce qu'elle a fait pour l'extirpation de l'hérésie en France. Sa Majesté Britannique m'en a parlé comme d'une chose qui lui fait un grand plaisir." " Mr. Adda (that is, the Pope's Nuncio) has communicated to the King of England what the Pope said in the consistory upon the subject of your Majesty; and what you have done to extirpate heresy in France. His Britannic Majesty spoke of it as a thing that gave him great pleasure."

In the *Depot*. Barillon, in his dispatch of the 1st July, 1686, represents thus the sentiments of James upon the disappointment which the opposition of the Scotch parliament, in matters of religion, had given him. " Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit, que les affaires d'Ecosse n'avoient pas pris le chemin qu'il avoit esperé d'abord, et que la caballe des factieux avoit empeché les gens bien intentionnez de faire ce qui étoit raisonnable, et qu'ils avoient resolu; que cependant il tireroit un grand avantage d'avoir connu les veritables desseins des uns et des autres; qu'il pouvoit par l'autorité que les loix lui donnent en Ecosse, etablir en faveur des Catholiques la liberté que le parlement n'avoit pas voulu accorder." " The King of England told me, that the affairs of Scotland had not taken the turn he at first expected, and that the factious cabal had hindered the well intentioned from doing what was reasonable, and what they had resolved upon; that nevertheless he should draw a great advantage from knowing the true designs of both; and by the authority which the laws give him, he could establish in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the parliament refused to grant."

In this dispatch Barillon relates, that the Scotch who opposed in parliament James's schemes about religion, said, " That they must by refusing to sell their God, wipe off the reproach of having sold their King."

In the year 1686, James broke the Duke of Queensberry's protestant ministry in Scotland, and filled that of Lord Clarendon in Ireland with papists. In King William's box there is the following intimation of this step by the King to the Prince.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Changes made in Scotland and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 2, 1686.

“**I** Received yesterday yours of the 8th, by which I find you were then just going from the Hague, and that you are still apprehensive that there will be something attempted by France to disturb the peace of Christendom, and that you may be attacked. I confess I cannot believe either, especially the last, knowing upon what good terms Holland and this country are together. I had not time to tell you the last post of some alterations I have made in Scotland, having put the Treasury into commission, and made the Duke of Gordon master of the castle of Edinburgh, both which I thought very necessary for my service; and now that Lord Clarendon is settled in Ireland, am going to make a new Chancellor, and to change some of the Judges in that kingdom. All things continue, God be thanked, very quiet here, which is all I have to say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

King James, at length, in December, 1686, avowed his intention of observing ceremony no longer in favour of his religion, by dismissing Lord Rochester, who had refused to be converted by a conference between popish and protestant divines. Barillon, in his letter of the 12th December, 1686, describes thus the state of men's minds while the issue of that conference was in suspense. “Cette affaire est si importante, et doit avoir des suites si considerables, qu'elle tient toutes les autres en suspense.” In the *Deport.*
 “This affair is so important, and ought to have consequences so considerable, that it keeps all others in suspense.”

B O O K S V. and VI.

THE papers to which I have had access in King William's cabinet, and at Versailles, enable me to give the public an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about in England with some degree of precision and certainty. The arranging of the papers on this head is the most pleasing part of my task, and, I hope, will be so to others; because there are few great families in this country, who will not find that their ancestors (of whatever party they were) had a hand in it in one way or other.

Two months after the dismissal of Lord Rochester, King James sent the Marquis d'Allbeville ambassador to the States, under pretence of removing some jealousies between him and them, but with private instructions to sound if the Prince of Orange could be brought to consent to the abolition of the tests. The Prince took advantage of this, to send Mons. Dyckvelt, ancestor to the Earl of Holderness, ambassador into England; a man of extraordinary abilities, and who had been connected with the popular party in England ever since he had been ambassador there in the second Dutch war. The pretence of this embassy was also to remove jealousies between the nations, but his private instructions were to sound the minds of the English, and to assure them of his protection in favour of their religion. The consequence of these embassies was, that the Prince refused to consent to the abolition of the tests, and King James was displeased with Dyckvelt for having intrigued in his kingdom.

The correspondence on this subject is in King William's box as follows.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Allbeville sent ambassador to Holland.

Whitehall, December 30, 1686.

“ I HAVE now dispatched this bearer, M. d'Allbeville, my envoy to the States, and would not let him go without writing by him to you, to assure you of the continuance of my kindness to you, and the desire I have to continue in a very good correspondence with the States, of

both which I have charged him to speak with you, and of several other things of concern, and desire you will give him entire credit in what he shall say to you from me, so that I need not repeat any of them to you, and assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt comes ambassador to England.

Whitehall, February 18, 1687.

"**L**AST night late I had yours of the 21st, by which I find Mons. d'Abbeville was to have his audience of the States as last Monday, so that now M. Dycvelt may have his audience when he pleases; which, when he has, he shall find, notwithstanding so many foolish and malicious reports, that I have not altered my mind, but continue my resolution of living with a perfect good understanding with them. But of this more when I have spoken with him. It is late, and I am to rise early to go a hunting tomorrow morning, and so must end; which I do, with assuring you of my being as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Has prorogued parliament, and is to give liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, March 18, 1687.

"**I**HAD yours of the 21st from the Hague, so late on Tuesday last, that I could not then let you know I had received it. I see by it that you were satisfied that the peace of Christendom would be preserved at least for this year. I am of your opinion too, and you know was all along of opinion, that France would be quiet, believing it not their interest to be otherwise. I have this day resolved to prorogue the parliament till the 22d of November next; and that all my subjects may be at ease and quiet, and mind their trades and private concerns, have resolved to give liberty of conscience to all dissenters whatsoever, having been ever against persecuting any for conscience sake. I have not time to say more, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The nation is pleased with the declaration for liberty of conscience.

Whitehall, April 22, 1687.

“**I** Had yours of the 25th before the last post went away, but so late, that being to hunt next morning, I could not then let you know it : I find by it you was to go soon to the Hague. I am very glad all things continue so quiet, on your side of the water ; they are so here, and I find my declaration contributes much to it, the generality of the nation being satisfied with it and at ease by it. As for news, the Duke of Buckingham is dead ; what will become of his encumbered estate no body as yet can know, and besides, there will be several pretenders to it. I have no more to say, but that you shall always find me to be as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Windfor, May 20, 1687.

“**I** Came to this place last night, and had so much business on Tuesday last, that I could not then let you know that I had received yours of the 20th, by which I am sorry to find you think the Christian army in Hungary is not like to be so strong as to do much this campaign ; and if the season be as backward and the drouth as great there, as 'tis here, forage will be very scarce, for here, without it rain within a week or ten days, there will be but little grass or hay. As for news, all here is very quiet, and my declaration has put people's minds much at ease, and I have great reason to be well pleased with having put it out. On Wednesday morning early there happened a fire near the Tower, which burnt near thirty houses, and amongst the rest part of the victualling office, where I lost about five thousand pounds worth of cask and pipe staves, but by the care of those that were there, and the blowing up of some houses, the rest was saved. I have no more to say, but that I shall be always as kind to you as you can desire.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

*King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Sent by Mr. Dyckvelt.—
A letter of compliments.*

Windsor, May 29.

“THE same reason that kept you so long without writing to me, has hindred me all this while from answering your letter; for if you believe that your letters can be troublesome to me, I must needs think that you judge by yourself, in finding mine so, or else you could never wrong me so much as to have that thought of me. I have desired Mr. Dyckvelt, who is the bearer of this, to assure you that I have all the desire in the world to do you service, having as much esteem and friendship for you as I ought to have, and as I shall always endeavour to shew you upon all occasions, being more than I can exprefs, what I hope you will believe me, truly yours.

M. R.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt returns to Holland, and is to let the Prince know what the King expects of him.—N. B. What the King expected was his consent to the abolition of the Tests.

Windsor, May 28, 1687.

“I Would not let this bearer Mr. Dyckvelt return without writing to you by him. I have spoken to him of your private concerns, of which he will give you an account, as also of the public affairs here, and have spoken very freely to him of them, and told him (what I think) I have reason to expect from you, for the good of the monarchy, as well as our family, which he has promised to tell you, so that I need not write it, but referr you to him, and though, may be, some persons, that are not well affected to me, nor the government, have misrepresented some things to him, and find fault with my proceedings in several things, yet I am satisfied I have not made one step, but what is good for the kingdom in general, as well as for the monarchy, and have more reason every day than other to be pleased with having put out my declaration for liberty of conscience; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall always find me as kind to you as you can desire.”

*The Prince of Orange to King James.—In answer to the foregoing letter.
—Au Roy.*

Jun 17, 1687.

“UN peu après le depart du dernier courier, Monsieur de Dycvelt est arrivé, qui m’a rendu la lettre que votre Majesté m’a fait l’honneur de m’écrire, et m’a informé de la bonté qu’elle avoit de vouloir prendre soin de mes interêts particuliers ; dont je lui rends tres humbles graces, et la supplie de s’en souvenir dans les occasions qu’elle jugera convenable ; au reste il m’a rendu compte de ce que votre Majesté lui avoit en chargé de me dire de sa part, sur quoi elle me permettra de repeter ce que cy-devant j’ay eu l’honneur de lui écrire, qu’il n’y avoit personne au monde qui pouvoit avoir plus d’averfion que j’avois pour toute sorte de persecution au fait de religion, et qu’assurement je ne voudrois de ma vie y donner les mains ; mais aussi je ne pourois jamais me résoudre à faire quelque chose contraire au bien et à l’interêt de la religion que je professe ; et qu’ainsi je ne puis concourir en ce que votre Majesté desire de moy ; ce que j’espere elle ne trouvera pas mauvais quand elle considerera sur quel fondement je le fais, et qu’en tout autre chose elle ne pourra trouver personne qui sera plus attaché à ses interêts, et qui la servira avec plus de fidelité, souhaitant passionnement de trouver des occasions à le temoigner à votre Majesté par les effects, et que je serai toute ma vie avec un profond respect ce que je dois.”

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to King James the II^d, in answer to the foregoing letter.—Refuses to concur in abolishing the Tests.

June 17, 1687.

“A Little after the arrival of the last courier, Mr. Dyckvelt came here, who gave me the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write to me, and informed me of your goodness in wishing to take care of my particular interêts, for which I give you humble thanks, and entreat you to remember them upon proper occasions. As for the rest, he gave me an account of what your Majesty gave him in charge to say to me on your part. Upon this head your Majesty will give me leave to repeat, what I formerly had the honour to write you, that there is no person in

the world who has more aversion then I have for all sort of persecution on the score of religion, and that certainly I will never in my life put my hand to it; but at the same time that I can never resolve to do any thing contrary to the interest of the religion which I profess; and that therefore I cannot concur in what your Majesty asks of me. This I hope you will not take amiss when you consider upon what foundation I do it, and that in every other thing you will find no body who will be more attached to your interests, and who will serve them with more fidelity, which I wish passionately for occasions of testifying to your Majesty by effects, and that I shall be all my life with a profound respect what I ought.

*King James to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that the Prince will not consent
—Complains of Dyckvelt.*

Windsor, June 16, 1687.

“**I** Had yours of the 17th so late on Tuesday last, that I could not then answer it. Since when, I have had also yours of the 20th, and write now because I intend to hunt to-morrow, and am sorry to find by it, that you say you are against persecuting any for conscience sake, and yet that you cannot be for taking off all those laws, and the Tests which are so very severe and hard upon all Dissenters from the Church of England; and since what Mr. Dyckvelt said to you from me, could not alter your mind as to that, I cannot expect that a letter should prevail with you; so that I shall say no more on that subject now, and only tell you that you will find that he Mr. Dyckvelt has not taken right measures of affairs here, by giving so much credit to some that do not wish me and the monarchy well, and continue their old methods of creating fears and jealousies. I have not time to say more now, and shall always be as kind to you as you can expect.”

Before Dyckvelt came to England, the Prince of Orange had privately applied to Lord Halifax to know his sentiments upon the state of things in England.

In King William's box there are the two following letters from Lord Halifax upon this occasion.

PART I.

L. a

*Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Advise the Prince to remain quiet ;
and wait for accidents.*

December 7, 1689.

“ **A**FTER so long respite, your Highness will allow me to make use of the privilege of presenting my duty to you, and to put you in mind that my conjectures concerning the parliament have proved true, and if you will give me leave to make my guesses of what is to come, I am of opinion that the meeting appointed in February will not hold, there being no steps made to make it more adviseable at that time than it was last month. Besides, the condition the King of France is in, which is looked upon here as desperate, is a circumstance of that weight, that it must probably either produce a new scheme, or make very great alterations in the old one. Your Highness sees what use it is to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably. Accidents come that either relieve, or at least help to keep off the things we fear for a longer time ; and that is no small matter in the affairs of this world. I must give you my most humble thanks for your Highnesses favours to my son, who is, as becometh him, extremely proud of them, and will I hope make it his ambition, as well as it is his duty, to deserve them ; if he should not, he must renounce the rest of his family, and particularly your Highness’s eternally devoted servant.”

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

January 18, 1686-7, S. V.

“ **Y**OUR Highness will give me leave to acknowledge your goodness to my son, in giving him such favourable admittance, which hath made him yet more ambitious to deserve the countenance you have been pleased to afford him. I hope you will put him in the list of those who are to be disposed of by you, since it is a tenure by which I and mine shall ever hold. He is so full of his veneration for your Highness, that he doth himself a very good office with me, by such an effect of his judgment ; yet I will not answer for it so far, but that he may have been guilty in the manner of paying his respects, in which if he hath failed, his youth and his good intentions must be his excuse. He will bring your

commands carefully to me, which will be so much the more welcome, by giving me the assurance that I still retain the same place in your Highness's thoughts, though I have not of late had so frequent opportunities of recommending myself to them. In one thing I have had the luck to guess right, and not to mislead you by a wrong conjecture; that is, about the meeting of the parliament, which you see is to be prorogued, notwithstanding the positive discourses to the contrary. The motion of public things, at present, hath not only variety but some kind of contradiction in it. It is very rapid, if looked upon on one side, if on the other, it is as slow; for though there appeareth the utmost vigour to pursue the design which hath been so long laid, there seemeth to be no less firmness in the nation, and aversion to change; so that conversions are so thin, and those which are, so little fit to be examples, that the prevailing party is not a little discountenanced by making no quicker progress; for that reason it is believed they will mend their pace; and if so, every day will give more light to what is intended, though it is already no more a mystery. Whatever happeneth, nothing must ever alter my resolutions of being devoted to your Highness's service."

Soon after Mr. Dyckvelt arrived in England, the Countess of Sunderland sent a messenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the affectation and mysteriousness of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own suspicion is, that the letter was her husband's diction, and the postscript her own. The reader will suspend his judgment of Lord Sunderland till he has seen the subsequent papers relating to him in this Appendix.

Countess of Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—A singular letter.

March 7, 1687.

"**A**T the distance that Mr. Sidney is I am in a great streight how to let your Highness know a matter which appears to me very necessary you should be acquainted with; and however strange it may seem to you my undertaking to write to you, which is what I never did before, and upon a subject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you; I think it better not to

In King William's box.

trouble you any farther with apologies, but humbly beg a suspension of your opinion of me till you see Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am sure, to tell you I am not apt to meddle in these affairs; and as I do only trust him, so I think nothing but your service could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may seem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way should be known, ruin to myself. But I shall pass by all that to let you know the business now on foot here. Your Highness is not ignorant I am sure what endeavours have been used here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the Test and penal laws, upon which, as I suppose you know, several have and do quit their places rather than submit to; which makes the Roman catholics see they are not likely to carry it that way; which brings me to that which I think of importance you should know; that the last essay they will put in practice as to the parliament, is to flatter Monsieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there shall be an entire union between England and Holland, nay farther, I am sure they intend to make you the finest offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland shall be put into what hands you will; and for all this they ask you to bid Monsieur Dixfield, and Monsieur Citers declare in your name, that you wish the parliament would take off these laws, and that you think it reasonable they should do so. By this means they fancy they may compass their point, which when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highness is the best judge of the likelihood of its being performed. But with submission to your better judgment in all things, I must beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful servants, that are acquainted with the temper of the nation, at present talk of this matter of the industry that is used to take off these laws, to give you both theirs and my own opinion in this matter; that if there were a possibility for you to be brought to do what they will ask of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealousies of your Highness here, which may be of very ill consequence to you, and even your joining in it would never do their business, I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is possible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the second point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehension enough of your being caught with these fine offers, so have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the am-

bassadors I did not know, for I am sure there is no offers, nor no dangers, that will not be very artificially shewed Monsieur Dickfield. For the last I am sure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as slight: But a negociation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage; but infinitely the contrary; which is the only inducement I have in sending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been so cautious that the bearer does not know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monsieur Benticke a letter about my garden, and inclosed one for the Princess, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I most humbly beg you will ask her pardon, and bestow yours upon the faithfullest and humblest of your servants.

A. SUNDERLAND.

I must beg leave of your Highness to inclose a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very soon, and till he comes I beseech you make no answer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two posts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let pass over. Some Papists the other day that are not satisfied with my Lord, said, that my Lord Sunderland did not dance in a nett; for they very well knew, that however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his business; there was dispensations from Holland as well as from Rome; and that they were sure I held a correspondence with the Princess of Orange. This, Sir, happened the day I first heard of their design to make these propositions which I have writ, which made me defer sending till the King had spoke to me of it, which he has done; and as I could very truly, so I did assure his Majesty, I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princess, but about treacle water or work, or some such slight thing; so I did likewise as truly assure his Majesty, that if there had ever been any commerce, I should never be ashamed, but on the contrary proud to own it, seeing he must be sure that the Princess could never be capable of any thing with any body to his disservice. Now how this fancy came in their heads I cannot imagine; but that they have a mind to do mischief; for as your Highness knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; so the Princess knows I have been so unhappy to

A P P E N D I X.

have very little acquaintance with her till of late I have had the obligation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occasion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and esteem for her that I am capable of to my last breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which if your Highness cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is used to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came safe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I shall be very much at ease. If, by the bearer, your Highness will be pleased to let me know my letter came safe to you, I shall think myself very happy."

Monf. Dyckvelt carried over with him among other letters the following from England to the Prince of Orange. It is singular that most of them are from men of the Tory party. The letters are interesting to English readers, because they display the various characters and views of the writers. The letters are all in King William's box.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—Assures him the Princess Anne and himself are to stand firm to their religion.

S I R,

"THE Princess of Denmark having ordered me to discourse with Monf. Dyckvelt, and to let him know her resolutions, so that he might let your Highness, and the Princess, her sister, know, that she was resolved, by the assistance of God, to suffer all extremities, even to death itself, rather than be brought to change her religion. I thought it my duty to your Highness and the Princess Royal, by this opportunity of Monf. Dyckvelt, to give you assurances under my own hand, that my places and the King's favour I set at naught, in comparison of the being true to my religion. In all things but this the King may command me, and I call God to witness, that even with joy I should expose my life for his service, so sensible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, Sir, with thus much of myself, I being of so little use to your Highness, is very impertinent, but that I think it may be a great ease to your Highness and the Princess to be satisfied that the Princess of Denmark is safe in the trusting

of me; I being resolved, although I cannot live the life of a faint, if there be ever occasion for it, to shew the resolution of a martyr. I am, with all respect, Sir,

Your Highness's
Most obedient servant,
C H U R C H I L L."

May 17, 1687.

Colonel Bellafys to the Prince of Orange.—Boasts of his loyalty, and assures the Prince of his service.

May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

" I HAVE presumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highness the assurance of my devotion to your service in particular; the testimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and sufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the same to those who are so nearly related to it as the Princess Royal and your Highness. Though my hand be weak to express it, or enlarge myself upon this subject, my heart shall supply that defect, in the profession I make, with all submission, of being

Your Highness's most obedient,
And most humbly devoted servant,
B E L L A S Y S."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Mons. Dyckvelt has to say from him.

" I Received the honour your Highness was pleased to do me by Mons. Dickvelt with all the respect I owe, and will ever pay to your commands, which I shall, on all occasions, exactly obey. He is too well informed of every thing here, to pretend to give you any account of what has passed since his coming; and if he does me right, as I doubt not but he will, he must assure your Highness, that no man in the world is with more respect and submission than I am

Your Highness's
Most faithful, most humble,
And most obedient servant,
S U N D E R L A N D P."

Windfor,
May 28, 1687.

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Dyckvelt has to say.—The Prince has the universal attachment of the Protestant interest to him.

May it please your Highness,

“THE great ambition I ever had of serving your Highness, made me most readily obey the commands I received from you by the Heer Van Dyckvelt, who has encouraged me to the presumption of this humble address to your Highness.

I have taken several opportunities of discoursing with him those things, which I thought might be of use or satisfaction to you; I shall not trouble your Highness with any account of affairs here at this time, for he has so fully informed himself of them, that he can give you a very exact account of them: and of one thing especially he may assure you, and that is, the universal concurrence of all Protestants in paying the utmost respect and duty to your Highness, for you are the person on whom they found their hopes, as having already seen you a refuge to the miserable, and a most eminent defender of their religion.

And among the many votaries your Highness has here for your long life and increase of honour, none can be more zealously so than myself, who am resolved, with the greatest fidelity, to endeavour, by all the actions of my life, to obtain the title of

London,
May 18, 1687.

Your Highness's

Most obedient and most humble servant,

NOTTINGHAM.”

Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange.—A letter of compliment.

S I R,

“THOUGH I have nothing worth giving your Highness the trouble of a letter, yet I must not omit the opportunity of laying myself at your Highness's feet by Mons. Dyckvelt, who, I doubt not, will do me the justice to assure you of my most obedient duty. I should take it for a great honour to have any commands from your Highness, and am ambitious of nothing more than a share of your good opinion, as a person perfectly devoted to your service. Mons. Dyckvelt will give your Highness

so full an account of all affairs here, that I need add nothing to what he is so well informed of; I shall only take the liberty to say, that as his conduct here has been very grateful, so all good men are troubled he stays no longer with us. That God would prosper and bless your Highness in all your undertakings, and give you all the comforts in this world, suitable to your merits, is the constant prayer of, Sir,

London,
May 28, 1687.

Your Highness's most faithful,
And most obedient, humble servant,

CLARENDON."

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—General assurances of good will, but avoids entering into particulars.

"NOW that Monsieur de Dycvelt is returning to your Highness, I presume to present my humble thanks to you for the very gracious and kind letter your Highness was pleased to write to me by him, upon a subject, that unless it had been by a sure hand, it was not safe to say any thing; and by what hand soever, was much beyond what I could expect; but what good opinion I have gained on that occasion, I shall endeavour not to lose upon any other. In the circumstances I am, as to my retirement, both on the public and my particular account, your Highness cannot expect that I should say much to you; and if it were otherwise, Monsieur de Dycvelt hath had so good means of knowing every thing, and hath so very good qualities, that it were very unnecessary to write, where he is going: I am confident that he will do me right, that I have not been reserved towards him, when he hath done me the honour to communicate any thing to me. All that I can say more, is, that my wishes are very good, but neither now, nor for some time, before every body else saw it, could they signify much. In what condition soever I am, I beg your Highness to believe, that I shall always continue, with all duty and submission, to be as I ought to your Highness."

New Park, May 29, 1687.

Mr. Fitzpatrick to the Prince of Orange.—Protestants of all parties have opened themselves to Dyckvelt.

S I R,

May 30, 1687.

"THE many obligations I have to your Highness, and the sincere passion I have for your service, emboldens me to acquaint your Highness with the great importance that I think it would be not only to your

PART I.

B b

Highness, but the States, if Monsr. Dickvelt might be sent ambassador here in the room of Monsr. Van Citters; his great prudence, and the zeal that he is believed to have for your Highness and the Princess, has got him the universal good opinion of all parties here, tho' differing never so much in their religions, which your Highness will easily find by the freedom with which they have communicated their innermost thoughts, hopes and fears to him, and I am sure will do still, when there is any occasion for it. The thoughts of which I submit to your Highness's great wisdom, begging your pardon for this liberty, and the continuance of your favour to the person in the world that is most ambitious of an opportunity to express his gratitude, and manifest how much he is, Sir,

Your Highness's most obliged,

And most faithful servant,

J. FITZPATRICK.

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—Recounts Dyckvelt's services to the Prince in England.—Proposes a personal interview of some of the English with the Prince, that overtures might be made.

London, May 30, 1687.

“**A**T the arrival of Monsr. Dyckvelt in this place, I did by him receive the honour of being remembered by your Highness. He also then told me, that your Highness had been pleased to name me, amongst some others, with whom it was your pleasure he should confer on such occasions as he should think were for the service of your Highness. I am, therefore, in the first place, obliged to return your Highness my humble thanks for so great an honour, and next to do that justice to Monsr. Dyckvelt to assure your Highness, that as you could have employed nobody here who would have been more agreeable to your well-wishers in this country, so I am confident that nobody could have discharged themselves better than he hath done, both in his deportments to the King, and with all the satisfaction that could have been wished to those with whom he has conversed concerning your Highness (of which both the numbers and quality have been very considerable;) his chief business having been to give assurances of your Highness's great firmness in the protestant religion, and to make known not only your wishes, but endeavours, that no alteration may be made amongst us, otherwise

than by parliament, and as our law directs. By his prudent management of these discourses, he has done your Highness great service, and in all other things your Highness's worth and merit were so well known before, that there needed nothing to set them forth more than your own actions have already declared them to the world.

I am sorry he is able to bring your Highness no better an account of our services during his stay here, but you know that our present stations do render most of us but little capable of doing any thing which can deserve to be thought considerable. I confess, that could there be a convenient opportunity for some of us to have a personal conference with your Highness, it is not only my opinion, but the opinion of others, who have the honour of corresponding with your Highness, that some overtures might be made which would be of use to your service, and I hope from these hands your Highness is well informed of their thoughts who are devoted to your service. For my own part, I am so tied to be of that number by what I have done already (besides my continued inclinations to be so) that if I were disposed to alter that character, I should not be able to make myself believed, unless your Highness would contribute to it by some proof of your displeasure towards me, which I can never fear, because I am equally assured of your justice, as I am of my own integrity to your service and of the satisfaction I have received by those happy successes I have had in it, to which I am sure no competitor can pretend an equal share; and, therefore, if in this, I presume to say more than I ought, I hope I may be pardoned a little vanity, having been the happy instrument of so great a public good, as, I doubt not, it will at last prove, as well as a particular one to your Highness. I am glad to find that Monsr. Dyckvelt, who is so able to serve your Highness, is so well established in your confidence, as I understand by my Lord Halifax, to whom you gave him such credentials as made me willing to speak much more freely to him than otherwise I should have done; but yet I must confess to your Highness (which I rely upon your justice to keep to yourself), that finding his Lordship, who received those credentials, not willing to impart some things to him which are not very proper to be written, I thought it less prudent for me to say to him all that I could wish your Highness were truly informed of. I say not this with the least reflection upon my Lord Halifax (who,

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I am confident, is truly zealous in your service) but to shew our unhappiness, who dare not, by second hands, speak what was necessary for your knowledge. I have only to add, that if I can, in any kind, be serviceable to your Highness, your commands will meet with so great obedience and faithfulness, that I shall not consider myself, if your Highness shall think me worthy of the continuance of that favour I have formerly received, and which, I am sure, I have not justly forfeited. In the mean time, I will beg the honour of being presented by your Highness, with all duty, to the Princess's memory, and that I may imagine 'tis your Highness's opinion, as I truly am

Your Highness's most obedient,

And devoted servant,

D A N B Y."

Lord Hallifax to the Prince of Orange.—There is little fear that popery will prevail.

May 31, 1687.

"I Deferred my thanks for the honour of your Highness's letter, till I could pay them by the same hand that brought it. Having had the opportunity of discoursing frequently, and at large, with Monsr. Dickvelt, it would be less proper now to enter into particulars, or to make repetitions of that, which he will be so much better able to explain. I shall, therefore, only put your Highness in mind, that my conjectures about the meeting of the parliament have not hitherto been disappointed; and if I may be allowed to continue them, I am of opinion there will be none in November, neither this, nor a new one, though that is threatened upon a supposition, that it shall be made up of Dissenters, and that they will comply with whatever shall be expected from them. Neither of these will be found true, in my opinion, if the trial should be made: there are a great many circumstances which make such a scheme impracticable, and the more they consider it, the more they will be discouraged from attempting it; besides, the case, in short, is this; the great design cannot be carried on without numbers; numbers cannot be had without converts, the old stock not being sufficient; converts will not venture till they have such a law to secure them as hath no exception to it; so that an irregularity, or any other violence of the law, would so entirely take away the effect of it,

that men would as little run the hazard of changing their religion after the making it, as before; this reason also fixeth my opinion; though other arguments are not wanting; and upon this foundation I have no kind of apprehension, that the legislative power can ever be brought to pursue the present designs. But our affairs here depend so much upon what may be done abroad, that our thoughts, though never so reasonable, may be changed by what we may hear by the next post. A war in Germany, and much more if one nearer to us, will have such influence here, that our cotincils must be fitted to it; and whether or no we shall have an avowed part in it, it is pretty sure we shall have a leaning to one of the parties; and our resolutions at home are to be suited to the interests abroad, which we shall happen to espouse. Mens jealousies here are so raised, that they can hardly believe the King of France's journey to Luxembourg to have no more in it than bare curiosity to see it; but your Highness hath your eyes so open, and your thoughts so intent upon every thing that moveth, that, no doubt, you either see there is no mystery, or, if there is, you have searched to the bottom of it. Mons. Dickvelt will entertain your Highness with all his observations, which he hath made with great diligence, having conversed with men of all complexions, and by that means he knoweth a great deal of the present state of our affairs. The opportunities he hath had, will make him the more welcome here again, whenever there shall be a fair occasion of bringing him. His free way of conversing, giveth him an easier admittance than he would have, if he was too reserved; and his being known to be a creature of your Highness, encourageth men to talk with him with less restraint. May your Highness continue well and safe, and may no ill happen to you, till I cease to be the most devoted of your servants."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Mons. Dyckvelt has to say.

S I R,

"P Resuming that your Highness has heard of an unlucky accident that has happened to me lately, I think myself obliged humbly to beseech your Highness not to believe me capable of intending any rudeness to the King's palace, having, on the contrary, endeavoured all I could to avoid it, and hope no action of my life can render me suspected of want

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of respect to his Majesty, or the Royal Family. I could heartily wish, Sir, that affairs in England were according to your Highness's satisfaction. Monf. Dyckvelt has been pleased to acquaint me with your Highness's intentions as to many things, and among thousands here that would be glad to receive your orders on any occasion, none can be more cordially, nor with greater respect, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,
And most humble servant,
DEVONSHIRE."

May the 31st.

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Strong assurances of his services.

S I R,

London, May 30, 1687.

" I F E A R you will think this an unpardonable presumption in one that is so inconsiderable, and so much a stranger to your Highness; but I was unwilling to let pass the occasion, without assuring you, that tho' I hope you have a great many servants and friends in this place, yet there is not one more entirely and faithfully so than myself. It is so much every honest man's interest, not only to say, but be so, that I hope you will the easier believe what I speak is not a compliment, but the truth of my heart. The great, and only consolation that we have left is, that you are so generous to countenance us in our misfortunes, Sir, at the same time we know you approve we here are in the right. Your commands is the rule I have set myself to conduct the rest of my life; and whenever I shall be so happy as to receive them, they shall be obeyed with that duty that becomes, Sir,

Your Highness's most humble,
And most obedient servant,
SHREWSBURY."

Sir George Mackenzie to the Prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

May it please your Highness,

" I Have adhered to the principles of the Protestant religion, and the interest of the royal family from a due sense of duty and honour, and therefore I neither value popularity nor expect rewards. But, Sir, your great

virtue and exemplary firmness obliges me to assure your Highness, that there is none in this Isle of Britain more devoted to your service than,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most humble servant,

And most sincere well-wisher,

Edin. June 9, 1687.

GEO. MACKENZIE.

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—The King may come to trouble, and the Prince will be his only support.

SIR,

June 16.

“ I Have presumed to recommend a young French gentleman to you by the hands of Monsieur Bentinck, and beg your pardon for it. I was very glad to receive so good assurance of your welfare as Monsieur Dickvelt brought over. It is not only for your near relation to the crown, that you are so much prayed for here; but for your usefulness to it. For if the King should have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any sure friend he has to rely upon abroad, besides yourself, whom therefore God long preserve a blessing to the King and kingdom, which shall ever be the prayer of,

Sir,

Your Highness's

Most obliged humble servant,

H. LONDON.

The old Earl of Bedford to the Prince of Orange.—Laments his own misfortunes.—Attached with his family to the Prince.—Prays for him.

May it please your Highness,

“ GREAT and surprising honours the more joy they give, the more they disable us to express it, and I am not ashamed to own I cannot find words to represent the deep sense and just gratitude with which my heart abounds, for those assurances Monsieur Dyckvelt has given me of your Highness's compassion for my late calamity, and gracious disposition to comfort an unfortunate family, which I should be less concerned for than I am, if I could doubt any branch of it would ever fail in any point

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of duty to your Highness's person, which is here universally held in the highest veneration for those Christian and princely virtues that make you worthy of whatever your high birth has given you, or may entitle you to. That it would please God to give you long life, and to continue all his blessings to you, is the hearty prayer of him that has the utmost devotion to your service, and is, with all humility,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most faithful, most obedient,

And most humble servant,

B E D F O R D.

Upon Monsieur Dyckvelt's departure, the Prince of Orange took advantage of the Queen's having notified to him her mother the Dutchess of Modena's death, to send over Count Zulisten (ancestor to the Earl of Rochford) with compliments of condolence; a person the more dangerous, because, under the appearance of a man of pleasure and a soldier, he had great talents for business, and because he was intitled to a degree of confidence from the English malecontents proportioned to his near relation to the Prince. He stayed three weeks in England.

Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuosity which was natural to him, had advised the Prince to an attempt upon England, though with the inconstancy which was also natural to him, he afterwards changed his mind, both of which will appear from his letter below. But the Prince, who was subject to neither weakness, gave it in charge to Zulisten to find out from those whom he consulted, whether there was any probability that the King, who had just dissolved the parliament, would call a new one; knowing well that the legal and constitutional mode of redress was by parliament, and that whilst there were hopes of it, all others were improper.

The letters about Zulisten's coming over from Holland, or which were written in answer to letters or messages which he brought from the Prince, are as follows, in King William's box.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the Dutcheſs of Modena's death.

Windsor, Auguſt 2, 1687.

“**T**HE friendship you have ſhewed me on all occaſions, and the part that I have always flattered myſelf, you took in my concerns, makes me hope I may have a great ſhare of your compaſſion in the great grief I now lie under, for the death of the Dutcheſs of Modena my mother; in which nothing can comfort me, but the hopes I have of her happineſs in the other world. Next to this I think it ſome eaſe in one's afflictions to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, aſſuring you that in what condition ſoever I am, I ſhall always be with all ſincerity truly yours.”

M. R.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Count Zuliften is come over with compliments of condolence.

Windsor, Auguſt 15, 1687.

“**I** Have received yours by this bearer M. Zuliften, in which you let me know the part you take in the death of the late Dutcheſs of Modena; I would not let him return without a letter, and have only time to tell you now, being to ſet out early to-morrow for Portſmouth and ſo forward on my journey, and it being late, that you ſhall always find me as kind to you as you can deſire.”

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for his condolence by Zuliften who returns.

Bath, Auguſt 21, 1687.

“**I** Have ſo many thanks to return to you for the part which M. Zuliften has aſſured me you take in my juſt grief for the loſs of my mother, and for ſending him to aſſure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to expreſs to you the ſenſe I have of it: I hope you are ſo juſt to me as to believe it much greater then I can make it appear in this paper. I have deſired this bearer to help me to perſuade you of this, and to aſſure you, that I do deſire above all things the continuance of your

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C c

friendship, which I cannot but think I do a little deserve by being with all the sincerity and affection imaginable, truly yours,

M. R.

Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange.—In despondence.—Dissuades him from taking the bold courses he had formerly advised him to.

S I R,

“**I**F as to that particular affair I had the honour to give your Highness an account of, (and that you were pleased frankly to engage in,) my expectations are so far diminished, that I think myself obliged to own I am become very doubtful of the success of it, and for that reason must rather dissuade from, than persuade to the expence those for whom I have, and ought to have the last respect, and whose interest I would manage with a tenderness, equal to my desire of serving them, yet I think myself sufficiently recompensed for any private disappointment by the prospect of public affairs, and the hopes I have your Highness’s interest increases every day more and more in strength, and do not doubt will grow stronger even by the endeavours of the court to weaken it, and be past being shaken by their tricks, or by their power. Monsieur Zulisten (perhaps more proper, as not taken for a man of business, but a particular servant of your Highness’s for what he was sent about) came in a very lucky time, and it was no little satisfaction to me to find upon the whole, he will very near give your Highness an account of affairs, as I had the honour to represent them to you. Sir, I may easily fall into mistakes, but my unfeigned wishes for your prosperity, and being entirely convinced we ought to serve your Highness to the utmost of our power, if only upon the principles of self love, and preservation, but these opinions too agreeing with my inclinations, will make me I am sure never offer to your Highness but the true and sincere thoughts of a heart, that I protest, Sir, is entirely yours. I take the liberty to send a little pamphlet as it came to my hands, though Monsieur Zulisten not going to day as he intended, I believe he will carry some of them over in print, which may be easier read. Those who sent it me concluded I believe the design would please me, and as I was intimating to your Highness that I thought some of our church would do well to take this subject in hand, I was glad to see it not ill executed. I hope it will both please and satisfy your Highness when you

read it. I flatter myself I shall not be long absent from Loo, my old passport stands good still, (my dear Roman catholic friends not being able to quit their greedy hopes, but persisting in their desires to me, and entreating me every hour to proceed in this affair, though I fear, not with good reasons of their side, of which I sent Mr. Sidney at large my thoughts, not changed since, no more than my resolutions of following your Highness's directions in it, which way soever they incline, with all pleasure and readiness.) So, Sir, I do not trouble you with any more of public affairs, but that I find lord Halifax positive in his opinion of no parliament: I presume daily care will be taken, that they may have less reason every moment to hope to succeed in what alone they would have it met for, and so it may become probable that the session may not be long, but it is best erring of the surer side, and conclude that a parliament may sit, that the best means may be taken to prevent its being fatal to us, for blows given by parliament are deadly ones. Your Highness I fear will think you have reason to judge quite differently of me from what other people do, appearing to you thus upon all occasions timorous, and desponding. I own, Sir, where your interest, or the public is concerned, I may be liable to needless fears, out of diffidence that naturally follows a sincere, and real concern; but in the executing part of any commands I shall ever receive from your Highness, you will give me leave to answer for myself, and assure you, your Highness shall never find a fault or hesitation in, Sir, your Highness's most obedient, humble and respectful servant,

MORDAUNT."

September the 4th, our style.

Sir, you will excuse this postscript; of great consequence I think it is not, but since I write my letter, I am informed they are sending a privy seal for Sir Rowl. Gwinn. As he loves talking of business I fear he may have been indiscreet, or else it is to endeavour to fright him from coming into England to stand for parliament man."

*Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to the Prince's letter.—
The Prince has put queries by Count Zulesteen whether there was a probability of a parliament, and what would be the success of one.—Thinks there is an intention to call a parliament, but that it will not be ventured.*

May it please your Highness,

“ I WAS much surpris'd to receive the honour of a letter from your Highness by Mr. Zuylesteyn ; your acceptance of my service obliges me to the utmost fidelity, and is an ample reward of it too.

I understand by Mr. Zuylesteyn that your Highness would know what likelihood there is of the calling and meeting of a parliament ; and, if there should be one, what probably may be the success of such a meeting.

'Tis very hard to foretell what will be the issue of the present councils ; for though the end at which they aim is very plain and visible, yet the methods of arriving at that end have been very variable and uncertain ; so that although in other times the best prophecies are the conjectures of wise men, yet now perhaps they are the worst, and to guess right is rather luck than wisdom, which makes me presume to lay before your Highness my apprehensions, and to hope for your pardon if I should be mistaken, since wiser men may be so too.

I think it is very probable that the present resolution is to have a parliament ; the sudden and surprisng declaration of indulgence to men, who a little before were hated, and laboured under great severities ; the placing them in offices of trust in corporation towns ; the encouragement of them to stand for members of the next parliament, and the particular reason that is given them for it, which is, to repeal the penal laws, in which the Protestants and Papists seem to have a joint interest ; and this, that it may appear the more specious without abrogating the test : all these are evidences of their intention to advise the calling of a parliament, and together with the King's progress into the country, look preparatory to it.

Nevertheless, when I consider what little hopes they can justly have of any fruits of those endeavours when a parliament shall meet, I do conclude that they will change their councils, and that there will be no parliament this winter.

For it is very likely, that if a parliament should be summoned, the members of the church of England, having already given sufficient evidence of their zeal for their religion and laws, will, upon that account, as well as being the major part of the nation, prevail in most elections; so that few Dissenters, upon whom the Papists do now depend, will be chosen; and further, I am apt to think, that few Dissenters will attempt it, as easily foreseeing, that if they do not comply in all things that are expected, or shall be asked of them, they will expose themselves to great displeasure, and so run the hazard of forfeiting that toleration which they are well pleased to enjoy, though they like not the method by which it is given them.

And it may reasonably be expected, that such Dissenters as shall be chosen, will not, in their present circumstances, concur to the repeal of so much as the penal laws: for this has been their opinion in former parliaments, in which they never would give that ease to the Papists, which they desired for themselves, and to do it now, might encourage the Papists to greater attempts; and the Dissenters would never recover the reproach of having been factors for popery, and the unhappy instrument of prejudicing the protestant religion; and consequently will not have such reason to expect a like indulgence in other times, as their prudent behaviour in this conjuncture will justly intitle them to; and which, they hope, will then be established to them by a more firm and lasting security.

But after all, notwithstanding the pretences of some Papists and their agents, yet if the Non-conformists would repeal the penal laws, it is very probable it would not be granted, unless the test were taken away too, which is the great obstruction to the Papists designs; for though many of the nobility and gentry of that party would acquiesce in the enjoyment of their religion and estates; yet if there be reason to think, that the zeal of some men would go much further, especially of the priests, who can have no interest in stopping here, surely they will never contradict their former artifices, and suffer the Dissenters to be freed from the terror of the laws, which is the most probable inducement to them to join with the Papists, and without such an union, the Papists cannot expect to abrogate the test, and complete their designs.

And yet, if this repeal of the penal laws would be granted, there are so many other things that will be taken into consideration by a parliament, and of a nature so contrary to the present interest and humour of the Papists, that it will be next to impossible that there should be time to bring such a bill to perfection, how zealously soever it may be prosecuted in the House of Commons, or otherwise encouraged.

All which difficulties the Papists cannot be so blind as not to foresee, or so vain as to contend against them, as yet, in a parliament.

All which I most humbly submit to your Highness, and must intreat your pardon for the trouble, and the many other faults of so long a letter, of which nothing could have made me guilty, but my great zeal, upon all occasions, to shew myself

London,

Sept. 2, 1687.

Your Highness's most obedient,

And most humble servant,

NOTTINGHAM."

Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange, in answer to one from the Prince.—Zuylesteyn's services.—Repeats his desire for a personal interview with the Prince.—Refers to Zuylesteyn.

Wimbledon, Sept. 4, 1687.

"I WAS very proud to receive by Monsieur Zuylesteyn the honour of a letter from your Highness, and to find in it so great a condescension as to remember the services of one, who is now so little able to pay any. The character your Highness gives of Mons. Zuylestein would give me the confidence to say any thing to him, which I would venture to say to any body but yourself; nor would I forbear, upon that recommendation, to say to him any thing which were so material to your Highness's service, as might receive any prejudice by the delay; but I can say nothing which is so pressing in point of time, nor would I commit to writing what the thoughts of others are besides my own, without their consent, for which I have had no opportunity since I received your letter, which was but on the 2d instant. I am sure your Highness will receive all necessary accounts of things from hence as the occasions require, and Mons. Zuylestein will inform you of the present posture of all things amongst us. I confess I could wish that the understanding, both on your Highness's part and

outs, were more perfect, in relation to such future events as may probably happen (and which are too long to be expressed by letters); but I have touched upon some things of that kind to Monsr. Zuylestein, as questions which I have been asked by others, and he made me such answers as I was glad to hear, and which he said he was instructed to give, in case any such enquiries were made, of which he will give your Highness an account. I made some open attempts the last summer, and some private ones in this, to have seen if I could have gained leave to go into Holland with the same indifferency that it is permitted to many others; but I still found designs were laid to do me more prejudice by that journey, than I could have done service to your Highness. I must, therefore, deny myself the honour of waiting upon your Highness, till my attendance may be as useful, as such an occasion would be agreeable to me; and then nothing shall be an hindrance to

Your Highness's most obedient,

And faithful servant,

D A N B Y."

Lord Hallifax to the Prince of Orange.—Thinks no parliament will be called, and that the nation will not receive popery.—Advise caution.

August 25, 1687.

"I T would be unnecessary to give your Highness a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewsbury, who hath already so good a one established and allowed in the world; I shall only say, in short, that he is, without any competition, the most considerable man of quality that is growing up amongst us; that he hath right thoughts for the public, and a most particular veneration for your Highness; he is loose and untyed from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the first discourse you shall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reserve. There is so little alteration here since Monsr. Dickvelt left us, that I can hardly acquaint you of any thing of moment which would be new to you. I have told my Lord Shrewsbury my thoughts, who is very well able to improve and explain them to your Highness. It is not to be imagined but that a certain design will still go on; all that is to be hoped is, that it will be so crippled with the difficulties it every day meeteth with, that it will

be disabled from making so swift a progress as is necessary for the end it aimeth at. There are some things that can never prevail upon men's minds, if they have time allowed to consider them; this may be the present case, the whole kingdom being now so well informed, that all men are settled in their dislike of the unwelcome thing that is endeavoured to be imposed on them: this consideration alone freeth me, in a great measure, from the fears I might otherwise have; not that it throweth me into such a security as to make me neglect the means that shall, from time to time, be thought most reasonable for our preservation, towards which your Highness seemeth to us to be in the best method that can be imagined, in being firm to your true interest, immoveable in every thing that is essential, and cautious to give no advantage which might, with any colour of reason, be made use of against you. This conduct being continued, can hardly fail, there being so many things that concur to make it succeed. I find by Mons. Zuleystein, that your Highness is inclined to believe there will be a parliament; upon which, being encouraged in my good luck in guessing right hitherto upon the same subject, I take the liberty to tell you that I do not think any will be called, till, by some sudden accident, it shall become necessary and unavoidable: my reasons for it will be better repeated by my Lord of Shrewsbury, so that I shall not now give your Highness the trouble of them. We are full of the news from Hungary, which is not equally welcome to the several Princes in Christendom. We think it may have a considerable influence upon this part of the world, and if the season was not too far advanced, we are apt to believe France might this very year give some trouble to its neighbours. What part we here might have in it, I cannot tell, but suppose we shall be slow to engage in a war, which, besides the expence, to which we cannot furnish, is liable to so many accidents, that we shall not be easily persuaded to run the hazard of it. Your Highness hath your thoughts intent upon every new thing that ariseth in the world, and knoweth better than any body how to improve every conjuncture, and turn it to the advantage of that interest of which you are the chief support; and as your care and skill will never be wanting, so, I hope, they will meet with their just reward of good success, which is the top of my wishes, as it is the utmost of my ambition to be serviceable to a Prince to whom I am eternally devoted.

London, August 25, 1687.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.—Zuleystein's services.

September 1, 1687.

“**H**AVING so lately written to your Highness by my Lord of Shrewsbury, who is able to give you a particular account of things here, I have nothing to acquaint you with by Monsr. Zuleystein, who seemeth to deserve the good opinion you have of him, his character agreeing so well with his recommendation, that he is extremely welcome to all those he converseth with; neither is he wanting to make such observations as may be useful for your service, by which he layeth a foundation of being so well informed of our matters here, that he may prove to be a very good instrument to be further employed when the occasion shall require it. The King has returned from his progress as far as Oxford, in his way to the Bath; and we do not hear that his observations, or his journey, can give him any great encouragement to build any hopes upon, as to the carrying on some things, which appear every day to be more against the grain. Besides the considerations of conscience and the public interest, it is grown into a point of honour, universally received by the nation, not to change their opinion, which will make all attempts to the contrary very ineffectual. A parliament is still talked of, but I find no cause to alter my judgment in that matter, it being still the same I have already told your Highness, and of which I have desired my Lord of Shrewsbury to give you some of the reasons that induce me to it. I have no more to add, but that I am, and ever will be, unalterably devoted to you.”

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—The church of England steady.—The Dissenters, he hopes, will open their eyes.

S I R,

September 5.

“**Y**OUR remembrance of me by Monsr. Zuilisten, has obliged me to acknowledge that great honour by this means; and though I have nothing of moment proper to communicate by writing, nevertheless it is of moment to me, not to lye under the imputation of ingratitude, lest I should justly lose so great a satisfaction, as sometimes to be owned amongst your most humble servants. If you shall find by the account

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Monf. Zuilften gives you, that I have communicated nothing to him worthy that confidence you were pleased to recommend, I beseech you not to believe that it has proceeded from any reservedness, where I had so strong an assurance from yourself, but that I had no more to say; for since my misfortune of lying under his Majesty's displeasure, I frequently retire into the country out of reach of the great news, and when I am in town I meet with little but what is so public, that it would be impertinent for me to repeat it. We have daily complaints how busy the priests are amongst the conventicles, but we hope a few discoveries will make that party wiser. The clergy continue very firm to their principles, very watchful over their flocks, and very dutiful to the King; and, next to my allegiance, I can confidently aver, that there is no duty which I shall not most chearfully pay to your service, and pray God for your prosperity all the days of my life,

Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,

And obedient servant,

H. L O N D O N."

There is no doubt that the petition and imprisonment of the Bishops were the immediate causes of the dethronement of King James, because they set the spirits of men, which were moving only slowly before, in an instant in a ferment. Between the time of Dyckvelt's return to Holland, and the petition of the Bishops, the Prince received, among other letters, the following from England. They are all in the box.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his own injuries, the nation's, and the Prince's.

S I R,

" I Wish my present circumstances would allow me to be any ways serviceable to your Highness; but as they are, if I did not believe you had much better intelligence from other hands than I am able to give, I should presume now and then to send your Highness an account of affairs according to my weak apprehension of them. And to that end (if your Highness permit) I have thought of a private way of writing, which Mr. Forrester will acquaint you with. I have been hardly enough used in my own particular, but I conceive the whole nation is not much better; and for any

things appears to me, I cannot but think, as things are like to be carried, both here and in Ireland, your Highness's interest is like to suffer. I dare not enlarge upon particulars, but beg of your Highness to believe, that I wish my liberty for nothing more, than to have some occasion to shew myself, Sir,

July 10, Old Stile.

Your Highness's most devoted,

And most humble servant,

DEVONSHIRE."

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.

—Thanks for his assurances to the church of England.

S I R,

October 27, 1687.

"THE terms by which you were pleased to express yourself in reference to the church of England, were every way so obliging and satisfactory, that I look upon myself as bound in duty to acknowledge the deep sense I and every true member of the same church ought to have of so great a blessing. And though you are at present at a distance from us, and not so well able to partake of the fruits of so good intentions, yet when we shall have served this King with all fidelity, so long as it shall please God to continue him amongst us; as none that know you will question the sincerity of your performance, so, I make no doubt, but you will soon find the benefit of having taken up so wise resolutions. For, Sir, you that see all the great motions of the world, and can so well judge of them, know there is no reliance upon any thing that is not steady to principles, and prefers not the common good before private interest. I pray God continue to be gracious to you, and to direct and prosper all your councils, and to crown the endeavours of your life with the consummation of all happiness; which shall ever be the most hearty prayer of, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,

And obliged servant,

H. LONDON."

Lady Sunderland to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—

Assurances of her attachment.

S I R,

"WHEN there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me, of writing by one of your Highness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the ho-

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nour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my intentions; and I have at present so great a head-ache, that I have writ, if possible, a stranger hand than ordinary; but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty, as well as inclination, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,

Dec. 23, 1687.

Humble, and obedient servant,

A. SUNDERLAND."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSEIGNEUR,

"J'E n'ay gardé de laisser passer cette occasion d'assurer votre Altesse de mes très humbles services, et de prendre la liberté de luy témoigner en peu de mots mes pensées sur la lettre qui a paru icy depuis quelques jours sous le nom de Monsieur Fagel. On est ravi d'y trouver les sentiments de votre Altesse et de Madame la Princesse en matiere de religion, non seulement si equitables, mais si conformes à l'intereit et au gout de toute la nation, si ce n'est de ceux qui par une pretendue liberté de conscience, cherchent l'occasion de la detruire entierement, comme en effet on le voit en tous les lieux ou ils ont de pouvoir de le faire. On y remarque une distinction tout à fait judicieuse, des loix appellé Penales, à celles du Test; puisque ces dernieres ne regardent que le maintien de la religion et du gouvernement, qui sans ce boulevard courent grand risque d'être renversés. Ce qui me regarde en particulier, ne vaut pas la peine d'en importuner votre Altesse; cependant je ne souhaite pas qu'elle le fût pas d'autres voyes, avant que je me donnasse l'honneur de lui en toucher quelque chose. Je prens donc la liberté de lui mander, que le mariage de mon fils avec la fille de Madame Russel est sur le point d'être conclu; au quel je supplie très humblement l'agrément de votre Altesse, ce que reglera toujours la conduite de Monseigneur,

De votre Altesse le très humble,

Et très obeissant serviteur,

DEVONSHIRE."

Translation.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on his conduct about Fagel and Stuart's letters.

M Y L O R D,

“ I Cannot let this occasion pass of assuring your Highness of my most humble services, and to take the liberty of testifying to you, in a few words, my thoughts upon the letter which has appeared here a few days ago under the name of Mr. Fagel. People are in raptures to find the sentiments of your Highness and of the Princess in matters of religion, not only so equitable, but so agreeable to the interest, and to the taste of all the nation, except those who by a pretended liberty of conscience seek the opportunity to destroy it intirely, as in effect is seen in all places where they have the power to do it. People remark in the letter a distinction altogether judicious between the laws which are called Penal, and those of the Test; seeing these last have no regard but to the maintenance of the religion and government, which without this bulwark run a great risk of being overturned. What regards me in particular, is not worth the while to trouble your Highness with; yet I do not wish that you should know it from others, before I do myself the honour to touch upon it to you. I take then the liberty to inform you, that the marriage of my son with the daughter of lady Russel is upon the point of being concluded; to which I beg the approbation of your Highness, which will always regulate the conduct of,

My Lord, your Highness's most
obedient, and most humble servant,
DEVONSHIRE.”

The Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—His gratitude for the honour of it.

S I R,

“ I Am so sensible of the great honour that your Highness is pleased, by my dear nephew Howe, to express for me, and likewise the great grace and favour he received from your Highness, that I hold myself obliged (with all humble submission for the presumption) to declare my gratitude under my own hand, intreating your Highness to believe, that

my prayers and best wishes are and ever shall be for your increase of glory and happiness suitable to your bravery and merit, and that high esteem your Highness has over all this part of the world, which shall always have the first place in the heart of,

Your serene Highness's most dutiful,
And obedient, humble servant,
WINCHESTER."

Basing, Feb. 20,
1687-8.

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Is to be with the Prince in summer.—The King makes no progress either in England or Scotland.

London, March 14, 1687-8.

"I Could not, Sir, let Mr. Howe, who goes away this afternoon, part without making my humble acknowledgements to your Highness for the kind expressions in your letter; if the state of our affairs here will any ways permit, I will not fail this summer to pay them in person, and shall be disappointed of a journey I very earnestly set my heart upon, if things should come to such an extreme as to prevent me. The only considerable news I can learn here is, that there has a disagreement happened between my Lord Sunderland and Fra. Peters; how that may be composed, or what consequences it will have if it continues, I dare not decide. Though we constantly talk of a parliament, yet I imagine our ministers are a little at a stand in their councils, when they consider how unanimous the answers have been through all the counties; neither have they met with much better success, as I am informed, in Scotland. I have this very morning, Sir, met with a report, which though I hope it is not true, yet it has renewed the fears I have very often had for you: we are told there is a man seized at the Hague for attempting to poison you. Though I have not this from so sure hands as to give absolute credit to it, yet I cannot help putting your Highness in mind how possible it is, and beg in the behalf of millions that you will take care of yourself; it seems hard that one should be solicitous for others sake, when one is naturally not so for oneself. But the same generosity that in ordinary cases makes one despise a life, in so extraordinary a circumstance as yours obliges you to be careful, since the security and happiness not only of many men but many nations depend upon it; be, Sir, but as zealous to preserve

yourself for the common good, as you have been forward to expose it for the same cause, and all your servants will remain satisfied with your care: that it may be effectual shall be the daily and hearty wishes of,

Sir, Your Highness's most obedient,

And faithful, humble servant,

SHREWSBURY."

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in answer to a letter from the Prince.—Probably a cant letter assuring the Prince of his services.

"I Received your most serene Highness's letter, and since you are pleased to desire the conclusion of the match proposed, to show your Highness how ready I am on my part in obeying your commands, I have immediately sent over a gentleman to make out what I have promised (which I will perform) by Captain Howe my dear nephew, and I do not doubt but that the Marquis of Montpelier, my ancient friend and acquaintance, will do the same, and then this gentleman I send has power to conclude. I am infinitely obliged to your Highness for your many kind expressions to me, which I will always own by all the duty and service that ever can be paid to

Your most serene Highness,

Basing, April 16,
1688.

By your most dutiful and obedient,

And most obliged humble servant,

WINCHESTER."

Marquis of Winchester to the Prince of Orange.—Sends over his two sons to visit the Prince.

Basing, April 23, 1688.

"I Cannot omit any opportunity humbly to present my duty and service to your most serene Highness by a safe hand. This I know to be so, having had great experience of my friend captain Man's fidelity and ingenuitie, having intrusted him in many matters of great moment, in which I always received full and ample satisfaction; I therefore have

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humbly recommended him to your Highness's favour, which he is very ambitious to have. I hope this small essay of my service will be agreeable to Your most serene Highness, offered with all duty, by

Your Highness's most dutiful,

Obedient, and most obliged, humble servant,

WINCHESTER."

I humbly desire leave to present my humble duty and service to her royal Highness.

My son Wilts will soon pay his own and my duty to your most serene Highness, going over this week; my son William is impatient to do the same, and though I am loath to part with him before his brother returns, yet I have that desire that all mine should shew their duty to your Highness, that I will deny my own inclination, (as soon as I can overcome it) and send him to lie at your feet, for he is wholly devoted to your service and interest. I envy my son's happiness, which nothing but my ill health could hinder me from enjoying, but I freely submit to God's will to be deprived of that great pleasure I desire earnestly."

Part of a letter from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.—The nation wants only an opportunity to show their zeal for his service.

London, March 27, 1688.

"**M**ANY of our ladies say, that the Queen's great belly seems to grow faster than they have observed their own to do; and because it is fit her Majesty should always have the greatest persons near her in this condition, I hope the Princess will take care that the Princess Anne may be always within call; and especially to see (when the time is near) that the midwife discharges her duty with that care which ought to be had in a case of so great concern. Our zeal here for the Protestant religion does apparently increase every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made such an union for the defence of it through the Kingdom, that I verily believe they begin to despair of supplanting it by violent means, and it is certain they can do it no other way. The constancy and firmness which both the

Princesses have shewed in their religion, and your Highness's mind in relation to things here (which was so prudently made known by Monsieur Fagel's letter) has so contributed also to add courage to that union, that I look upon our security to be much strengthened by it, as well as both your highnesses interests raised here beyond your own expectations, insomuch that I am confident there wants only an opportunity to the greatest part of the nation to shew their zeal for your service. I must beg your Highness's excuse for so tedious a letter, and yet I am desirous to have said much more, but that without some discourse to explain myself, I might be liable either to have my meaning mistaken, or not fully understood, which would only be to give your Highness an useless trouble.

I have one thing only to lament, that although our union in general be very great, yet particular distrusts are so great also, as render many good intentions very ineffectual. I am, with all that duty and respect I ought to be, your Highness's most faithful and obedient servant."

Part of Lord Danby's letter to the Prince of Orange.—The King's suspicions of the Prince.

London, March 29, 1688.

"I Am forced to give your Highness the trouble of this second letter, to inform you, that upon my son's asking the King's leave to go beyond sea, his Majesty granted the leave, but said with some heat, Provided it be not into Holland, for I will suffer nobody to go thither. My son answering that he had no design of any thing but to see a country he had not seen; the King answered, Perhaps so, but he had relations who had other designs there, and he knew there were those in Holland who gave themselves hopes of seeing some English Lords at the head of some of their squadrons, but he would take care to prevent it. After this discourse to my son, which was in a room next to the bed-chamber, he came out into the bed-chamber, and my Lord Dumbarton and Lord Litchfield being only there, the King said to my Lord Dumbarton, I find they are much surpris'd in Holland with my raising three new regiments; to which my Lord Dumbarton answered, that he wonder'd why they should be so; the King replied, they would be surpris'd much

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more before he had done with them. This was on the 27th at night, and on the 28th my son went to court to get his pass from one of the Secretaries of State, and the King happening to see him, called him to one side of the room, and said, My lord, I had newly received some news last night when you spoke to me, which had disturbed me, and made me speak to you in some disorder, therefore I would not have you take notice of any thing I then said to you, for I dare trust you to go where you will; but said, If you go only for curiosity, you might as well satisfy that elsewhere as in Holland."

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.

MONSEIGNEUR,

"J'E n'ay pu trouver une occasion avant le depart de Monsieur Howe de temoigner ma très humble reconnoissance à votre Altesse de toutes les bontés qu'elle a pour moy. Les affaires icy sont à peu pres dans le même état. Le Roy declare toujours son intention de convoquer un parlement, quoique les affaires ne semblent guerres disposées à cela. On croit que ce pourra être environ le tems des couches de la Reyne. Les catholiques Romains voulans absolument que ce soit d'un fils, et d'ailleurs l'armée de Hounslow fera dans le voisinage. Ce ne sont que des conjectures, et votre Altesse ne peut pas manquer de lumieres bien plus authentiques que celles que je suis capable de luy donner. Mais il est constant, qu' on s'attend à de grandes extremités. Toutes nos esperances sont fondées sur la seureté de votre personne, et de celle de Madame la Princeesse, lesquelles Dieu preserve de toutes sortes de machinations et d' attentats. Personne le souhaite avec plus d' ardeur et de passion que fait, Monseigneur, le plus obsequieux et le plus humble de tous vos serviteurs.

DEVONSHIRE."

Le 13me de Mars, V. S.

Translation.

Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe.—Insinuates suspicions of the Queen's pregnancy.

MY LORD,

"I Have not found an occasion before the departure of Mr. Howe to testify my humble gratitude to your Highness for all your goodness to me. Affairs here are almost in the same state. The king declares

always his intentions to assemble a parliament, although matters do not seem disposed for it; they believe that it will be about the time of the Queen's being brought to bed. The Roman Catholics incline absolutely that it should be a son; and besides, the army at Hounslow will be in the neighbourhood. These are only conjectures, and your Highness cannot want lights much more authentic, than those which I am capable of giving. But it is certain, that we expect great extremities. All our hopes are founded upon the security of your person, and that of the Princess, both of whom may God preserve from all plots and attacks. Nobody wishes it with more ardour and passion, than does, my Lord, the most obsequious and the most humble of all your servants,

13th March, Old Stile.

DEVONSHIRE."

*Lord Hallifax to the Prince of Orange.—The King gains nothing on the nation.
—Advises to cautious measures.*

"I Avoid giving your Highness unnecessary trouble, and though this hath a good conveyance, yet it may, perhaps, be so long in its way to you, that it will not be pertinent to repeat what you will have had from other hands. There hath been little that is new this great while, since either the old methods have continued, or else what appeareth to be new, is at least not strange, being produced by a natural consequence, and therefore to be reasonably expected and foreseen. In some particulars, to men at a distance, the engine seemeth to move fast, but by looking nearer, one may see it doth not stir upon the whole matter, so that here is a rapid motion without advancing a step, which is the only miracle that church hath yet shewed to us. Every attempt turneth back upon them. They change the magistracy in the corporations, and still for the worse, as to their designs. The irregular methods have spent themselves without effect; they have run so fast that they begin to be out of breath, and the exercise of extraordinary powers, both ecclesiastical and civil, is so far from fixing the right of them, that men are more united in objecting to them. The world is still where it was, with this only difference, that it groweth every day more averse to that which is endeavoured to be imposed upon them. The very Papists who have estates, act like pressed men, and have such an eye to what may happen in a revolution, that their present advantages hardly make amends for their fears; upon the whole, they are so

divided between the fear of losing their opportunity by delay, or spoiling it with too much haste, that their steps are wavering and uncertain, and distrusting the very instruments they use, they are under great mortifications, notwithstanding the appearance of carrying every thing without opposition. Being thus discouraged by their ill success in their attempts, some say they are altering their scheme, and not finding their expectations answered by the Dissenters, they have thoughts of returning to their old friends, the High Church Men; but the truth is, the Papists have of late been so hard and fierce upon them, that the very species of those formerly mistaken men is destroyed; they have so broken that loom in pieces, that they cannot now set it up again to work upon it: in the mean time the men at the helm are certainly divided amongst themselves, which will produce great effects, if men will let it work, and not prevent the advantages that may be expected, by being too unquiet, or doing things out of season; the great thing to be done now, is to do nothing, but wait for the good consequences of their divisions and mistakes. Unseasonable stirrings, or any thing that looketh like the Protestants being the aggressors, will tend to unite them, and by that means will be a disappointment to those hopes, which otherwise can hardly fail: nothing, therefore, in the present conjuncture can be more dangerous than unskilful agitators, warm men, who would be active at a wrong time, and want patience to keep their zeal from running away with them. It is said by some, that there is an intention of making a new attempt to beget a better understanding with your Highness; that in order to it, the present Envoy, as less acceptable, is to be removed, and another sent, who, if he should be less known, may, perhaps, for that very reason, be the more dangerous: if this should be true, and that softer proposals should be made from hence, it will deserve all your caution to receive them so as neither to give advantage by rejecting them too roughly on one side, or on the other, by giving any colour for them to pretend there is a consent given to any thing that may be inconvenient. After the reports raised here, without any manner of ground, first of your Highness being a Papist, then of your being desirous to have the Test repealed, there is nothing of that kind which may not be thought possible; so that if there should now be any nearer treaty, it might, perhaps, be made use of with more advantage by them, to mislead men at a distance into a wrong belief. In lower instances, it hath not been unusual,

in such cases, to set proposals on foot, of which no other effect is expected, than to bring men under doubts and suspicions from their own friends. The instruments that shall be made use of, their interests and dependencies being well considered and examined, will give a great deal of light, if any thing of this kind should be attempted; and it happeneth well, that they will have to do with one who knoweth so well how to judge of men and things, as not to be within the danger of being easily surpris'd, neither by any upon this occasion, nor by any other of our countrymen who speak what is dictated to them by men of several interests, or endeavour to value themselves upon their correspondencies and influences here, which, I doubt, have seldom foundation enough for your Highness to build upon. There can be nothing better recommended to you, than the continuance of the method which you practise; neither comply in any thing that is unfit, nor to provoke further anger by any act that is unnecessary. This will not, perhaps, be sufficient to prevent ill will, but it will, in a great measure, secure you from the ill effects of it. Your Highness must allow me to applaud my good fortune in not having hitherto made a wrong conjecture about the sitting of the parliament: notwithstanding the discourses that have been made by the great men, with the greatest assurance, that it would meet one time after another, I ever thought it impracticable, considering the measures that are taken, and I am now as much an unbeliever for October, as I was for April, which was the time prefixed for the meeting; with all this your Highness must expect, that it will still be given out, there will be one; it is not, perhaps, thought convenient, neither indeed would it be so, that all foreign Princes and states should conclude, there never will be a parliament in England in this King's reign; a great deal would depend upon such an opinion received, which would have an influence upon their manner of treating with us; but according to the most rational conjecture, how extraordinary soever things may appear which have been done, the letting a parliament meet as matters now stand, would so undo them all, that it is hardly to be supposed possible. The other great point which at present maketh the discourse is, whether England will have a war with the States; in this, the more thinking sort of men are of opinion there will be none. There is disposition enough for it, for reasons which need not be explained; but there are so many discouraging circumstances, and the prejudice from ill success would be so much greater than the utmost which can

be hoped in case of prospering, that the men in power must go against all the common methods of arguing, if they venture upon an experiment which may be so destructive to them. I have tired your Highness so long, that it is time for me to close with my wishes for your own and the Princess's health, which are of that consequence to the world, that nothing can be desperate whilst you are well and safe. For myself, I must ever be unalterably devoted to you.

London, April 12, 1688.

Some of the preceding letters mention the vain attempts of the King to gain over individuals to agree to the abolition of the Tests. The following papers are authentic evidences of this.

King James to the Duke of Hamilton.—Desires a positive answer whether he will agree to the abolition of the Tests.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1688.

In the Duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

“**B**EFORE this gets to you, you will have had time to discourse with some one of the law, as well as of the gospel, concerning the Test and Penal laws, so that you may as well now, as at any time, give an account if you can comply with what I desire, and join with those of my loyal subjects who are for the repeal of these laws and Test, and for settling an entire liberty of conscience, which you know is what I drive at, and make no doubts of bringing about in all my dominions. You see the condescension I had for you, in not expecting an answer from you before you left this place, and that now I do not let this question be asked you by any but myself; but now I must do it, and expect your positive answer as to these points I have mentioned to you, and of which I discoursed with you before you went, and that by letter to myself. If you come the length of what I desire, of which I can make no doubt, then I leave it to you to let the rest of these, I trust in my affairs there, know it or not, as you think best. But in case you cannot comply, then you are to let nobody know it but myself and Lord Sunderland, who sends this to you: and I expect your positive answer within two or three days after your having received this.

J A M E S R.”

The Duke of Hamilton to King James, in answer to the foregoing.—Desires time to consider.

S I R,

“Y O U R Majesty’s letter did extremely surprise me, to find I had mistaken the time your Majesty had allowed me to consider of the repealing our Penal laws and Test. Since I came to this place I have had very ill health, and this being the last week of the session, I have not had the opportunities so to discourse with any one of the law or gospel, as to receive that satisfaction as I can give your Majesty a positive answer how far I may join in the repeal of the Penal laws and Test for settling an intire liberty of conscience. I have been ever, and am still of the same opinion, that none should suffer for conscience-sake; and that every peaceable subject should be allowed the exercise of their own religion; but how this is to be done with security to the Protestant religion, our laws, and oaths, is in my humble opinion what will deserve serious consideration, and is above what I can presently determine myself in. Therefore I do most humbly beg of your Majesty to pardon my not being more positive in my answer, and allow me a forbearance till I wait on you, and your Majesty may be assured, as on earth I desire nothing so much as your favour; so it will be no earthly consideration will make me do any thing to lose it, which would be the greatest affliction could come to, Sir,

In the Duke of Hamilton’s possession.

Your Majesty’s

Most humble, most faithful,

And most obedient subject, and servant.”

In Lord Preston’s copy-book of dispatches there is the following order.

“T H A T the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland, and Westmorland do call before him, all the deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace, within his lieutenancy, either jointly, or separately, as he shall think best, and ask them, one by one, the following questions.

In Mr. Graham’s possession.

1. If in case he shall be chosen Knight of the Shire, or Burgesse of a town, when the King shall think fit to call a parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal laws, and the Tests.

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2. Whether he will assist, and contribute, to the election of such member, as shall be for taking off the Penal laws, and Tests.

3. Whether he will support the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, by living friendly with those of all persuasions, as subjects of the same Prince, and good Christians ought to do.

As he shall ask these questions of all deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace; so he shall particularly write down what every one answers, whether he consents, refuseth, or is doubtful.

That he likewise do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the several corporations within the lieutenancy. What persons, of such as are willing to comply with these measures, have credit enough of their own, to be chosen parliament men, or may be chosen, if assisted by their friends.

And lastly, what Catholics, and what dissenters are fit to be added, either to the list of the deputy-lieutenants, or to the commission of the peace, throughout the said lieutenancy."

After the petition of the Bishops, the connexion of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty in England was carried on chiefly by Mr. Russel afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sidney afterwards Earl of Romney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, when the careless air of count Zulisten was a second time made use of upon an errand of ceremony, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. But the real intention of his journey was to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England.

From the time of the Bishops presenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of August, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, and count Zulisten returned to it, there are in King William's box the following letters, among others, to the Prince of Orange.

Admiral Herbert to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the Prince's invitation communicated by Russel, is soon to go to Holland.

SIR,

“IT is from your Highness's great generosity, that I must hope for pardon for presuming to write in so unpolished a stile, which will not furnish me with words suitable to the sense I have of your Highness's goodness to me in the midst of my misfortunes. Sir, it is from Mr. Russel I have understood it to be your pleasure I should come over, where I may be assured of your Highness's protection; it is a favour I mean very soon to embrace, though I can never sufficiently acknowledge it either by expression or action, and therefore can only say, I have a life entirely at your devotion, and that I shall think every hour of it lost that is not employed in your Highness's service, to which if I can any ways contribute I shall no longer think myself unfortunate: this is what I most humbly beg your Highness will believe, and that I am with great sincerity, Sir,

Your most humble, and most faithful servant,

A R. H E R B E R T.”

London, May
the 24th.

Lord Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for a pretence to go to the Prince.

London, May 14, 1688.

“WE live here, Sir, in a country where one must be of a very temperate constitution, not to meet with vexations that will more than try one's patience. I confess I had so set my heart upon the hopes of kissing your Highness's hands this summer, that it is with great regret that I see myself in danger of being disappointed of what I shall always esteem my pleasure as well as my duty: but wiser people assure me, that the jealousies of our superiors augment so fast, that such a journey would be unserviceable to you, as well as unsafe to me. There is not a day that Mr. Sidney and I do not heartily lament this disappointment, and when one considers, that these suspicions are merely grounded upon their own actions, and the resentment they guess we may have of them, but not upon

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any occasion we have given, it seems a little too severe to be punished and restrained, because one has been already ill used. If I am a little warmer upon this subject than I ought, you would soon pardon me, if you knew how much I abominate all excuses; because commonly they are but shifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highness, who of all men living I honour and esteem the most, is a hardship I cannot easily forgive; but I will not yet absolutely despair, there are many accidents may happen to give me a pretence, and the least plausible one I assure you shall serve my turn; and in what part of the world soever I am, I shall always be, Sir,

Your Highness's most faithful,
And obedient, humble servant,
SHREWSBURY."

Lord Lumley to the Prince of Orange.—With an offer of his services.

May it please your Highness,

"THE respect and duty of all that can safely call themselves Englishmen is so much due to your Highness, that to defer any opportunity of showing it were to neglect that interest which can only make us happy. This, Sir, encouraged me humbly to offer to your Highness the utmost of my services, and to assure you that there is not a man in England, on whom your Highness may more certainly depend for whatever service I am capable of doing you. Until such time as I may have the honour of receiving any directions from your Highness, the good of my country shall be by all means endeavoured by me, on whose fate your Highness's does not a little depend. That happiness may ensue to both, shall be always the endeavour of your Highness's

Most devoted, and humble servant,
May 31st. LUMLEY."

There is in the box the following key to names in the hand-writing of Mr. Sidney, inclosed in one of his letters at this time to the Prince of Orange, without which the cyphers in some of the letters could not be understood.

" Lord Halifax	-	-	-	21
Lord of Nottingham	-	-	-	23
Lord Devonshire	-	-	-	24
Lord Shrewsbury	-	-	-	25
Lord of Danby	-	-	-	27
Lord Lumley	-	-	-	29
Lord of Bath	-	-	-	30
Bishop of London	-	-	-	31
Mr. Sidney	-	-	-	33
Mr. Russel	-	-	-	35

This I desire you to keep by you."

Notwithstanding the Prince of Orange's desire to go to England, he avoided indulging it until he should receive an invitation from some of the great English families. The following letter written either in a woman's hand, or in a hand feigned like a woman's, relates to such an invitation then in agitation.

To the Prince of Orange.—The invitation he expects not yet ready.—Lord Halifax backward.

June 18, 1688.

"THIS I suppose will be safely delivered, but yet I shall not say much; in a few days you will receive another, wherein you will know the mind of your friends. I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready; this is only in the name of your principal friends, which are

Notting.	Shrewsb.	Danby.	B. of London.	Sidney.
23.	25.	27.	31.	33.

 to desire you to defer making your complement till you have the letter I mention; what they are likely to advise in the next, you may easily guess, and prepare yourself accordingly. I shall write by Mr. Foster, who hath a mind to be employed, and will talk to you of things of importance; you know how he is to be managed, therefore I need give no further caution. The Lords I believe will act vigorously in the business of the bishops; they (the bishops) resolve when they come to their trial to deny the jurisdiction of court, which will anger extremely, and draw great punish-

ment upon themselves. Then the Lords will petition in their behalf. ^{Halifax.}_{21.} hath been backward in all this matter. ^{Devonshire.}_{24.} hath been with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend."

Earl of Shrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—He is as much his servant on the 18th, as he was on the 9th of June.

London, June 18, 1688.

"**R**ATHER than disoblige Mr. Foster, I am forced to trouble your Highness. I promised to write by him, and had then a prospect of saying more than I am now able to do, but I hope that will not be deferred many days. I have the honour and happiness to know your humour too well to fill up a letter with compliments, having nothing substantial to say, but that I am this eighteenth of June as much as I was the ninth, Your Highness's most devoted, and obedient, humble servant,
SHREWSBURY."

The expression in this letter that he was as much the Prince of Orange's at the date of the letter, is singular. It either refers to some meeting of the party which had been on the 9th of June, or it implies that the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was on the 10th of June, has made no alteration in his sentiments.

At length the invitation for the Prince to come over, or rather the association for joining him when he should come, was signed on the 30th of June 1688, by Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Ruffel, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal seven! whose memories Britain can never sufficiently revere. The original is in Sidney's hand in King William's box, as follows.

The association signed only by seven, inviting the Prince of Orange over.

June 30, 1688.

"**W**E have great satisfaction to find by 35, and since by Monf. Zulestein, that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistances as they have related to us. We have great reason

to believe, we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance; but although these be our wishes, yet we will, by no means, put your Highness into any expectations which may misguide your own councils in this matter; so that the best advice we can give, is to inform your Highness truly both of the state of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the first, the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain, that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them before hand; and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them, whenever they could protect them and the raising and drawing men together; and if such a strength could be landed as were able to defend itself and them, till they could be got together into some order, we make no question but that strength would quickly be increased to a number double to the army here, although their army should all remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themselves; many of the officers being so discontented that they continue in their service only for a subsistence, (besides that, some of their minds are known already) and very many of the common soldiers do daily shew such an aversion to the Popish religion, that there is the greatest probability imaginable of great numbers of deserters which would come from them, should there be such an occasion; and amongst the seamen, it is almost certain, there is not one in ten who would do them any service in such a war. Besides all this, we do much doubt, whether this present state of things will not yet be much changed to

the worfe before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and foldiers of the army, and by fuch other changes as are not only to be expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of any parliament (in our prefent circumftances) may produce againft thofe, who will be looked upon as principal obftrocters of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted, that if things cannot then be carried to their wifhes in a parliamentary way, other meafures will be put in execution by more violent means; and although fuch proceedings will then heighten the difcontents, yet fuch courfes will probably be taken at that time, as will prevent all poffible means of relieving ourfelves.

Thefe confiderations make us of opinion, that this is a feafon in which we may more probably contribute to our own fafeties than hereafter (although we muft own to your Highnefs there are fome judgments differing from ours in this particular) in fo much that if the circumftances ftand fo with your Highnefs, that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give affiftances this year fufficient for a relief under thefe circumftances which have been now reprefented, we who fubfcribe this, will not fail to attend your Highnefs upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readinefs as fuch an action is capable of, where there is fo much danger in communicating an affair of fuch a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public. But as we have already told your Highnefs, we muft alfo lay our difficulties before your Highnefs, which are chiefly; that we know not what alarum your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be neceffary for you to give the States before hand, by either of which means their intelligence or fufpicions here, may be fuch, as may caufe us to be fecured before your landing; and we muft prefume to inform your Highnefs, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thoufand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you fome injury; the falfe impofing of that upon the Princefs and the nation, being not only an infinite exafperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief caufes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hostile manner, muft be founded on your part, although many other reafons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due confideration of all thefe circumftances, your Highnefs fhall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at leaft to make fuch preparations for it as are neceffary, (which we wifh

you may) there must be no more time lost, in letting us know your resolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as also whether your Highness does believe the preparations can be so managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increase their force, and to secure those they shall suspect would join with you. We need not say any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, spare arms, &c. because if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of these kinds, and will take care to bring some good engineers with you; and we have desired Mr. H. to consult you about all such matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain resolutions can be taken, till we have heard again from your Highness.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33.
Sh. Dev. Danby. Lumley. London. Ruffel. Sydney.

Mr. Sidney to the Prince of Orange.—Expresses fears of the design.—Advises him to borrow Schomberg.—Nottingham's heart has failed him.

June 30, 1688.

“THE bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the most prudent and most knowing persons that we have in this nation, and he himself being well instructed in the condition of our affairs, it is a presumption in me to think of adding any thing else; but you having ever given me leave to speak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your interest, your life, and your reputation, to say a word of persuasion to you to undertake this matter; you know your own business best, what power you have over the fleet and the army, and whether you can transport men with privacy; for it is most certain, that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at least make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole design. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I shall not do amiss, to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very useful to you; it is the Marechal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I do not doubt but he will be ready to serve you; he hath the reputation all the world over of being

knowing in his profession, and besides he is extremely beloved in this country, so that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair. I give you many thanks for yours by Monf. Zulestein, and the particular favour in it ; I am indeed of opinion, that if you think fit to go on with this business, that after three weeks I shall be more serviceable to you near your person, than I can be here ; and if you are of that mind, I desire you will command me to come to you, or else it may be some of my associates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is absolutely necessary. When I know your pleasure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have desired Monf. Zulestein to stay here till you send an answer to the letter, and to avoid giving suspicion, he is advised to go into the country for some days. This letter being writ in my own known hand, I hope you will burn it as soon as you have read it, and the other being so too, I desire you will have it copied, or else I may suffer for it seven years hence. You will wonder, I believe, not to see the number $\frac{23}{\text{Not.}}$ among the other figures ; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further ; he saith 'tis scruples of conscience, but we all conclude 'tis another passion ; every body else is as well as one can wish, and I pray God they may live to do you the service so much desired by all honest men."

The two following letters from Lord Latimer and Lord Pembroke, though without dates, were probably written about this time.

Lord Latimer to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's.—Assures him of his services.

May it please your Highness,

" I DO with all humility imaginable acknowledge the great honour of your Highness's letter, and do with no less joy receive from your Highness's own hand the assurance of being in your Highness's good opinion. If any occasion could make me so happy as to give your Highness a testimony suitable to my desires, I am sure my actions would afford no cause to lessen your Highness's favour towards me, and, I hope, (beside the nearness of relation in blood betwixt my master and your Highness)

the warmth of interest will be so great a consideration on both sides, as may give opportunity to such as intend my master's good, to make one of the best steps towards it by promoting your Highness's; and for what services I may be capable in my own particular, I beg your Highness to believe that nobody shall exceed me, as, in truth, none can now, in the high esteem which all the world must acknowledge to be due to your great merit. I dare trouble your Highness no longer, than to declare the great ambition I have to receive any commands from your Highness, and to assure your Highness they shall be most readily obeyed with all duty and respect, as becomes, may it please your Highness, your Highness's most obedient, and most humble servant,

L A T I M E R."

Lord Pembroke to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

"YOUR Highness will not wonder why I give you the trouble of a letter now, but rather if I should not, considering the opportunity that offers itself by one to whom I have been very much obliged, and by one from whom I had the satisfaction of being assured of your Highness's favourable opinion of me. Though your Highness (for many reasons) can never want so inconsiderable a service as mine, yet you will be pleased to give me leave (till I can testify my service some other way) to subscribe myself, your Highness's most humble servant,

P E M B R O K E."

Part of a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange, in answer to a letter from the Princesses.—A letter of compliment.

July 7, 1688.

"H A V I N G lately had a letter from the Princess with the gracious assurance in it, that your Highness is pleased to approve of my conduct in our late affairs, it is so great a consolation to me, that I hope you will not be offended at this my presumption, in returning your Highness my most humble acknowledgments, and I beseech you to believe, that I am incapable of doing any thing to displease you; no man is free from ill offices being done him, but I am sure your Highness is too just to suffer them to make impression in you to any man's prejudice, without enquiring into the truth, and when you do that, you will find all misrepresentations

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of me, to have more of malice in them, than of service to your Highness ; so that I take myself to be very secure in your favourable opinion, which I will study always to preserve ; and that my brother should not be so, is an unspeakable mortification to me ; but I will not presume to give your Highness any trouble concerning him.

Lord Rochester to the Prince of Orange.—Makes apologies for his past conduct.

May it please your Highness,

“ I Most humbly beg your Highness’s pardon for presuming to write to you, after I know how much I am in your displeasure ; but your Highness being used to receive petitions from those that offend you, may be pleased to look upon this letter in the nature of a very humble one to your Highness, to beseech you that what ground soever you have had for your anger, you will have the goodness to think it hath lasted long enough against a man in my circumstances, which as on one hand they are too low to be long taken notice of by so great a Prince, so on the other, they are such as do now, and will ever make me have as great a duty to your person as any man living can have. I hope your Highness can forgive any faults that are not malicious, and if you will be pleased to reflect what interest I can have contrary to your Highness’s, I am sure you will conclude, whatever my offences are, they must be the effect of folly and indiscretion, rather than of wilfulness to displease you : I say whatever they are, because I find it is for diverse reasons that your Highness is unsatisfied with me. I call God to witness, that except my not paying my duty to your Highness when I was last out of England, I cannot accuse myself of any thing disrespectful or undutiful towards you ; and whatever I may have to say for myself for that very great fault, I do most humbly ask your pardon for it, and will do so for the others too, if your Highness shall condemn me whenever you have heard me. And I do most humbly beseech you, that since I would every day of my life do any thing to serve you, I may not have the mortification to see how little you value it. I have written to her Royal Highness the Princess upon this subject ; and though I have had occasion to write on one account more particularly to her, than it is possible for me to offer to your Highness,

yet I humbly desire you to believe I look upon your interests as one; and your Highness may be confident I will be honest, just and dutiful to you both. I submit myself to your pleasure, and whatever you determine, I will always continue with the humblest duty,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's most humble,

New-park, July 10,
1688.

Most obedient, and most faithful servant,
ROCHESTER."

The Prince of Orange gave orders that Lord Halifax should not be trusted with the secret of the intended expedition. It is not likely that the spirit of diffidence in the following letter from Lord Halifax, was more than in his former letters, very pleasing to a person who always loved deeds more than words.

Letter from Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Slow counsels.

July 25, 1688.

"SO many things have happened of late, that it is reasonable enough to conclude, upon the first apprehension of them, that they should produce great alterations in reference to the public; and yet with all this, upon a strict observation of all circumstances, I see nothing to raise more hopes on one side, or to incline the other to despair. I find that every new attempt bringeth a fresh disadvantage upon the great design, which is exposed and disappointed by so many repeated mistakes; the world is so much confirmed, that there is every day less danger of being overrun; the several parties, though differing never so much in other things, seem to agree in their resolution of preserving, by all legal means, the securities of their religion and their laws. The business concerning the bishops, hath had such an effect, that it is hardly to be imagined; the consequences are not seen to their full extent by the men in power, tho' they are not a little mortified by the ill success of it: I look upon it as that which hath brought all the Protestants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot easily be untied. It is one of those kind of faults that can never be repaired: All that can be done to mend it will probably make it worse, as is seen already by every step that hath been since made

to recover the reputation they have lost by it. It is given out, that there will be yet some further proceedings against the bishops; but in that I am an unbeliever, as well as concerning the meeting of parliament; my opinion being still the same as I gave your Highness in my last, the continuance of the discourse of it, and even by those who are presumed to know best, doth not at all make me alter my judgment. A parliament can never be an indifferent thing, and therefore it is a very weak argument to say that it will be tried, and if it doth not comply, it shall be dissolved. Things of this kind are not to be so handled; the consequences may be too great to make the experiment, without better grounds to expect success than at present appear. In short, I still remain persuaded that there is no effectual progress made towards the great design; and even the thing that party relieth upon, is subject to so many accidents and uncertainties, that according to human probability we are secure, notwithstanding the ill appearances which fright most, when they are least examined. I wish your Highness all happiness, and to myself the continuance of your good opinion, which cannot be more valued by any man living, than it is by your most devoted servant."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Insinuates for a delay.—Sorry if he differs from others.

May it please your Highness,

"THE honour of being in your Highness's good opinion, and the continuance of your favour, of which you were pleased to assure me in your letter by Mr. Zulisten, would make me undertake any task to render me worthy of it, if I could hope to perform it to your satisfaction; but to give your Highness a just account of affairs here not as news, but to judge rightly of them, is so very difficult that I must not pretend to it; nevertheless, in obedience to your commands, I have acquainted Mr. Zulisten with my apprehensions of some of the latest occurrences here, that he may humbly represent them to your Highness.

The birth of a Prince of Wales, and the designs of a further prosecution of the bishops and of new modelling the army and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot appre-

hend from them such ill consequences to our religion, or the just interests of your Highness, that a little time will not effectually remedy, nor can I imagine that the Papists are able to make any further considerable progress; and the reasons of this opinion, I have discoursed with Mr. Zulisten, that I might not trouble your Highness with too long a letter; but if they should not be satisfactory to your Highness, or should differ from the sentiments of others, I beseech you not to misconstrue my opinion as proceeding from any want of zeal to the service of your Highness, upon whom depends not only the welfare of this nation, but the fate of Europe too; for I shall always discharge my duty to you with the utmost fidelity, and have no greater ambition than to be your Highness's

London, July 27,
1688.

Most obedient, and most humble servant,
NOTTINGHAM."

The following cant letter to the Prince, appears to me to be Russel's hand.

Admiral Russel to the Prince of Orange.

SIR,

"THE honour, your Highness was pleased to do me by Monsieur Zulisten, I can never enough acknowledge. I must beg your Highness to believe me a man so sensible of the favours you have been pleased to do me, that my life and fortune is absolutely at your disposal. It shall be my whole business and study, to render you all the service I am capable of; and if my success be not answerable to my intentions, be pleased to believe it proceeds from ill fortune, and not want of inclination. I hope your Highness finds your new visitor (probably Admiral Herbert) answers the character you have had of him; the King is most extremely angry with him, and I have some reason to believe he disappointed the court, they having some thoughts of making offers for him to take employments. Since I came into England, Mr. Roberts is grown so warm, that I can hardly prevail with him to stay for his being turned out. He is now resolved not to talk of the Test, and Penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do; I believe, he is at this time so ill at court, that his reign there will hardly last a month; he has

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desired me to assure your Highness of his utmost service. When Monsieur Dickfield went away, he writ to you, but you were pleased never to take any notice of it; if you think it convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion, relating to himself, would not be amiss; but I submit to your better judgment. You will hear by the bearer, all the news we have. When your Highness thinks the time proper for Mr. Roberts mistress to know your thoughts, be pleased to let him tell it her, it will be better, in my humble opinion, than by letter. The number of your friends here daily increase; but some persons on your side the water, take such liberty in writing news, and naming people, that, I fear, it may give the court occasion to be angry with them, much to their prejudice, and not much to your service. I will not trouble you longer on this subject, only beg you will please to believe me your Highness's most faithful, humble servant."

London, July 28, 1688.

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince concerning the seven Bishops.

S I R,

July 28, 1688.

"**T**HE honour your Highness did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Bishops, how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them, for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake, they shall never make an ill use of it, so I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered, and the rest who concurred with them, are so well satisfied of the justness of their cause, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the least depart from it.

I should say something of myself, but I had so lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpose to say more now to you, than that I am under all the obligation in the world of approving myself, Sir, your Highness's most devoted, and faithful servant,

*Lord Sbrewsbury to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the departure of Zulistein.—
The Prince's friends increase.*

London, July 28, 1688.

“**M**onsieur Zulistein, Sir, will go away so well instructed in all particulars relating to our affairs, that it would be but impertinence to add any thing to what he has learned from better hands: I hope he will represent them in such a posture as will not displease your Highness. The papers you mention are preparing with all expedition. If the violence of my wishes do not deceive me, I flatter myself you never had more friends in England than now: may they increase till they are as numerous and as faithful as he wishes, that is, with all sincerity and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

S H R E W S B U R Y.”

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—A spirited letter.

S I R,

August 4, 1688.

“**M**R. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myself: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highness's hands, in which I think it safe. If you think there is any thing else that I ought to do, you have but to command me, and I shall pay an entire obedience to it, being resolved to die in that religion that it has pleased God to give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all respect, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's obedient servant,

C H U R C H I L L.”

While these intrigues were carrying on in England, the Prince, who was not daunted either with the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions, or the anxious, though friendly fears of Sidney, or the learned indolence of Hallifax, or the sudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham, kept on straight forward and steady in his course.

The following letters will shew the arts by which the Prince of Orange imposed upon the Pope to advance money for an attack, as he thought, upon France, but which was afterwards turned against England. Copies of

the letters were given me by Mr. Lumefden, a gentleman formerly in the service of the Stuart family at Rome, the misfortunes of whose youth have lost one of the most ingenious of his countrymen to Britain. He told me the originals were in the *Depot des Affaires etrangeres* at Paris. I am ashamed to own I forgot to ask for them when I was there.

Extrait de deux lettres ecrites par le Cardinal d'Estrées, Ambassadeur extraordinaire de Louis XIV, à la cour de Rome, touchantes la ligue d'Ausbourg.

A Monsieur de Louvois. Du 18 Decembre, 1687.

“ **L**E 12 de Decembre, 1687, Le Petit * donna un memoire à la porte de St. Pierre au Gut †, par laquelle il me donna avis, que celui qui va parler au Comte Cassoni tous les jours deguisé de la maniere que j'écrivis à sa Majesté le 15 de Novembre passé, étoit un Hollandois, mais qu'il ne scavoit pas son nom. Il ne faut pas douter que ce ne soit le Bourgemestre Ouir. J'en ay avertis le Gut du Roy. Vous apprendrez à sa Majesté que desque son Gut fut assuré que Ouir étoit celui qui conféroit avec Cassoni, il prit la resolution, sans me la communiquer, de s'aller flanquer avec ses deux valets ‡ à dix pas de la porte d'Antonio Ferri, ou ce Bourgemestre logeoit, pour voir sortir Ouir. En effet, environ l'heure de minuit il le vit tout à coup à la rue, qui fermoit la porte de Ferri, deguisé en crocheteur qu'on appellent ici *fachino*. Il le suivit jusque à ce qu'il entra dans le Vatican, pour se rendre à l'appartement de Cassoni. Le Gut se mit en sentinelle avec ses deux valets jusqu'à ce qu' Ouir sortit du Vatican. Sur les trois heures apres minuit, le Gut avec le Gascon et le Breton ses valets le suivoit de loin, et des qu'il commença a entrer dans la Longara, le Breton qui s'étoit avancé lui sauta dessus. Le Gut y fut d'abord avec le Gascon. Le Gut lui presenta un poignard à la gorge, et lui dit, que s'il faisoit la moindre mouvement il étoit mort, et qu'il le poignarderoit. Pendant que le Gut le regaloit de ce compliment, les deux valets lui fouillerent par tout en peu de tems, et oterent les lettres et les papiers qu'il avoit sur lui. Des que le Gut du Roy eut les écrits en sa puissance il relacha Ouir, et s'en vint chez moi, ouvrit la porte de mon palais avec sa clef, passa par l'escalier

* Commis de M. Cassoni, Secrétaire du Pape Innocent XI.

† C'étoit un gentilhomme de la chambre de Louis XIV, qui faisoit l'espion à la cour de Rome.

‡ L'un de ces valets du Gut s'appelloit le Gascon, l'autre le Breton.

derober, fit avertir mon maistre d'hotel par un des mes valets : l'on me vint eveiller : je me levai en me mettant en robe de chambre. J'entrai dans mon cabinet, où je trouvai notre Gut très content d'avoir fait le coup, que je viens de vous marquer. Je lui fis apporter à manger, car il mourit de faim ; et il m'avoua qu'il y avoit 18 heures qu'il n'avoit pas mangé. Des qu'il eut soupé, il me remit les lettres qu'il avoit interceptées à Ouir. Nous ouvrimes le paquet, et nous vimes que les lettres de Caffoni s'adresserent à l'Empereur & à Monsieur le Duc de Lorraine.

Ce secretaire du Pape apprenoit au Duc de Lorraine, que le Pape avoit receu une joye toute particuliere d'apprendre que sa Majesté Imperiale avoit porté presque tous les Princes d'Europe à se liguier contre le Roy de France : il lui marquoit, que ce que donnoit assez de peine au Saint Pere, estoit d'avoir appris que les Anglois estoient resolus de detroner leur Roy, s'il ne prennoit une ferme resolution de faire la guerre à la France, et d'abimer entierement la religion catholique, et de se joindre à la ligue d'Ausbourg.

Cependant Caffoni disoit, qu'un des desirs de sa Sainteté estoit que l'une des premiers choses que l'Empereur feroit, des que la guerre seroit declarée, ce seroit d'assiéger toutes les places que la France avoit prises à l'Electeur de Cologne pour en faire avoir la jouissance à M. le Cardinal de Furstemberg en cette qualité ; quoique sa Sainteté ne l'ait jamais voulu avouer ni reconnoitre pour tel, mais encore la postulation : et que le Saint pontife estoit très aise que M. le Prince d'Orange passât en Allemagne pour soutenir à la tête des deux armées les interets de l'Empereur et de sa Sainteté contre le Cardinal de Furstemberg et contre la France en même tems. Pour cette effet, le C. Caffoni promet de la part du Pape d'envoyer à l'Empereur de grosses sommes d'argent, sans en specifier la quantité, pour la donner au Prince d'Orange, à fin que l'un et l'autre puisse continuer la guerre plus aisement contre le Roy très chrétien.

Des que j'eus lu et relu tout ce beau projet, et dans les lettres de Caffoni et dans les papiers qui furent pris à Ouir, nous y vimes les instructions que l'Empereur, le Duc de Lorraine, et le Prince d'Orange avoient donné au bon Bourg-maistre, les quelles rouloient toutes sur ce que je viens de vous écrire, et que vous verrez dans les lettres du C. Caffoni. Je vous le

redis, nous fumes extrêmement surpris de voir que sa Sainteté venoit de conclure un traité avec l'Empereur contre le fils aîné de l'Eglise, qui ne travaille qu'à soutenir ses interets ; et que sa Sainteté eut approuvé une ligue que se faisoit par la plus part des Princes de l'Europe contre le Roy de France. Apres avoir un peu revé, je pris la résolution de faire scavoir la substance de ces affaires à le Petit, avec ordre de faire son possible pour decouvrir ce que se passoit dans le cabinet de M. Cassoni. Il m'apprit le 14, qu'avec beaucoup de peine il avoit trouvé dans les papiers de ce Secrétaire du Pape dans une coin secret de son petit cabinet, ou il tient les papiers dont il ne s'est pas encore servi, que les Anglois sont d'accorde avec le Prince d'Orange pour detroner le Roy Jaques IId, et elever sur le trone la Princesse d'Orange sa fille, et par consequent son mari Guillaume ; que les Anglois sont aussi resolus d'oter la vie à leur Roy et au Prince de Galles, si la Reine accouchoit d'un fils, et que le Prince d'Orange ne doit pas aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de l'Empereur ; que ce n'est qu'une pure pretexte pour amuser le Pape et les peuples, à fin qu'on n'ait aucun soupçon que ce Prince veuille s'elever sur le trone d'Angleterre ; et que très affurement le Saint Pere ne fait rien de cette intrigue fatale contre le Roy Jaques IId, car on lui a fait seulement accroire que le Prince d'Orange doit passer en Allemagne. Le Petit ne doute point que cette affaire ne soit ainsi, puisque les memoires qu'il a trouvé ne sont pas au rang de ceux qui ont été veus et approuves du Pape ; et que de toute cette affaire il n'y avoit rien paru sur la table de le Secrétaire pour les faire coter par numero, à fin de trouver d'abord ce que est necessaire au Secrétaire du Pape, sur ce qu'il a traité et arreté avec sa Sainteté des qu'il en a besoin ; qu'à present il escrivoit et travailloit sur tout ce que le Saint Pontif venoit de permettre à l'Empereur, au Duc de Lorraine, et au Prince d'Orange, qui devoit aller en Allemagne commander les troupes de sa Majesté Imperiale, et que ce commandement ne sera qu'une fable.

Des que j'eus appris l'attentat horrible qu'on veut faire sur la tête du Roy Jaques et sur la Famille Royale, je fis avertir le jeune Milord Norfolk, qui estoit ici incognito comme vous scavez, pour tacher de decouvrir les intrigues du Vatican, qu'on craint qu'on ne trament contre son maitre : ce Milord a depeché incessamment deux couriers à sa Majesté Britannique, l'un par terre, l'autre par mer, pour l'avertir de tout que je viens de vous dire.

Vous sçavez que la Hollande, les Electeurs, et l'Espagne se sont déclarés contre nous. Je crains fort que le Duc de Savoye ne nous fasse aussi la guerre ; j'en ay quelque presentiment par de certain discours que j'ay appris, que je ne vous écris pas encore a cause que je ne suis pas encore assez bien éclairé : fais qu'on prenne guard de pres à lui.

Nos Cardinaux secrets sont avertis du personage qu'ils doivent jouer. Le Petit est un habile homme, et le Gut l'est in superlativo gradu. Ces deux personages sont la cause de toute cette decouverte : car ce que nous en sçavions auparavant estoit dans une grande incertitude. Le Gut qui soupa hier avec moi, m'a prié de vous écrire que vous prenez la peine de faire sçavoir au Roy, qu'il n'abandonnera pas Ouir pour sçavoir decouvrir tous les endroits de Rome qu'il pratiquera. Le Breton me rendit de la part de Gut son maitre un billet, par lequel il m'avertissoit qu' Ouir avoit levé Boutique en place Navone, ou il vendoit toutes sortes des fleurs et des fruits artificiels, et de petites enfans de cire, et qu'il avoit un garçon Venetien qui travailloit à ces ouvrages merveilleusement bien."

Le Cardinal d'Etrées au Roy. Du 29 Juin, 1688.

"O N est fort en peine dans le Vatican comme quoi votre Majesté a pu sçavoir sitot le projet et tous les articles de la ligue d'Ausbourg. L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne en a été malade, et il en est encore tout troublé. Il cherche les moyens pour decouvrir ceux qui en ont donné avis à votre Majesté.

Par la derniere lettre que j'écrivis a M. Louvois, je lui marquai l'action que le Gut de votre Majesté fit au Barigelle et à toutes les troupes des Sbiris, au nombre de 50, des qu'il les entendoit s'approcher des endroits où il s'etoit mis pour voir qui entroit chez le Cardinal , qui est le conseil de Caffoni. Il commença à appeller ses deux valets le Breton et le Gasçon, et leur fit crier—"Vive le Roy de France."—Après il leur fit dire—"Arretez à la porte de la cour—Vive le grand Louis,—perissent tous ses ennemis."—Ces trois hommes obligerent le Barigelle et ses 50 Sbiris à s'en fuir au plus vite, et se mettre à l'abbris sous la garde du Pape, laquelle se mit toutes sous les armes à la fourdine ; et votre Gut eut le plaisir de rester dans un endroit d'où il pouvoit voir cette poultrone compagnie, qui ne sortit du poste qu'elle avoit pris, jusqu'à ce qu'il fût jour.

Le 24 du current, le Petit etant allé a Notre Dame des Neiges, et le Gut en fonction, il lui remit une lettre par laquelle il l'avisait que Ouir devoit se rendre chez C. Cassoni pour prendre des lettres, qui se trouveroient dans des fruits qu'il faisoit semblant de lui vendre, et qu'il eut à prendre ses mesures.

Le lendemain 25, votre Gut, Sire, sans me rien communiquer de son dessein, ne manqua pas de s'aller mettre en sentinelle près de la maison d'Ouir, de façon qu'on ne pouvoit pas le decouvrir. Il vit sortir le Bourgemestre avec le boëte pendue au col; il le suivit jusqu'à ce qu'il fût entré chez M. Cassoni; dans ce moment il entendit sonner onze heures. Ouir en sortit à une heure et demie apres minuit. Le Gut s'habilla cette nuit en crocheteur avec ses deux valets. Ces trois personages suivrent ce Bourgemestre. Des qu'il fût éloigné de mille pas du Vatican, ils virent qu'il prenait le long d'une petite rue. Des qu'il fût entré, ils avancerent le pas, l'attraperent, et lui sauterent dessus, lui presentant le poignard à la gorge. Des que Ouir fût à leur discretion, le Gut le fouilla et ne lui trouva rien, ce que l'obligea à lui oter sa boëte pleine des fruits artificiels. Il la donna à Breton qui me l'apporta. J'attendois, Sire, avec impatience votre Gut, à cause qu'il m'avoit envoyé dire qu'il viendrait souper avec moi, mais qu'il seroit tard. Je me doutai alors qu'il s'agissoit de quelque entreprise pour votre service, que je ne pouvois pas diviner. Son valet entrant dans ma chambre, il me remit la boëte que le Gut avoit oté a Ouir. Elle ne fût pas plutot ouverte que de ma vie je n'ai rien vu de mieux travaille: j'admirai ces fruits un peu de tems, et je les rangai sur ma table: des que j'en achevai, j'entendis votre Gut qui ouvrait la porte de derriere de mon cabinet, ce que m'obligea d'y entrer, et il m'apprit, que après avoir oté la boëte à Ouir il le conduisoit jusqu'à 10 pas de sa porte; et ce fût en cet endroit qu'il lui dit, qu'il le suivit depuis le tems qu'il étoit à Rome, et c'étoit la Signora Hortensia qui lui avoit fait enlever ses lettres et ses papiers il y avoit quelque tems, et que c'étoit elle aussi qui lui avoit fait enlever sa boëte, et que si pourtant le jour qui étoit pret d'arriyer il ne sortait pas de Rome, elle le feroit jetter dans le Tibre.

Aprés que le Gut m'eut appris son adventure, et qu'il avoit toujours parlé Hollandois au Bourgemestre, il voulut souper, ce qu'etant fait, il m'a demandé ce que je voulois faire de la merchandise d'Ouir. Je lui repondis,

que je la trouvois si belle que je la destinois pour votre Majesté. Le Gut me repliqua qu'il la vouloit toute ouvrir, et en même tems il la fit apporter par mon maître d'hôtel qui nous avoit servi, et il rompit tous les fruits en ma présence. Il n'eut pas plutôt fait ce coup, que j'avouai qu'il avoit raison ; puisque nous trouvâmes tout autour de ces fruits des fils d'archal sous des foyes verts qui les environoient, et qui entroient dans les citrons, les pommes, les figues et les raisins, avec des petites banderolles de papier écrit en chiffres. Le Gut les prit et les rangait selon leur numero et les déchiffra, et nous y trouvâmes les projets et les bonnes intentions que M. le Duc de Savoye a pour la ruine de vos états.

Le dessein de cette altesse n'est pas de prendre ouvertement la part de vos ennemis, comme vous le verrez ; et je crois que si votre Majesté faisoit menager ce Prince, elle pourroit l'obliger à se tourner du côté de la France, ou de rester neutre. La suite des lettres de Cassoni nous apprit les forces que l'Empereur, l'Angleterre et la Hollande doivent mettre sur pied contre vous, Sire, et les secours que l'Empereur et le roy d'Espagne doivent donner au Duc de Savoye lorsqu'il en fera tems. Le nombre des Barbotes et nouveaux convertis, selon leur supputation, ira à plus de 100 mille hommes, qui sont le nombre de ceux qui sont sortis des vos états ; et tous les autres généralement qui sont restés dans le royaume doivent prendre les armes contre votre Majesté, des que la trompette de vos ennemis sonnera. Votre Majesté doit connoître par là combien le ministre du Pape lui fait entendre des chimères, puisque à l'heure, que j'ai l'honneur de vous écrire, sa Sainteté croit la France perdue par le moyen de toutes les fables que le comte de Cassoni lui a débité.

Votre Majesté recevra donc dans ce paquet toutes les banderolles qui étoient dans les fruits d'Ouir, avec une lettre du Gut, pour vous marquer, Sire, de quelle manière il les faut ranger. Vous verrez aussi le soin avec lequel Ouir et Cassoni les avoient accommodé, pour donner à vos ennemis le moyen de les lire sans peine. Après que le Gut eut achevé sa lettre, il me pria d'assurer votre Majesté que si elle veut faire tenir deux de ses galères à Civita Vecchia, il s'oblige, à peine d'avoir le col coupé, d'enlever Cassoni au milieu de Rome, ou dans sa chambre, pourveu qu'elle le veuille et qu'elle lui donne 20 gentilshommes et autant de gardes marines,

et promet qu'il aura plutot fait embarquer Cassoni dans une de ces gal-
leres et conduira à Marseilles ou à Toulon, ou en tel autre endroit qu'
elle voudra, qu'on ne sache dans Rome ce que ce secretaire sera devenu.
Il me dit encore, que s'il osoit, il vous feroit bien, Sire, l'offre que M.
de Lyonne vous fit autrefois, de venir à Rome poignarder Dom Mario frere
du Pape Alexandre VIIth, après l'attentat que les Corfes commirent sur la
personne de Madame l'Ambassadrice de Crequi dans sa carosse : mais sça-
chant que votre Majesté abhorre le sang, il se contente de vous offrir au
peril de sa vie de mener en tel lieu qu'il vous plaira le comte Cassoni lié
et garotté, pour lui faire payer par sa detention la folle en chere de mau-
vais conseils qu'il a donné. Ouir n'a plus paru dans Rome depuis le 26me.
La pretendue boutique est fermée, ainsi ou il s'est caché ou il est parti."

Translation.

*Extract of two letters written by Cardinal d'Estrées, ambassador extraordinary
from Louis the XIVth, to the court of Rome, concerning the league of Augs-
bourg.—Intrigues of the Emperour, Pope, and Prince of Orange, previous
to the revolution.*

To Mr. de Louvois.

December 18, 1687.

"THE 12th of December, 1687, *le Petit* * gave a note, at the gate of
St. Peter, to Gut †, by which he advised me, that the person who
went every day disguised to Count Cassoni in the manner I wrote your Ma-
jesty the 15th of November past, was a Dutchman, but he did not know
his name. There is no doubt of his being the Burgomaster Ouir. I in-
formed *le Gut* of it. You will inform his Majesty that as soon as *le Gut* was
certain that *Ouir* was the person who conferred with Cassoni, he took the
resolution, without communicating it to me, to place himself with his two
valets ‡ at ten paces from Antonio Ferri's door, where this Burgomaster
lodged, to see Ouir come out. About midnight he saw him all at once in
the street, shutting Ferri's door, disguised as a porter, which they call here
fachino. He followed him till he entered the Vatican, to go to Cassoni's

* Clerk to M. Cassoni, secretary to Pope Innocent the eleventh.

† He was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Louis the XIVth, and acted as a spy at
the court of Rome.

‡ One of these servants of *le Gut* was called *le Gaston*, the other *le Breton*.

apartment. *Le Gut* with his two valets placed themselves as centinels till they saw *Ouir* come out of the Vatican. About three in the morning, *le Gut* with *le Gascon* and *le Breton* followed him at a distance, and as soon as they saw him enter into *la Longara*, *le Breton* who was foremost leaped upon him. *Le Gut* and *le Gascon* came up immediately. *Le Gut* presented a dagger to his throat, and told him, that if he made the least motion he was a dead man, for he would stab him. Whilst *le Gut* regaled him with this compliment, the two valets searched him from head to foot in a little time, and took all the letters and papers he had about him. As soon as *le Gut* had the writings in his possession, he released *Ouir*. He came to me, opened the door of my palace with his key, went up the back stairs, and gave notice to my *maitre d'hotel* by one of my valets: They waked me; I got up and put on my night-gown. I went into my closet, where I found *Gut* very well pleased with the success of his attempt, which I have just told you of. I ordered him some victuals, for he was almost famished. He declared to me that he had not eat for 18 hours. As soon as he had supped, he gave me the letters he had intercepted upon *Ouir*. We opened the paquet, and saw that *Cassoni's* letters were directed to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain.

The secretary to the Pope informed the Duke of Lorrain, that his Holiness had received a particular joy upon learning that his Imperial Majesty had brought almost all the Princes of Europe to league themselves against the King of France: he remarked to him, that what gave the holy Father a good deal of pain was, to hear that the English were resolved to dethrone their King, if he would not take a firm resolution to make war against France, abolish the catholic religion entirely, and join himself to the league of Augsbourg.

However *Cassoni* said, that one of the first things his Holiness wishes the Emperor to do, after the war is declared, is to lay siege to all the places which France has taken from the Elector of Cologne with a design to give the possession of them to cardinal *Furstemberg* in the quality of Elector, though his Holiness would never own nor acknowledge him as such, nor yet confirm the postulation; and that the holy Pontiff was very glad that the Prince of Orange was to go into Germany to sustain at the

head of two armies the interests of the Emperor and his Holiness against cardinal Furstemberg and France at the same time. To effect this, Count Cassoni promises on the Pope's part to send the Emperor large sums of money, without specifying the quantity, to be given to the Prince of Orange, to the end that they may both continue the war more easily against the most Christian King.

Upon reading over and over this fine project both in Cassoni's letters, and the papers taken from Ouir, we there saw the instructions which the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange had given to the worthy Burgomaster, the whole of which turned upon what I have just wrote you, and you will see in Count Cassoni's letters. I repeat it, we were extremely surpris'd to see that his Holiness had just concluded a treaty with the Emperor against the eldest son of the church, who only sought to maintain his own interests; and that his Holiness had approved of a league made by the greater part of the Princes of Europe against the King of France. After having considered a little, I took a resolution to make known the substance of these matters to le Petit, with orders to use his utmost endeavours to discover what pass'd in the cabinet of Mr. Cassoni. He inform'd me on the 14th, that with a great deal of trouble he had found amongst the papers of this secretary to the Pope, in a secret corner of his small cabinet, where he kept the papers which he had not yet used, that the English had agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James the Second, and place the Princess of Orange his daughter upon the throne, and consequently her husband William; that the English were also resolv'd to take away the life of their King and of the Prince of Wales, if the Queen was brought to bed of a son; and that the Prince of Orange was not to go into Germany to command the Emperor's troops; that it was only a mere pretence to amuse the Pope and the public, in order that they might have no suspicion of this Prince's wanting to raise himself to the throne of England; and that for certain the holy Father knew nothing of this fatal intrigue against King James the second, for he had been only made to believe that the Prince of Orange was to go to Germany. Le Petit makes no doubt that the matter stands so, since the memorials that he found are not ranged with those which the Pope had seen and approved; and that of all this affair nothing appeared

upon the secretary's table to refer to them according to their endorsements, which is necessary for the Pope's secretary, that he may directly find those articles which he has treated and finished with his Holiness as soon as he wants them: that at present he is writing and working on what the holy Pontiff has just promised to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Prince of Orange, who was to go into Germany to command his Imperial Majesty's troops; but that this command was only a fable.

As soon as I learnt the horrible attempt that was intended against King James and the Royal Family, I informed the young Lord Northfolk of it, who was here incognito, as you know, to endeavour to discover the intrigues of the Vatican, which it was to be feared were forming against his master: my lord immediately dispatched two couriers to his Britannick Majesty, one by land, the other by sea, to inform him of all I have told you.

You know that Holland, the Electors, and Spain have declared against us. I fear also that the Duke of Savoy will also make war upon us. I have some foresight of it, from certain discourses which I don't yet write you, because I am not yet sufficiently informed: He should be watched very narrowly.

Our confidential cardinals are informed of the part they are to play. Le Petit is an able man, and le Gut is so in the superlative degree. These two persons are the cause of all this discovery; for what we knew before was extremely uncertain. Le Gut, who supped with me yesterday, has desired me to write to you to beg you will take the trouble to let his Majesty know that he will not quit Ouir, till he discovers and knows all the places in Rome he frequents. Le Breton gave me, on the part of his master le Gut, a note by which he informs me that Ouir had opened a shop in the place Navone, where he sold all sorts of artificial flowers and fruits, and little wax images; and that he had a Venetian boy who worked wonderfully well at this sort of business."

Cardinal d' Etrées to Louis the XIVth. June 29, 1688.

“**T**HEY are in much pain in the Vatican to know how your Majesty could so soon be acquainted with the project and all the articles of the league of Augsbourg. The Spanish Ambassador has been sick upon it, and is yet much disordered. He tries every means to discover those who have given your Majesty the information.

By the last letter I wrote to Monsieur Louvois, I informed him of the action which your Majesty's le Gut did to the captain of the town-guard and all his troop of Sbiri to the number of 50. As soon as he heard them approach the place where he had placed himself to see who went to Cardinal who is Cassoni's adviser, he began by calling his two valets, le Breton and le Gascon, and made them cry out,—“Long live the King of France.”—After that he made them say,—“Stop at the gate of the court.—Long live Great Louis—may all his enemies perish.”—These three men obliged the captain and his 50 Sbiri to fly in the greatest haste, and take shelter with the Pope's guard, who put themselves under arms as fast as they could; and your Gut had the pleasure to remain in a place from whence he could see this rascally company, who did not leave the post they had taken, till daylight.

The 24th instant, le Petit being gone to Notre Dame des Neiges, and le Gut being upon duty, he gave him a letter by which he advised him that Ouir was to be with Cassoni to take his letters, which would be found in the fruits which he pretended to go to sell him, and left him to take his measures.

Next day, the 25th, your le Gut, Sire, without communicating to me his design, did not fail to go and place himself as a centinel near to Ouir's house, in such a manner that he could not be discovered. He saw the burgomaster go out with his basket hanging about his neck. He followed him till he went into Mr. Cassoni's: at this moment he heard the clock strike eleven. Ouir came out an hour and an half after midnight. Le Gut dressed himself this night as a porter, with his two servants: These three personages followed the burgomaster. As soon as he was about a

thousand paces from the vatican, they saw he took his way along a small street; as soon as he was entered they mended their pace, overtook him and seized him, presenting a dagger to his throat. As soon as Ouir was at their discretion, le Gut rummaged him, but found nothing on him; this obliged him to take away his basket full of artificial fruits: He gave it to le Breton, who brought it to me. I waited, Sire, with impatience for your le Gut, because he had sent me word he would come and sup with me, but that it would be late. I then thought that he was about some enterprize for your service, which I could not divine. His valet entering my room, gave me the basket that le Gut had taken from Ouir. It was no sooner opened than in my life I never saw any thing better executed. I admired the fruits a little while, and then ranged them upon my table. As soon as I had finished, I heard your le Gut, who opened the back door of my closet, which obliged me to go into it; and he informed me, that after having taken the basket from Ouir, he conducted him to about ten paces from his door, and on that spot told him, that he had followed him ever since he had been at Rome, and that it was Signora Hortensia who was the cause of his letters and papers being taken from him some time ago, and it was she also who had occasioned the loss of his basket; and if during the course of next day he did not quit Rome, she would cause him to be thrown into the Tiber.

After le Gut had acquainted me with his adventure, and that he had always spoken low Dutch to the burgomaster, he asked for supper, which being finished, he asked me what I would do with Ouir's merchandize. I told him I thought it so fine that I designed it for your Majesty. Le Gut replied that he would open the whole, and in the mean time made my maitre d'hotel, who waited on us, bring them. He broke all the fruits in my presence, which he had no sooner done, than I owned he had reason. We found all round these fruits brass wires under green silk that covered them, and which were stuck into the lemons, figs and grapes, with little flags of paper writ in cypher. Le Gut took and ranged them according to their number, and decyphered them, and there we found the schemes and good intentions of the Duke of Savoy for the ruin of your dominions.

The design of his Highness is not openly to take part with your enemies, as you will see : and I think if your Majesty deals properly with this Prince, you may oblige him to turn to the side of France, or remain neuter. The series of Cassoni's letters shows the forces which the Emperor, England, and Holland are to employ against you, Sire ; and the assistance the Emperor and the King of Spain are to give to the Duke of Savoy when it shall be necessary. The number of Barbotes and new converts, according to their computation, will amount to more than one hundred thousand men, which is the number of those who are gone out of your dominions ; and all the others in general who remain in the kingdom, are to take arms against your Majesty as soon as the trumpet of your enemies sounds. Your Majesty may know by this how much the Pope's minister amuses him with chimeras, since at this hour that I have the honour to write to you, his Holiness believes France ruined, by means of all the fables which Count Cassoni has entertained him with.

Your Majesty will receive then in this paquet all the flags which were in Ouir's fruits, with a letter from le Gut, to shew you, Sire, in what manner to range them. You will also see the care with which Ouir and Cassoni have adjusted them, to give your enemies the means of reading them without trouble. After le Gut had finished his letter, he begged me to assure your Majesty, that if you will keep two of your gallies at Civita Vecchia, he obliges himself under penalty of losing his head, to carry off Cassoni from the midst of Rome, or from his chamber, provided your Majesty desires it, and will let him have twenty gentlemen and as many guardes marines ; and promises he will get Cassoni put aboard one of the galleys, and conduct him to Marseilles or Toulon, or any other place you please, before any one in Rome knows what is become of this secretary. He farther said to me, that if he dared, he would make the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Lyonne formerly made, of going to Rome to stab Don Mario, brother to Pope Alexander the seventh, after the attempt that the Corsicans made upon the person of madam the Ambassadrefs de Crequi in her coach ; but knowing how much your Majesty abhors bloodshed, he contents himself with offering, at the peril of his life, to bring the Count Cassoni to what place you please bound and gagged, to make him

pay, by his confinement, for the folly of the bad councils he has given. Ouir has not appeared in Rome since the 26th; the pretended shop is shut; so that he is either in hiding, or gone."

The credit given in the first of these letters to a wild story of a concert in England to murder the King and his son, if he should have one, is a strong instance of the mistakes of foreigners, with regard to the character of a people, who, because they are more high-spirited, are therefore more honourable in their resentments than the rest of mankind: Yet perhaps these letters may account for the ridiculous fear which James was under at the revolution, for his own life and that of his son. The letters are probably right with regard to the intentions of the Prince of Orange to mount the throne of England. In King William's box there is a letter to him from the Elector of Brandenburg, from which there is reason to conjecture, that at his interview with the Elector at Minden, a few months before he sailed for England, such an object had not been altogether out of sight.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.

Monseigneur, mon très honoré cousin et frere,

"J'E ne puis exprimer la grandeur de ma joye que me cause l'accomplissement des souhaits que j'ay fait depuis quelques années, et particulièrement il y a six mois à Minden, pour votre elevation au trone d'Angleterre, qui vous est du également et par le sang, et par le bienfait que l'Angleterre et tous les Protestans ensemble, même toute l'Europe, reçoivent par votre moyen. J'en viens feliciter votre Altesse de toute mon ame, et souhaite que le grand Dieu qui l'a mis miraculeusement sur ce trone, lui conserve longues années, et y ajoute le bonheur d'une heureuse lignée. Je me promets cependant de mon coste auprès de votre Altesse, les mêmes sentiments de bonté et tendresse qu'elle a tousjours eu pour moy, qui serai à jamais, Monseigneur, mon très honoré cousin et frere,

De votre Altesse le très humble,

De Berline,

Et très devoué serviteur,

27. Fev. 1689.

FREDRICK, ELECTOR."

Translation.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.—Mentions the wishes he had formed at the interview at Minden for his elevation to the throne.

My Lord, my most honoured cousin and brother,

“ I CANNOT express the greatness of the joy caused in me, by the completion of the wishes which some years ago I had formed, and particularly six months ago at Minden, for your elevation to the throne of England, which is due to you equally by blood, and by the advantage which England, and all the protestants together, even all Europe, receives by your means. I felicitate your Majesty with all my soul, and wish that the great God, who has miraculously put you on this throne, may preserve long years to you, and add to them the good fortune of an happy issue. In the mean time I promise myself on my side from your Majesty, the same sentiments of goodness and tenderness which you have always had for me, who shall be for ever, my dear and most honoured cousin and brother,

Your Highness's most humble,

Berlin,

And most devoted servant,

27th Feb. 1689.

FREDRICK, ELECTOR.”

But if the Prince of Orange in coming to England had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his box there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a short time before he sailed.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.

SIRE,

“ JE n'ay pu n'y voulu manquer de donner avis à votre Majesté Impériale, que les mesintelligences, qui sont depuis quelque tems entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et ses sujets, sont venues à des extremités si grandes, qu' étant sur le point d'eclatter par une rupture formelle, elles m'ont obligé de me résoudre à passer la mer, a cause des instances vives et reiterées qui m'en ont été faites par plusieurs pairs et autres personnes considerables du royaume, tant ecclesiastiques que seculiers. J'ay cru fort

nécessaire d'y mener quelques troupes d'infanterie et de cavalerie, à fin de n'être point exposé aux insultes de ceux qui par leurs mauvais conseils, et par les violences qui s'en sont ensuivies, ont donné lieu à ces mesintelligences extremes. J'ay voulu, Sire, assurer par cette lettre votre Majesté Imperiale que quelques bruits que l'on puisse avoir déjà semez, et non-obstant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir à l'avenir, je n'ay pas la moindre intention de faire aucun tort à sa Majesté Britannique, n'y à ceux qui ont droit de pretendre à la succession de ses royaumes, et encore moins d'empêcher moy même sur la couronne, où de vouloir me l'approprier.

Je n'ay non plus aucun dessein d'extirper les Catholiques Romains, mais seulement d'employer mes soins pour tacher de faire redresser les desordres et les irregularités qu'on a fait contre les lois de ces royaumes par les mauvais conseils des mal-intentionnez.

Je tacheray aussi de procurer, que dans un parlement legitiment assemblé et composé de personnes deüement qualifiées selon les lois de la nation, les affaires soient réglées d'une telle maniere que la religion protestante, avec les libertes et les droits du clergé, de la noblesse, et du peuple soient mis dans une entiere sureté; par ce moyen seulement il y a lieu d'esperer qu'il s'ensuivra une bonne union et une sincere confiance entre le Roy et ses sujets, à fin d'être en état de pouvoir contribuer puissamment au bien public. J'ajoute que dans le dessein que j'ay de tacher aussi de prevenir le continuation de ces mesintelligences, et d'affermir une si bonne union sur des fondemens solides, je dois prier votre Majesté Imperiale de s'assurer, que j'emploieray tout mon credit pour moyenner que les Catholiques Romains de ce pays là jouisse de la liberté de conscience, et soient mis hors de toute inquiétude d'être persecutéz à cause de leur religion; et que pourveu qu'ils en fassent l'exercice sans bruit et avec modestie, ils ne soient point sujets à aucuns punitiez.

J'ay eu de toute tems une très grande aversion pour toute sorte de persecution en matiere de religion parmi les Chrétiens.

Je prie Dieu qui est le tout puissant, de vouloir benir cette sienne sincere intention, et j'ose me promettre qu'elle ne déplaira pas à votre Majesté Imperiale.

Je prie aussi Dieu de la vouloir combler de ses meilleurs benedictions. Je suis avec toute sorte de respect."

Translation.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.—Assures him, that in his expedition to England, he has no intention to dethrone King James, or to injure the Roman Catholics.

S I R,

“ I Could not fail to give information to your Imperial Majesty, that the misunderstandings which have subsisted for some time between the King of Great Britain and his subjects are come to so great extremities, that being upon the point of breaking out into a formal rupture, they have obliged me to pass the sea, on account of the lively and reiterated instances which have been made to me by many Peers and other considerable persons of the kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as secular. I think it necessary to carry some troops of infantry and cavalry there, that I may not be exposed to the insults of those, who, by their bad counsels, and by the violences which followed them, have given occasion to these extreme misunderstandings. I assure your Imperial Majesty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been spread, and notwithstanding those which may be spread for the future, I have not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms, and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to myself.

Neither have I any desire to extirpate the Roman Catholics, but only to employ my cares to endeavour to redress the disorders and irregularities which have been committed against the laws of those kingdoms by the bad councils of the ill intentioned.

I will also endeavour in a parliament lawfully assembled, and composed of persons duly qualified according to the laws of the nation, to procure the regulation of affairs in such a manner, that the protestant religion, with the liberties and rights of the clergy, nobility, and people, may be put in entire security. By this means alone there is place to hope, that there will follow a good union and sincere confidence between the King and his subjects, that they may be in a condition of being able to contribute powerfully to the common good. I must add, that in the design which I have of endeavouring to prevent the continuation of these misunderstandings,

and to strengthen so good an union upon solid foundations, I ought to intreat your Imperial Majesty to be assured, that I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that country may enjoy liberty of conscience, and be put out of fear of being persecuted on account of their religion; and provided they exercise their religion without noise, and with modesty, that they shall not be subject to any punishment.

I have at all times had a great aversion to all sort of persecution upon religious matters among Christians.

I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bless this my sincere intention, and I dare promise that it will not displease your Majesty.

I pray God also, that he may cover you with his best blessing. I am with all sort of respect."

The common vindication of the intrigues of King James's subjects against him is, that the Revolution was a measure of expediency in the then state of things. But there are facts in Barillon's dispatches sufficient to justify it as a matter of absolute necessity. An English reader may not be surprised to hear, that King James had resolved to make void the act of settlement in Ireland, in order to have it in his power to make use of Irish Catholics for the establishment of his authority in England. But he will be astonished to learn a fact hitherto unknown and unsuspected, that towards the end of the reign of King James, there were in England three Popish regiments regularly paid by France.

Lord Tyrconnel was the person who first suggested this project, and connected it with another equally pleasing to the King, to wit, that the British regiments in the Dutch service should be recalled from that service. The secrets of these things are to be found in the following dispatches.

Extrait d'une lettre de M. Barillon au Roy. 1687, Oct. 13.

"J'A I été averti par Milord Sonderland que le Roy son maitre devoit In the Depot.
me parler d'une affaire de consequence, et qu'il m'expliqueroit de
quoi il est question, à fin que je fusse préparé quand sa Majesté Britannique
me le communiqueroit.

Le fait est que le Roy d'Angleterre est résolu de retirer les troupes de ses sujets qui sont au service des Etats Generaux: il s'attend bien qu'il demeurera un grand nombre d'officiers et de soldats en Hollande, mais aussi une bonne partie pourra revenir icy, et principalement les Catholiques, et tous ceux qui ne sont pas entierement gagnés par M. le Prince d'Orange: quelque envie que sa Majesté Britannique ait de rappeler ces troupes, il lui est difficile de le faire sans avoir un moyen facile de faire subsister ceux qui seront rappelés, et de les conserver ensemble dans un même corps. L'expedient d'augmenter les nombres des troupes qui sont sur pied icy seroit le plus naturel, mais il y en a déjà un aussi grand nombre que le Roy d'Angleterre ne peut entretenir: sa pensée donc est de proposer à votre Majesté de prendre à son service un régiment d'infanterie composé d'officiers et des soldats qui seront rappelés de Hollande; ce régiment seroit entierement dans la disposition de votre Majesté, supposant cependant que quand le Roy d'Angleterre en auroit besoin dans son pays, votre Majesté ne refuseroit pas de le renvoyer.

Les raisons qui obligent ce Prince à faire cette proposition sont, que par ce moyen il y auroit un nouveau corps sur pied qui se maintiendrait mieux, et seroit mieux discipliné, que ceux qui sont en ce pays cy; que ce seroit une pepiniere pour élever et former des soldats catholiques, qui ne seront pas informés des maximes dangereuses pour la royauté repandues par toute l'Angleterre, et dont même les Catholiques ne sont par toute à fait exempts; que sans cela il lui sera difficile de rappeler sitot les troupes qui sont en Hollande, ne pouvant pas aisément les faire subsister ensemble, quoiqu'il connoisse combien il lui est de consequence de ne pas laisser plus longtems subsister un corps de troupes de ses sujets, dont le plus grand nombre n'est pas dans ses intérêts, et seroit contre lui si l'occasion s'en presentoit.

Milord Sonderland m'ayant expliqué cela m'a dit, qu'il jugeoit bien que cette affaire n'étoit pas aisé à obtenir de votre Majesté; que dans un tems de paix votre Majesté ne songeroit pas facilement à prendre un corps de troupes etrangeres, dont la dépense excedera celle d'un pareil nombre de ses sujets; qu'on savoit bien ce qui étoit arrivé il y a quelques années sur le sujet des troupes Angloises et qui estoient en France; et que votre Majesté étoit peutêtre dégoutée pour toujours d'en prendre à son service, et de faire une depense extraordinaire pour laquelle on ne voit pas de raisons

assez fortes pour y engager votre Majesté presentement ; que cependant en considerant l'état des affaires d'Angleterre en particulier, et celles de l'Europe en general, votre Majesté jugera peutêtre que la proposition qui lui est faite doit être admise, premièrement parceque c'est une chose extrêmement importante pour le bien de la religion catholique, à l'avantage de laqu'elle principalement ce régiment seroit levé et subsisteroit ; qu'en cela votre Majesté obligeroit sensiblement le Roy son maitre, et lui donneroit une marque d'amitié effective et solide dans un tems ou il peut de son côté donner des marques a votre Majesté de son attachement à ses intérêts ; que la proposition qui est faite, marque une resolution determinée de la part du Roy d'Angleterre de conserver une liaison étroite avec votre Majesté ; et que cela même rendra cette liaison publique, et peut produire des effets qui ne seront pas inutiles au service de votre Majesté ; que ce sera un deplaisir mortel pour M. le Prince d'Orange de voir passer au service de votre Majesté des troupes rappelées d'Hollande ; que les Etats Generaux prendront même de là de nouveaux sujets de jalousie contre le Roy d'Angleterre, et connoîtront qu'il est fort éloigné d'entrer en aucune liaison ni concert avec eux ; que le maison d'Autriche croira par là qu'il y a entre votre Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre une liaison encore plus étroite et plus établie quelle n'est, et que cela ne peut qu'être utile dans la conjoncture présente ; qu'en fin, ce régiment étant à votre service doit être regardé comme un gage d'une confiance entière de la part du Roy son maitre ; et que c'est un commencement pour venir dans la suite à toute ce que votre Majesté pourra juger être convenable à ses interests.

J'ai dit à milord Sonderland, que je ne pouvois lui rien repondre de mon chef sur une chose nouvelle et de si grand consequence ; que je lui dirois que je la croiois fort difficile ; et que lui même connoissoit les raisons qui pouvoient empêcher votre Majesté de prendre des troupes étrangères à son service dans un tems au quel votre Majesté a licentié un si grand nombre de ses sujets. Le Roy d'Angleterre ne m'en a point encore parlé, mais je ne doute pas qu'il ne m'en parle au premier jour, et qu'il n'ajoute encore d'autres raisons à celles qui ont été alleguées par milord Sonderland."

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—King James is to propose that France should take into his pay a regiment formed of the British troops, to be recalled from Holland.—The views of this.

October 13, 1687.

“**L**ORD Sunderland acquainted me that his master was to speak to me about an affair of consequence, and that he would explain it to me, to the end I might be prepared when his Britannic Majesty should communicate it to me.

The fact is, that the King of England is resolved to withdraw his troops which are in the service of the States General: he expects indeed that a great number of the officers and soldiers will remain in Holland, but also a good part may return here, and principally the Catholics, and all those who are not entirely gained by the Prince of Orange. However desirous his Britannic Majesty may be to recall these troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having easy means of subsisting those who shall be recalled, and keeping them together in one body. The expedient of augmenting the troops which are on foot here would be the most natural, but there is already as great a number as the King of England can maintain. His thought therefore is, to propose to your Majesty the taking into your service a regiment of infantry, composed of the officers and soldiers to be recalled from Holland; this regiment will be entirely at your Majesty's own disposal, it being understood nevertheless, that when the King of England shall have occasion for them in his own country, your Majesty will not refuse to send them back.

The reasons which oblige this Prince to make this proposal are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up and better disciplined than those which are in this country; that it will be a nursery to educate and form catholic soldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to monarchy, which are spread throughout all England, and from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall so soon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to subsist them easily together, although he knows of how much consequence it is to him not to permit to

exist any longer a corps of troops of his own subjects, the greatest number of whom are not in his interests, and would serve against him if the occasion offered.

Lord Sunderland having explained this, said, he judged this affair was not easily to be obtained of your Majesty; that in time of peace your Majesty would not easily think of taking into your service a body of foreign troops, the expence of which would exceed that of a like number of your own subjects; that it was well known what had happened some years ago with regard to the English troops which were in France; and that your Majesty had perhaps formed for ever a dislike at taking them into your service, and making an extraordinary expence, for which there appeared no strong reasons to engage you at present; that however, considering the state of affairs in England in particular, and of Europe in general, your Majesty will perhaps judge that the proposal which is made to you, ought to be admitted; first, because it is a thing extremely important for the good of the catholic religion, for the advantage of which principally this regiment would be levied and maintained; that in this your Majesty would sensibly oblige the King his master, and give him an effectual and solid mark of friendship, at a time when he might, on his side, give proofs to your Majesty of his attachment to your interests; that the proposal which is made, shews a determined resolution on the part of the King of England, to preserve a strict connection with your Majesty, and it will even render this connection public, and may produce effects which will not be useless to your Majesty's service; that it will be a mortifying displeasure to the Prince of Orange to see the troops recalled from Holland pass into your Majesty's service; that even the States General will from thence form new subjects of jealousy against the King of England, and perceive that he is far from entering into any connection or concert with them; that the House of Austria will from thence believe, that there is between your Majesty and the King of England a connection more strict and more established than there is, which cannot but be useful in the present conjuncture; that, in fine, this regiment being in your service, ought to be looked upon as a pledge of an entire confidence on the part of the King his master, and that it is a beginning to lead in the end to all that your Majesty may judge convenient for your interests.

I told Lord Sunderland that I could not of myself give him any answer to a thing so new, and of so great consequence ; that I could tell him, I believed it would be very difficult ; and that he himself knew the reasons which might hinder your Majesty from taking foreign troops into your service at a time when you had disbanded so great a number of your own subjects. The King of England has not as yet spoken to me about it, but I don't doubt he will upon the first occasion, and that he will add other reasons to those which have been alledged by Lord Sunderland."

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

October 16, 1687.

In the *Depot*. " **J'** Ai sçu de milord Sonderland que milord Tirconel est celui qui à le plus pressé le Roy son maitre d'avoir un régiment de ses sujets en France, et qui lui en a fait envisager les consequences ; cela m'a donné lieu d'entrer sur les affaires d'Irlande : Milord Sonderland m'a dit que le Roy son maitre est résolu de renverser l'établissement fait des biens des Irlandois Catholiques aux Anglois Protestans après le retour du Roy d'Angleterre ; que cela est encore tenu fort secret ; mais qu'on y travaillera bientôt, et que les mesures sont prises pour en venir à bout. Le renversement de cet établissement fait en faveur des rebelles, et des officiers de Cromwel, est regardé icy comme ce qu'il y a de plus important ; et s'il peut être exécuté sans opposition, ce sera une entière séparation de l'Irlande d'avec l'Angleterre pour l'avenir. C'est le sentiment general de tous les Anglois."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James is to rescind the act of settlement in Ireland.

October 16, 1687.

" **I** Know from Lord Sunderland that Lord Tirconel was the person who pressed the King his master most to have a regiment of his subjects in France, and who has pointed out to him the consequences of it ; this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland : Lord Sunderland told me that the King his master is resolved to reverse

the act of settlement which was made of the Irish catholicks estates to the English Protestants upon the return of the late King of England; that this was as yet kept very secret; but it would soon be gone about, and that measures are taken to accomplish it. The reversing this settlement, which was made in favour of rebels and Cromwell's officers, is looked upon here as the most important of all things, and if it can be executed without opposition it will be an entire separation of Ireland from England for the future. This is the general sentiment of all the English."

In this letter Barillon further says, that King James had pressed upon him Lord Sunderland's project for taking into the French service the Roman catholicks who should leave the Dutch service, alledging that a foreign force of his own subjects ready at his call, would be the best means of establishing Popery.

Barillon in his letter to his court of the 6th of November 1687, mentions his having received orders from Louis to decline receiving into France the troops, which should be recalled from Holland, but to offer to maintain them in England. On the 10th of November he writes, that he had communicated his orders to King James, and made a farther offer of what troops James should want from France, "Pour opprimer ses ennemis, et se faire obeir de ses sujets." "To oppress his enemies, and make himself be obeyed by his subjects." In the Depot.

James having accepted the offer of maintaining the troops from Holland on French pay in England, his gratitude to Louis is to be seen in the following dispatch.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Dec. 8, 1687.

"LE Roy d'Angleterre me dit il y a deux jours, que Milord Sunderland lui avoit rendu compte de ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majesté sur l'entretien de deux mille hommes qui seroient rap- In the Depot.
pellée d'Hollande; qu'il l'acceptoit avec beaucoup de joie et de reconnaissance; qu'il ne pouvoit assez me dire combien il ressentoit cette nouvelle marque de l'amitié de votre Majesté; qu'il me chargeoit de l'en remercier de sa part; que l'entretien de quelques troupes de ses sujets en

France lui avoit paru avantageux à ces desseins, mais que ce que votre Majesté fait l'est fort aussi, et le met en état de poursuivre hardiment les résolutions qu'il a prises en faveur de la religion catholique.

Je dis à ce Prince que votre Majesté n'avoit pas hésité d'accorder ce qui lui avoit été proposé ; et que j'avois des ordres bien précis de l'assurer que quand il auroit besoin des troupes de votre Majesté, il en passeroit bientôt un plus grand nombre que n'auroit été le corps de ses sujets qui y auroit été entretenu. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'interrompit, et me dit, je me tiens pleinement assuré de l'amitié du Roy votre Majesté, je tacherai d'en mériter la continuation, et il connoitra en toutes occasions combien j'ai d'attachement à sa personne et à ses intérêts.

J'ai vu depuis milord Sonderland qui m'a dit que l'offre de votre Majesté d'entretenir deux mille hommes a produit le meilleur effet qu'on en puisse attendre dans l'esprit du Roy son maître, et qu'il n'a pas manqué de lui faire remarquer avec quelle promptitude votre Majesté avoit accordé ce qui avoit été seulement insinué comme une chose qui lui seroit agréable.

Translation.

Extrait of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James thanks Louis for keeping the 2000 Papists in his pay in England.

December 8, 1687.

“ **T**HE King of England told me two days ago that Lord Sunderland had given him an account of what I had said to him on your Majesty's part, concerning the keeping up in this country two thousand men to be recalled from Holland; that he accepted it with a great deal of joy and gratitude; that he could not sufficiently tell me how much he esteemed this new mark of your Majesty's friendship; that he charged me to thank you for it on his part; that the keeping on foot some troops of his subjects in France had appeared to him advantageous to his designs, but that what your Majesty does is likewise highly so, and puts him in a condition to pursue boldly the resolutions which he has taken in favour of the catholic religion.

I told this Prince that your Majesty had not hesitated in granting what had been proposed; and that I had very precise orders to assure him, that when there should be occasion for your Majesty's forces, you would soon cause a much greater number to pass over than the body of his subjects would have been, which were to have been kept on foot in France. The King of England interrupted me, and said, I hold myself fully assured of the King your Master's friendship; I shall endeavour to merit the continuation of it, and he shall know on every occasion how much I am attached to his person and interests.

I have since seen Lord Sunderland, who told me that your Majesty's offer of keeping up the two thousand men had produced in the King his Master's mind a better effect than could have been expected from it; and that he had not omitted to make him observe with what readiness your Majesty had granted, what had only been insinuated as a thing that would be agreeable to him."

There are in King William's box the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the recall of these troops from the Dutch service.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Recalls the six British regiments in the Dutch service.

Whitehall, Jan. 17th, 1688.

"I HAVE charged my envoy, Monf. d'Abbeville, who will give you this letter, to give you an account that I think it for my service to call for home the six regiments of my subjects, which are under your command, in the States service; and have written to the States to the same purpose, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as soon as may be: what else I have to say upon this subject, I refer to my envoy; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Angry that the States have given leave to the officers but not to the soldiers.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1688.

“**Y**ESTERDAY I received yours of the 20th, and at the same time the States answer about the regiments of my subjects which are in their service; by which I was surprised to find they make a difficulty to let the common soldiers have the same liberty which they grant the officers, they being all equally my subjects. I had not reason to expect such an answer; what I have further to say to you upon that affair, I must refer to my envoy, whom I have also ordered to speak to the States upon that subject; which is all I shall say now, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 2, 1688.

“**I**HAD not time by the last post to let you know I had received yours of the 2d, by which I found the reason why I could not then expect an answer to Mr. Abbeville’s second memorial concerning my subjects in the six regiments. The next letters may I think bring me the answer of it, which I cannot doubt will be such a one as in reason I ought to expect, the common soldiers being as much my subjects as the officers. You will have seen, before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Ossory, which is very home to this point; so that sure, if it was not done before, there will be no further difficulty made of letting such of the common men come over as are willing. I shall say no more now, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the same purpose.

Whitehall, March 13, 1688.

“**S**INCE I wrote last to you I have had two of yours; and having been a hunting this day, and come home late, am so sleepy that I can only tell you that I did not expect to have had such answers from the States to the memorials lately given in by my envoy, especially where your influence is so great; and sure ’tis the first instance, and I believe will be

the last, wherever subjects were refused the liberty to return back when demanded to serve their Prince. I shall always be as kind to you as you have reason to expect."

Notwithstanding the refusal of the States (or rather of the Prince) to permit the British soldiers in their service to obey King James's recall, many of them made their escape and returned into England. Of these, and other popish soldiers, three regiments were formed instead of the two which had been a little before intended; for on the 26th July, 1688, Barillon writes to his court, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres tournois, for the first two months pay of the three regiments, and that he was to continue the same payment at the end of every second month. In the *Depot*.

On the 6th of December, 1685, Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon, ordered him to give a pension to Lord Sunderland of 20,000, or even 24,000 crowns: "Tant qu'il contribuera tout ce que depend de lui au maintien d'une bonne correspondance entre moy et le Roy son maitre, et à eloigner tout engagement qui pouvoit être contraire à mes interêts."—"As long as he shall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correspondence between me and the King his master, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my interêts." In the *Depot*.

After James had thanked Louis the XIVth for complying in part with Lord Tyrconnel's project for recalling the British troops in the Dutch service, and putting them in the pay of France, the resolution for recalling them was suspended for some time; and about the same time Skelton, who was ambassador in France, suggested to the French court his suspicions that Lord Sunderland was secretly in the interests of the Prince of Orange. Barillon, upon this, got orders from Louis the XIVth to watch narrowly the motions of Lord Sunderland, and to report what he observed. Upon Barillon's attempting to sound him, he who had been the cause of getting the recall suspended, agreed to give his interest for having the suspension removed, provided a large gratification in money should be added to his pension, for doing so; thus, by a refinement of profligacy, deceiving Barillon into the belief that he was engaged in no interest except his own. The two following dispatches, the first of which contains an account of

his asking a gratification, and the second of his getting one, though smaller than he expected, show to what an extraordinary degree Barillon was duped by him.

Depêche de Mr. Barillon au Roy, Janvier 5, 1688.

In the *Depot*. “ J’AI observé exactement ce que votre Majesté m’ordonne par sa dépêche du 13 Decembre dernier, de ne témoigner aucun empressement pour le rappel des troupes qui sont en Hollande. J’ai pris aussi tout le soin que je dois pour découvrir de qui vient le retardement de la resolution qui paroïssoit prise pour le rappel de ces troupes ; et je n’ai rien omis pour pénétrer si le soupçon que paroît avoir le Sieur Skelton a quelque fondement solide. Je ne me suis tenu à ce que milord Sonderland m’a dit que les principaux Catholiques étoient d’avis que ce rappel ne devoit être fait qu’après l’assemblée d’un parlement. J’ai su d’un ami intime de milord Puez, que milord Arondel et lui croioient que ce seroit gater les affaires que de rappeler les troupes qui sont en Hollande présentement : la question est de savoir s’ils ont pensé cela de leur chef, ou si milord Sonderland leur a inspiré le sentiment qu’ils ont, ou s’il a pris le parti de retarder une affaire qu’il a pressée d’abord fort vivement, et qu’il paroïssoit avoir fort à cœur aussi bien que le Roi son maitre ; c’est ce qui n’est pas aisé à pénétrer ; mais ce qu’il y a d’assuré, c’est que le retardement du rappel des troupes d’Hollande après la séance du parlement rend ce rappel incertain, et qu’il pourra arriver beaucoup de choses qui l’empêcheront. Votre Majesté en jugera plus aisément quand je lui aurai rendu compte de ce qui s’est passé dans cette affaire depuis quelques jours.

Milord Sonderland ayant entrevu que je ne faisois aucune nouvelle instance pour le rappel des troupes de Hollande, m’a parlé plus ouvertement qu’il n’avoit encore fait : il m’a dit que les principaux Catholiques regardoient ce rappel des troupes comme une rupture avec les Etats Généraux, et principalement avec le Prince d’Orange ; et qu’ils avoient été d’avis que cela ne se pouvoit faire qu’après qu’on auroit essayé ce qui se pourroit obtenir d’un parlement, parceque si on venoit à bout de faire révoquer les loix penales et le Test, il n’y auroit point alors de peril ni d’inconvenient de rappeler des troupes dont on pourroit avoir besoin, pour

maintenir ce qui auroit été établi en faveur des Catholiques, et empêcher les efforts des factieux, aux quels il ne resteroit plus d'autre ressource que celle d'exciter des troubles et des desordres en Angleterre : que si ces troupes étoient rappellées présentement, ce feroit redoubler les soupçons qu'on a déjà en ce pays cy, que le dessein est formé de rompre avec les Etats Généraux et avec le Prince d'Orange, et par conséquent de s'unir étroitement avec la France ; que beaucoup de gens bien intentionnés pour l'autorité royale et pour la révocation des loix penales craindroient qu'on ne s'engageat trop avant contre la Hollande, et que ce ne fût un projet fait pour l'établissement de la religion Catholique, et pour la ruine de la Protestante, et que cela les empêcheroit de favoriser les desseins de sa Majesté Britannique dans le parlement ; qu'il seroit beaucoup plus prudent d'attendre ce que le parlement fera, et de ne point mettre d'obstacle aux résolutions qui s'y peuvent prendre.

Milord Sonderland m'a fait entendre que ces raisons avoient fait quelque impression sur l'esprit du Roi son maitre, et l'avoient empêché de se déterminer à rappeler présentement les troupes de Hollande ; qu'à son egard de lui, il n'estimoit pas que les raisons alleguées fussent solides, et qu'il croyoit les pouvoir obtenir et faire prendre la résolution de rappeler les troupes d'Hollande incessamment ; qu'il en avoit envisagé toutes les conséquences, et qu'il connoissoit bien ce qui en pouvoit arriver ; qu'il prétendoit faire connoître au Roi son maitre, que l'envie demesurée qu'ont les principaux Catholiques d'obtenir d'un parlement la révocation des loix pénales, leur fait apprehender mal à propos ce rappel des troupes ; que l'offre que votre Majesté fait d'entretenir deux mille hommes de ces troupes, marque un desir sincere d'obliger le Roi son maitre ; qu'il la regarde aussi comme une preuve certaine de ses bonnes intentions pour l'affermissement de son autorité, et pour l'avancement de la religion Catholique en Angleterre ; que la maniere dont votre Majesté avoit accordé ce qui lui à été demandé, a produit tout l'effet qu'on en pouvoit attendre dans l'esprit de sa Majesté Britannique ; que tout cela n'empêche pas que votre Majesté ne suive en cette occasion ses veritables intérêts, et qu'elle ne fasse un coup important pour son service, en mettant une si grande division entre l'Angleterre et les Etats Généraux ; que l'entretien de deux mille hommes couteroit à votre Majesté deux cent mille ecus ou fort peu

davantage, et que pour cette somme le Roi son maitre entroît dans un engagement aussi formel et aussi fort qu'avoit fait le feu Roi d'Angleterre pour des sommes bien plus considerables ; que quand ce premier pas seroit fait, on suivroit exactement de la part du Roi son maitre la conduite que votre Majesté pouvoit desirer ; que ce secret de l'entretien de deux mille hommes n'étoit encore su que de lui seul, et qu'il ne le feroit apparemment dans la suite d'aucun autre, qu'il croioit du moins qu'il sera confié à fort peu de gens ; qu'il seroit fort facile de faire connoître au Roi son maitre qu'il s'engage tout à fait avec votre Majesté pour deux cent mil ecus par an, et d'insinuer qu'il faudroit demander une somme plus considerable, mais que ce n'étoit pas la conduite qu'il veut tenir ; que son dessein au contraire est de faire que le Roy son maitre se content de ce qui est offert, et entre dans tous les engagements qui en sont les suites nécessaires ; que les troupes d'Hollande pourroient être rappellées incessamment ; et qu'il s'exposeroit à ce qui en pourroit arriver si ce rappel des troupes produisoit des effets contraires à ce qu'on attend d'un parlement ; qu'il savoit bien qu'on le regardoit comme l'auteur de cette résolution, et que ceux qui ne l'approuvent pas trouveront aisément les moyens de s'en disculper auprès de M. le Prince d'Orange, et de remettre tout sur lui ; qu'il vouloit bien en courir le hazard, mais qu'en même tems il croioit devoir être assuré d'une protection pleine et entière de la part de votre Majesté ; qu'ainsi il me diroit franchement que le peril au quel il s'expose l'oblige à prendre quelque précaution, et à demander que votre Majesté entre en consideration de ses services, et lui donne de nouvelles marques de sa bienveillance en lui accordant une gratification, et lui continuant sa pension ordinaire ; qu'il ne demandoit rien de cette gratification qu'après que les troupes d'Hollande seroient arrivées icy ; qu'il ne craignoit point de lui avoir cette nouvelle obligation dans le dessein ou il est d'entrer generalement dans tout ce qui peut convenir aux intérêts de votre Majesté ; que c'étoit à moi à représenter le fait comme il est, et à lui faire savoir les intentions de votre Majesté, à fin qu'il s'y puisse conformer.

Je répondis peu de chose à ce discours, parceque je fus fort surpris de la proposition qui m'étoit faite : Je ne m'engageai pas d'abord d'en écrire ; je dis seulement à milord Sonderland qu'il m'avoit dit beaucoup de choses de grand consequence qui meritoient beaucoup de reflexion ; que je croyois seulement lui pouvoir dire qu'il ne devoit

pas capituler avec votre Majesté, et qu'il seroit plus convenable de faire de sa part ce qui peut être agréable à votre Majesté, et que dans la fuite il fera en droit de demander et d'attendre des graces qu'il aura méritées.

Nous eumes hier un second entretien dans lequel ce ministre répéta ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit entendre que son dessein n'étoit pas de se prévaloir de la conjoncture présente pour en tirer ses avantages particuliers ; qu'il demeurait dans les engagements qu'il a pris d'être toujours dans les intérêts de votre Majesté ; que j'ai vu de quelle manière il s'est conduit en toutes les occasions qui se sont présentées ; que je connois quelle part il a dans la confiance de son maître ; que si le rappel des troupes d'Hollande convient à votre Majesté, elle voudra bien que celui qui lui rend ce service en soit récompensé, puisque par là il s'expose beaucoup plus qu'il n'a encore fait ; que cela doit être représentée d'une manière pleine de respect et de soumission de sa part, mais que dans les affaires d'importance il faut s'expliquer nettement, et savoir à quoi s'en tenir, à fin d'agir plus sûrement et plus hardiment ; qu'il espère que votre Majesté voudra bien lui accorder une somme qui le mette en état d'envisager avec moins d'inquiétude les révolutions qui arrivent si souvent en Angleterre ; il ne s'est point expliqué précisément de la somme qu'il demande, mais je crois qu'il s'attend à quelque chose de considérable ; et il paroît persuadé qu'il rendra un grand service à votre Majesté en faisant rappeler les troupes d'Hollande.

J'ai fait mon possible pour le détourner de faire cette demande, et je lui ai représenté que s'étant déjà engagé dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, il devoit faire tout ce qu'il croit lui devoir être agréable, et ne pas mettre votre Majesté dans la nécessité de lui accorder ce qu'il demande, ou de le dégouter par un refus.

Ma remontrance a produit peu d'effet, et il m'a répliqué, que si votre Majesté juge qu'il est avantageux à son service de faire rappeler ces troupes, elle ne sera pas fâchée de lui accorder une somme qu'elle croira bien employée.

Il me reste à rendre compte à votre Majesté de ce qui concerne le soupçon que le Monsieur Skelton croit pouvoir tomber sur milord Sonder-

land d'une liaison secrète avec M. le Prince d' Orange ; je n'ai rien pénétré qui puisse le faire croire ; je vois au contraire que ce ministre s'engage tous les jours d'avantage dans tout ce qui peut être le plus opposé aux intérêts de M. le Prince d' Orange, et qu'il tient une conduite qui ne s'accorde pas avec le dessein qu'on prétend qu'il auroit de le ménager. C'est lui qui a depuis longtems pressé avec ardeur toutes les résolutions qui se prennent en faveur des catholiques ; il poursuit avec fermeté tout ce qui peut conduire les affaires à l'abolition des loix Pénales et du Test, qui est ce que M. le Prince d' Orange craint d'avantage ; je crois savoir qu'il est résolu de se déclarer catholique quand le Roy son maître le voudra : tout cela est difficile à concilier avec un engagement secret dans les intérêts de M. le Prince d' Orange. Il me paroît garder fort peu de ménagement sur les choses importantes qu'il me confie, et il hazarderoit beaucoup s'il y en avoit quelques unes de connues : il se peut faire que je sois prévenu en sa faveur, et qu'ayant à vivre dans une cour dont il occupe le principal poste, je me laisse aller trop aisément à croire ce qui m'est le plus agréable, et ce qui facilite d'avantage le succès des affaires dont je suis chargé. Je ne laisserai pas d'avoir les yeux ouverts pour pouvoir découvrir la vérité ; cependant il me semble que milord Sonderland se livre tous les jours d'avantage à moi, et se met pour ainsi dire entre les mains de votre Majesté. C'est lui qui a entamé avec moi l'affaire du rappel des troupes, et qui a pris tout le soin possible de la faire réussir : il est vrai que l'exécution de ce rappel est retardée, et que la proposition qu'il fait d'une gratification extraordinaire pourroit faire croire qu'il a retardé le rappel des troupes pour son intérêt particulier ; il croit du moins s'en devoir servir pour venir à ses fins. C'est à votre Majesté de juger ce qui est le plus convenable à son service. Les raisons que le Marquis d' Abbeville a alleguées dont j'ai envoyé copie à votre Majesté marquent assez qu'il est de l'intérêt du Roy d' Angleterre de rappeler ces troupes d' Hollande ; mais ces raisons n'ont pas été suffisantes pour en faire prendre la résolution. Si votre Majesté juge qu'il soit de son service d'entrer dans ce qui est proposé par milord Sonderland, je ne fais aucun doute que les troupes ne soient incessamment rapellées, et que ce ministre ne donne bientôt cette marque de son crédit ; mais si votre Majesté laisse agir le Roy d' Angleterre selon qu'il le jugera plus à propos, et qu'elle se remette à ce qu'on voudra déterminer icy sur le tems de ce rappel, il fera,

ce me semble, nécessaire de parler à milord Sunderland d'une manière qui adoucisse le chagrin d'avoir essuié un refus, et qui lui laisse une porte ouverte pour traiter les affaires en la manière qu'il a fait jusqu'à présent. J'attendrai ce qu'il plaira à votre Majesté d'ordonner pour l'exécuter ponctuellement.

Il y aura des prières publiques ordonnées par toute l'Angleterre à un jour qui fera marqué, pour l'heureux succès de la grossesse de la Reine d'Angleterre; les prières des catholiques seront fort sincères; on ne s'attend pas que ce soit la même chose dans les églises Protestantes; mais les évêques et les pasteurs n'oseront se dispenser d'obéir à la proclamation. Je suis, &c."

Translation.

Dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Suspensions of Lord Sunderland.—Barillon duped by his flattery.—Sunderland asks a gratification besides his pension.

January 5, 1688.

"I Have exactly observed what your Majesty ordered me by your dispatch of the 18th of December last, not to shew too much eagerness for recalling the troops which are in Holland. I have also taken all the pains I could to discover who has been the occasion of suspending the resolution which appeared to be taken for recalling these troops; and I have omitted nothing to find out if the suspicion Mr. Skelton appears to have has any solid foundation. I do not build any thing upon Lord Sunderland's telling me, that the principal catholicks were of opinion that the recall ought not to be made till after the meeting of a parliament. I know from an intimate friend of Lord Powis, that Lord Arundel and he believe that recalling the troops which are in Holland at present would spoil matters: The question is to know if this opinion is their own, or if Lord Sunderland has insinuated it to them; or if he has taken the part to retard an affair which at first he pressed very strongly, and seemed to have much at heart as well as the King his master; this is not easy to be penetrated; but what is sure is, that the delay of recalling these troops

from Holland till after the session of parliament, renders the recall uncertain, and many things may happen to prevent it. Your Majesty will judge better of this, when I have given you an account of what has passed upon this affair within these few days.

Lord Sunderland having observed that I made no new instances for recalling the troops from Holland, spoke to me more openly than he ever yet did: he told me that the principal catholics looked upon this recall of the troops as a rupture with the States General, and principally with the Prince of Orange; and that they were of opinion it could not be done till after a trial had been made of what might be obtained from a parliament; because if they could bring about the revocation of the Penal laws and the Test, there would then be neither danger nor inconvenience in recalling such troops as they might have occasion for, in order to maintain what should be established in favour of the catholics, and prevent the efforts of the factious, who would have no other resource left than that of exciting troubles and disorders in England; that if the troops were recalled at present it would redouble the suspicions already entertained in this country, of a formed design to break with the States General and the Prince of Orange, and consequently of a strict union with France: That many people well intentioned to the Royal Authority, and the revocation of the Penal laws, would be afraid of being too far engaged against Holland; and that it was a scheme concerted for the establishment of the catholic, and the ruin of the protestant religion, and that this would hinder them from favouring the designs of his Britannic Majesty in parliament: that it would be much more prudent to wait for what parliament will do, and not put an obstacle in the way of the resolutions which may be taken there.

Lord Sunderland made me understand that these reasons had made some impression upon the King his master's mind, and had prevented him from determining at present to recall the troops from Holland; that with regard to himself he did not esteem the reasons given solid, and that he believed he might prevail, and cause a resolution to be taken for recalling these troops from Holland immediately: That he had looked at all the consequences, and very well knew what might happen: That he would convince the King his master that it was the immoderate desire of the

principal catholics to obtain from parliament the revocation of the Penal laws, which made them apprehend this recall of the troops to be ill-timed; that the offer your Majesty made, to keep two thousand men of these troops, shews a sincere desire to oblige the King his master; and that he regards it also as a certain proof of your good intentions for the establishing of his authority, and the advancement of the Catholic religion in England; that the manner in which your Majesty granted what had been asked of you, had produced all the effect which could be expected from it in the mind of the King of Great Britain; that your Majesty would at the same time in this follow your true interests, and strike an important blow for your service, by making so great a division between England and the States General; that the supporting two thousand men will cost your Majesty two hundred thousand crowns, or very little more, and that for this sum his master would enter into an engagement as formal and as strong as the deceased King of England did for much more considerable sums. That when this first step was taken, there would be followed on the part of the King his master, that conduct which your Majesty could desire; that the secret of keeping two thousand men in pay was known to him alone, and, in all appearance, would not be to any other, at least he believed it would be trusted to very few people; that it would be easy to make the King his master see that he engages himself entirely to your Majesty for two hundred thousand crowns per annum, and to insinuate that he ought to ask a more considerable sum, but that this is not the conduct he chuses to follow; that his design, on the contrary, is to make the King his master contented with what is offered, and enter into all the engagements which are the necessary consequences of it; that the troops in Holland might be recalled immediately, and he would expose himself to whatever may happen, if this recall of the troops should be any ways prejudicial to what may be expected from a parliament; that he knew very well he was looked upon as the author of this resolution, and that those who do not approve it, will easily find means to exculpate themselves to the Prince of Orange, and throw the whole upon him; that he was very willing to run the hazard, but at the same time he thought he should be assured of a full and entire protection from your Majesty; that upon this account he would freely tell me, that the danger to which he exposes himself obliged him to take some precaution, and to desire your Majesty to take his services into

confideration, and give him some new marks of your goodnefs by beftowing upon him a gratification, and continuing to him his ordinary penfion; that he would ask no part of this gratification till after the troops from Holland fhould arrive here; that he was not afraid of owing this new obligation to you, as his defign was to enter generally into whatever might be fuitable to the interefts of your Majefty; that it was my part to represent the fact as it is, and to let him know your Majefty's intentions, in order that he might act accordingly.

I answered very little to this difcourfe, becaufe I was much furprifed with the propofal he made me: I did not undertake at once to write of it, I only told Lord Sunderland that he had faid many things to me of great confequence, which merited more reflexion; that I thought, I could only tell him, he ought not to treat upon terms with your Majefty, and that it would be more fuitable on his part to do what might be agreeable to your Majefty, and that afterwards he would have a right to ask and expect the favours he fhall have deferved.

We had yefterday a fecond converfation, in which this minifter repeated what he had faid to me, and gave me to underftand, that his defign was not to avail himfelf of the prefent conjuncture to draw his own advantage from it; that he continued in the engagements he had taken to be always in your Majefty's interefts; that I had feen in what manner he had conducted himfelf on all occafions which had offered; that I knew what part he has in his mafter's confidence; that if recalling the troops from Holland fuited your Majefty, you would not be unwilling to recompence the perfon who renders you that fervice, fince he thereby expofes himfelf much more than he had yet done; that this ought to be represented in a manner full of refpect and fubmiffion on his part, but in affairs of importance it was neceffary for him to explain himfelf clearly, and know what he had to depend upon, to the end he might act more furely and more boldly; that he hoped your Majefty would graciously beftow upon him fuch a fum, as might put him in a condition to confront with lefs anxiety the revolutions which fo often happen in England: he did not precisely explain himfelf upon the fum he asked, but I believe he expects fomething confiderable, and he appears perfuaded, that he fhall render a great fervice to your Majefty in caufing the troops to be recalled from Holland.

I did all I could to dissuade him from making this demand, and I represented to him, that being already engaged in your Majesty's interests, he ought to do every thing he thought might be agreeable to you, and not put your Majesty under the necessity of granting what he asked, or disgusting him by a refusal.

My remonstrance produced little effect, and he replied, that if your Majesty judged it advantageous to your service to have these troops recalled, you would not grudge him a sum which you believed well employed.

It remains for me to give your Majesty an account of what relates to the suspicion which Mr. Skelton thinks may fall upon Lord Sunderland of a secret connexion with the Prince of Orange; I have discovered nothing that can make it be believed; on the contrary, I see that this minister engages himself every day more in whatever can be most opposite to the interests of the Prince of Orange, and that he holds a conduct inconsistent with the design which it is pretended he has, to keep measures with him. He is the person who for a long time past, has ardently pressed all the resolutions which have been taken in favour of the Catholics; he pursues with firmness whatever can lead to the abolishing the Penal Laws and the Test, which is what the Prince of Orange fears the most. I know that he is resolved to declare himself a Catholic, when the King his master will have him. All this is difficult to reconcile with a secret engagement in the interests of the Prince of Orange. He appears to me to preserve very little reserve upon the important things he trusts me with, and hazards a great deal if some of them were known. I may, perhaps, be prejudiced in his favour, and that living in a Court, the principal employment of which he fills, I am too easily led to believe what is most agreeable to me, and what most facilitates the success of the affairs with which I am charged; I shall not, however, fail in keeping my eyes open to discover, if possible, the truth. In the mean time, it seems to me, that Lord Sunderland gives himself up to me more and more every day, and puts himself, if I may say so, into your Majesty's hands. It was he who set on foot the affair to me of recalling the troops, and who has taken all possible pains to make it succeed: it is true the execution of this recall is retarded, and the proposal he makes of an extraordinary gratification, might make it believed that he has de-

layed the recall of the troops for his own private interest ; at least he believes he may make use of it to bring about his ends. Your Majesty is to judge what is most suitable to your service ; the reasons which the Marquis d'Abbeville makes use of, (of which I have sent your Majesty a copy) prove sufficiently that it is the King of England's interest to recall these troops from Holland, but these reasons have not been sufficient to cause the resolutions to be taken. If your Majesty thinks it may be for your service to enter into what is proposed by Lord Sunderland, I make no doubt but the troops will be recalled without loss of time, and that this minister will speedily give this proof of his credit ; but if your Majesty shall leave the King of England to act according to what he shall judge most proper, and shall refer yourself to what they may determine here with regard to the time of the recall, it will, I believe, be necessary to speak to Lord Sunderland in such a manner, as may soften the chagrin of having met with a refusal, and leave a door open to him for managing affairs in the manner he has done hitherto. I shall wait for what it may please your Majesty to order, that I may execute it punctually.

There will be public prayers ordered throughout England upon a day to be named, for a happy issue to the Queen of England's pregnancy ; the prayers of the Catholics will be very sincere ; the same is not expected in the protestant churches ; but the bishops and ministers will not dare to excuse themselves from obeying the proclamation. I am, &c.

Extrait d'une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy, Janv. 26, 1688.

In the *Depot*. “ C E n'est pas sans peine que j'ai réduit la personne dont il est question à se contenter de ce que votre Majesté me prescrit par sa dépêche du 17 Janvier : il s'est à la fin rendu aux assurances que je lui ai données de la part de votre Majesté, que dans d'autres occasions plus convenables et plus avantageuses aux intérêts de votre Majesté, elle entrera en considération de ce qui se fera pour son service. J'ai fait valoir comme j'ai dû l'offre d'une gratification extraordinaire, sans rien exiger de lui présentement. Je n'ai fait paroître aucun empressement pour le rappel des troupes d'Hollande, et je l'ai laissé dans une entière liberté de le hater ou de le retarder ; j'ai même allégué les raisons, portées par la dépêche de votre Majesté, pour lui persuader que votre Majesté n'a aucune raison de presser ce

rappel, et qu'elle se rapporte à ce que le Roy d'Angleterre jugera en cela devoir être fait pour son propre intérêt. La conclusion a été que celui à qui je parlois a accepté la gratification extraordinaire, et a pris de nouveaux engagements d'être entièrement dans les intérêts de votre Majesté, et de chercher avec soin les occasions de lui en donner des marques. Je ne puis pas dire cependant qu'il soit pleinement content; il avoit conçu l'esperance d'un avantage considerable dont il a peine à se departir; il s' imagine ne pas trouver sitôt une occasion pareille à celle cy de meriter de votre Majesté; je lui ai fait entendre qu'il s'en présenteroit assez à l'avenir, et qu'ayant beaucoup de bonne volonté et un grand crédit auprès du Roy son maitre, on trouveroit dans la suite des conjonctures encore plus favorables et plus importantes.

Translation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland gets a present gratification from France besides his pension.

January 26, 1688.

" I T was not without trouble that I brought the person in question (i. e. Lord Sunderland) to content himself with what your Majesty prescribed to me by your dispatch of the 17th January; at last he submitted himself to the assurances I gave him on your Majesty's part, that on other occasions more suitable and more advantageous to your interests, you would enter into the consideration of what he shall do for your service. I shewed him the importance of your Majesty's offer of an extraordinary gratification, without exacting any thing from him at present. I expressed no eagerness for recalling the troops from Holland, and left him entirely at liberty to hasten or to retard it; I even made use of the reasons contained in your Majesty's dispatch, to persuade him that you had no cause to press the recall, and that you refer to what the King of England shall judge should be done for his own interest. The conclusion was, that the person to whom I spoke accepted the extraordinary gratification, and has entered into a fresh engagement to be entirely in your Majesty's interests, and to seek with care for occasions to give proofs of it. I cannot, however, say that he is fully contented; he had conceived hopes of a more considerable reward, which he can hardly quit. He imagines he will not soon find such an opportunity of deserving well of your Majesty. I told him, that enough would offer

in time to come, and that having much of the good will of the King his master, and a great credit with him, conjunctures would be hereafter found still more favourable and more important."

In the Depot.

Barillon in his dispatches of 26th February, 1st, 4th, 11th and 22d March, 12th April, and 24th May, 1688, gives his court accounts, that he had asked King James to fit out twenty-five ships of war to support Denmark: that Sunderland long opposed this armament, alledging it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland; but that James, in consideration of 200,000 crowns to be paid him by France, having at last, with Sunderland's approbation, agreed to what was asked, Sunderland made a merit of his master's consent, to insinuate an expectation of another gratification to himself. "Je ne dois (says Barillon) cacher à votre Majesté que milord Sonderland croit en cela avoir bien mérité de votre Majesté, et qu'il peut espérer des marques de sa bienveillance par une gratification extraordinaire." "I ought not to conceal from your Majesty, that Lord Sunderland thinks he has deserved well of your Majesty in this, and that he may hope for marks of your goodness by an extraordinary gratification."

In the Depot.

An account of Barillon's disbursements, dated 26th July, 1688, contains these two articles.

"Surquoi j'ai donné pour les six premiers mois de cette année de la pension que sa Majesté a accordé à milord Sonderland, la somme de trente mille livres Tournois.

Plus à la même personne pour gratification extraordinaire par sa Majesté la somme de trente mille livres Tournois."

"Of which I have given for the first six months of this year, of the pension which your Majesty has granted to Lord Sunderland, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois.

More to the same person for extraordinary gratification by your Majesty, the sum of 30,000 livres Tournois."

Le Marquis d'Abbeville, whom Lord Sunderland chose to send ambassador to Holland, at the time when the foundations of the Revolution were laying, was as profligate as himself.

Barillon in his letter of 2d September, 1686, reminds Louis the XIVth that he had, upon a former occasion, engaged Albeville in his interests, and asks a power to do so again. He adds these words, "Monsieur le Prince d'Orange fera ce qu'il pourra pour le gagner." "The Prince of Orange will do what he can to gain him."

On the 5th September, 1686, Barillon writes, "L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande (i. e. d'Avaux) croit que Monf. le Prince d'Orange pourra, s'il en a bien envie, l'engager dans ses interests." "The ambassador of Holland (i. e. d'Avaux) believes that the Prince of Orange will be able, if he has much desire for it, to engage him in his interests."

On the 23d September, 1686, he writes, that he is to pay 300 guineas to Albeville; he adds, "Il a pris avec moy toutes les engagements possibles." "He has taken with me all possible engagements." And in his account of disbursements of the 10th of March, 1687, he states 300 guineas more to Albeville.

Lord Sunderland, as may be seen in the *Memoirs*, to which the present papers are an Appendix, got the command of the foreign correspondence, by procuring an order from the King to his ambassadors in foreign parts, not to write news of importance to the ordinary ministers. Among others, Albeville got this order, but he made a merit of it to Barillon, as if himself had procured it. Barillon, in the same letter of 23 September, writes thus: "Il (i. e. Albeville) a rendu un service considerable depuis trois jours, ayant obtenu du Roy son maitre, que lorsqu'il seroit en Hollande, il ecriroit les choses generales et qui doivent être publiques a milord Middleton; mais que les choses secretes et importantes seroient adressées à milord Sunderland: c'est mettre les affaires d'Hollande dans ses mains, et les tirer de celles de milord Middleton, cela peut être utile en beaucoup d'occasions." "He (i. e. Albeville) has done a considerable service within these three days, having obtained of the king his master, that when he is in Holland he may write to Lord Middleton general things, and which may be made public; but that secret and important affairs, should be addressed to Lord Sunderland: this is putting the affairs of Holland into his hands, and taking them out of Lord Middleton's, which may be useful on many occasions."

After this, Barillon in his dispatches frequently sends news to France, which he got from Albeville in Holland.

James was lulled into a fatal security by Sunderland and Albeville.

In the Depot. Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon of the 7th June, 1688, ordered him to warn James to be on his guard against the States of Holland, and to make an offer of joining sixteen French ships to the English fleet.

In the Depot. Barillon answers, on the 10th of June, that James had accepted the offer, and that Lord Sunderland proposed the offer should be made public, to intimidate the Dutch.

In the Depot. Barillon writes, on the 14th June, that James had altered his mind, and thought the junction needless. “ Il ne paroît pas persuadé jusqu'à présent que cette jonction puisse être nécessaire cette année, ni qu'il y a apparence d'aucune entreprise de la part des Etats Generaux contre lui.” “ He does not appear persuaded that this juncture can be necessary this year, or that there is an appearance of any enterprize on the part of the States General against him.”

In the Depot. Notwithstanding this, Louis, in his letter to Barillon of 24 June, 1688, writes, that he is to keep his ships ready. The following passage in the letter, marks the vain-glorious character of that monarch. “ Et j'ai lieu de croire, que le seul bruit qui s'en repandra fera suffisant pour retenir le Prince d'Orange, et l'empêcher de rien entreprendre.” “ And I believe the report of this alone will be sufficient to restrain the Prince of Orange, and prevent him from attempting any thing.”

In the Depot. The looseness of Albeville's dispatches were calculated to continue the deception of James and his court. Barillon, on the 2d August, 1688, writes thus of them: “ Il ne me paroît pas que sa Majesté Britannique ni ses principaux ministres soient fort allarmez des avis de Monf. le Marquis d'Albeville, n'y en ayant point d'assez circonstancié.”—“ It does not appear to me that either his Britannick Majesty or his principal ministers are much alarmed with the informations of the Marquis of Albeville, none of them being circumstantiated enough.”

Even the French court were little sedulous to let James know all his danger, being probably not unwilling to see a family and civil war among the only powers they had to dread, though little deeming it was to end so soon. Barillon got no accounts from his court of the extent of the Prince of Orange's preparations till the 12th of August, when Louis indeed gave him a full detail of them in a letter of that date, and charged him to beg James to prepare himself, "Par terre et par mer."—"By land and by sea." *In the Depot.*

On the 23d and 26th of August, 1688, Barillon writes his court that James is at length come to believe in the Prince of Orange's intentions, and has desired the French ships to be kept ready at Brest for his assistance. Yet on the 30th of August James had been brought back to his original ideas of security; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "Il me dit qu'il avoit encore peine à croire que Monf. le Prince d'Orange entreprit de faire une descente en ce pays ci."—"He (i. e. James) told me that he had still difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange could attempt making an invasion upon this country." *In the Depot.*

On the 2d of September Barillon writes that he had advised James to send to Ireland for the troops which were there; that James approved, but Sunderland made difficulties. He adds: "Ce ministre paroît persuadé que le Prince d'Orange n'osera entreprendre une descente."—"This minister appears persuaded that the Prince of Orange will not dare to attempt an invasion." *In the Depot.*

On the 6th of September Barillon writes thus of the incredulity of James and his court: "Sa Majesté Britannique et ses principaux ministres ne croient point que Monf. le Prince d'Orange ose faire une descente en Angleterre."—"His Britannick Majesty and his principal ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange dare make a landing in England." *In the Depot.*

In this last letter Barillon informs Louis the XIVth, that James was willing the Irish troops should come; but that Sunderland objected they would alarm England; that they could not arrive in time enough if the Prince should make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceless, because the Prince perhaps intended to land there; and that at any rate the consent of parliament ought to be waited for.

In the *Depot*.

Louis the XIVth being astonished at the slumber of James, sent over Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, on purpose to rouse him to a sense of his danger, to press him to recall his troops from Ireland for his defence, and to offer an instant junction of the French to the English fleet. Barillon writes, on the 9th September, that Bon Repos was arrived, and that the King had accepted the offer of the French fleet, and directed Lord Sunderland to take measures for its junction with his own.

Yet, on the 13th of September, James lost again the sense of his danger; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "Sa Majesté Britannique et ses plus confidens ministres ne croient pas que Monf. le Prince d'Orange ait dessein de tenter une descente en Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente." — "His Britannick Majesty and his most confidential ministers do not believe that the Prince of Orange has a design to attempt an invasion of England in the present conjuncture."

The following letter from Monf. Barillon to his court, so late as the 18th of September, shows to what a strange degree King James was fascinated by Lord Sunderland.

Extrait d'une dépêche de Mr. Barillon au Roi, 18 Septembre, 1688.

In the *Depot*.

"J'E reçus avant hier au soir la dépêche de votre Majesté du 13 de ce mois, par un courrier exprés; j'allai à l'instant trouver le Roi d'Angleterre, et lui dis, que sur les derniers avis reçus de Hollande votre Majesté lui avoit voulu donner une nouvelle marque de son amitié, et de la part sincere qu'elle prend à ce qui le touche; que cela l'avoit obligé de dépêcher un courrier exprés, qui ne m'avoit rien apporté de nouveau. Le Roi d'Angleterre me temoigna être fort sensible à ce que je lui dis, et sans entrer en matiere sur ce qui le regarde, il me demande ce que je favois de l'action des troupes de votre Majesté: Je lui dis que votre Majesté ne m'en mandoit rien, parcequ'il n'y avoit encore rien qu'elle peut savoir; mais que j'avois ordre de lui dire qu'il seroit le premier averti des résolutions que votre Majesté prendra sur les mouvemens que feront ses ennemis. Sa Majesté entra ensuite dans la discussion des avis venus d'Hollande, et me dit que dans des affaires si importantes il ne falloit rien negliger, mais que son opinion n'étoit pas que Mr. le Prince d'Orange

ofat entreprendre rien contre l'Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente ; et qu'il n'y avoit pas apparence qu'il put engager les Etats Généraux en même tems dans une guerre contre votre Majesté et contre lui ; que son sentiment même n'étoit pas que les troupes des Etats entreprisent rien qui peut être réputé acte d'hostilité, et qu'ainsi il ne seroit pas impossible que la guerre ne se fit pas sitôt, quoique les affaires parussent fort engagées de part et d'autre.

J'ai eu ensuite un long entretien avec Milord Sunderland ; son sentiment est semblable à celui du Roi son maître ; ils ne croient ni l'un ni l'autre que Monfr. le Prince d'Orange ait dessein de faire une descente en Angleterre, et ils s'imaginent que s'il la fait, aucun homme qui ait quelque bien ne se déclarera pour lui."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, September 18, 1688.—The King and Lord Sunderland do not believe the Prince of Orange will make an attempt upon England.

"I RECEIVED the evening before last your Majesty's dispatch of the 13th of this month by an express ; I went that instant to the King of England, and told him, that upon the last advices received from Holland, your Majesty had wished to give him a fresh mark of your friendship, and of the sincere part you took in all that concerned him, and that this had obliged you to dispatch a messenger express, but who had brought me no accounts of any thing new. The King of England shewed himself very sensible of what I said to him, and without entering into what regarded himself, he asked me what I knew of the motion of your Majesty's forces ; I told him your Majesty had written nothing to me about it, because there was nothing which your Majesty could as yet know ; but that I had your orders to tell him he should be the first to be informed of the resolutions which your Majesty will take upon the motions of your enemies. His Majesty then entered into a discussion of the advices come from Holland, and said that in such important affairs nothing ought to be neglected, but that his opinion was the Prince of Orange did not dare to undertake any thing against England in the present conjuncture ; and that there was no appearance he could engage the States General in a war against your Majesty and him at the same

time ; that he even thought the troops of the States would not undertake any thing which might be considered as an act of hostility ; and that therefore it is possible the war may not be so soon, however far advanced the disputes on both sides may seem.

I had afterwards a long conversation with Lord Sunderland ; his way of thinking is the same as the King his master's ; they neither of them believe that the Prince of Orange has any design to make a descent in England, and they imagine if he does, no man who has any property will declare for him."

In the Depot. On the 18th and 23d of September, and the 18th of October, 1688, Barillon writes, that King James was neglecting to send for the troops from Ireland.

On the 18th of October Barillon writes, that the troops were at last ordered, both from Ireland and Scotland : a period when it is plain that their march could only tend to leave these countries open, but not to join James in time enough to resist the first impressions of the Prince of Orange.

In the Depot. Barillon writes on the 25th of October, that James laid upon Sunderland's counsels the blame of the disavowal of d' Avaux's memorial, and the imprisonment of Skelton.

But the grossest of all Sunderland's artifices to deceive his master and Barillon, was his making a public profession of the Roman catholic religion, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all those who professed it, from all objects of ambition. Barillon gives the following account of this matter.

Extrait d' une dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

Juillet 8, 1688.

In the Depot. " **M**ILORD Sonderland s'est déclaré ouvertement catholique ; le Roy d' Angleterre en a temoigné beaucoup de joie, et en a parlé dans un conseil tenu avec les principaux catholiques, comme d' une chose utile à ses affaires, et dont il tirera des avantages pour le succès de ses desseins ; quoique milord Sonderland fut déjà dans le premier poste, et

eut plus de part que personne à la confiance du Roy son maitre, ce qu'il vient de faire donne encore un nouvel éclat à sa faveur, et augmente en ce pays cy l'opinion de son crédit. Ce ministre m'a parlé comme ne desirant rien d'avantage que de meriter la protection de votre Majesté, et d'en être assuré. Il prétend à cet égard redoubler ses soins et son application à faire tout ce qu'il croira pouvoir convenir aux intérêts de votre Majesté. Au travers des esperances que lui donne l'état présent des affaires par la naissance d'une Prince de Galles, il connoît bien que c'est toujours beaucoup hazarder pour l'avenir de se déclarer catholique dans un pays ou les loix faites contre eux subsistent encore ; mais il a cru devoir cette déclaration premierement à sa conscience, ayant été depuis longtemps persuadé que la seule véritable religion étoit la catholique ; et outre cette considération qui a du être la plus forte, il a voulu fermer la bouche à ses ennemis, et leur ôter tout prétexte de dire qu'il peut entrer quelque menagement dans sa conduite pour le parti de M. le Prince d'Orange. On parle fort à la cour depuis deux jours de ce qu'a fait milord Sunderland ; et on croit que sa Majesté Britannique s'en servira pour presser d'autres gens qui sont attachés à lui de faire la même chose. Milord Sunderland n'a point fait de nouvelle abjuration de hérésie, l'ayant faite il y a plus d'un an entre les mains du Pere Pitres."

Translation.

Extract of a dispatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland's reasons for the public declaration of his Popery.

July 8, 1688.

"**L**ORD Sunderland has openly declared himself a catholic ; the King of England expressed a great joy at it, and has spoken of it in a council held of the principal catholicks, as a circumstance useful to his affairs, and from which advantages will be drawn for the success of his designs ; although Lord Sunderland was already in the first employment, and had a greater share than any person in his master's confidence, what he has done gives still a new lustre to his favour, and augments in this country the opinion of his credit. This minister spoke to me as if he desired nothing more than to deserve your Majesty's protection, and to be assured of it. Upon this consideration he proposes to redouble his care

and his application to do whatever he believes may be suitable to your Majesty's interests. Notwithstanding his hopes from the present state of affairs by the birth of a Prince of Wales, he well knows, that he risks much for the future, by declaring himself a catholic in a country, where the laws made against them are still in being; but he thought he owed the declaration of his religion, first to his conscience, he having been long persuaded that the only true religion was the catholic; and besides this consideration, which ought to be the strongest, he was willing to shut the mouths of his enemies, and take from them all pretence of saying there could be any reserve in his conduct in favour of the Prince of Orange's party. What Lord Sunderland has done has been much spoken of at court these two days, and 'tis thought his Britannic Majesty will make use of it to press other persons who are attached to him, to do the same thing. Lord Sunderland has made no new abjuration of heresy, having done it more than a year ago in the presence of father Petre."

The following passage from Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's history, gives an instance of the affectation of zeal for James by which Lord Sunderland endeavoured to deceive others as well as that Prince. The period to which it relates, is the birth of the Prince of Wales.

"The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the Earl of Sunderland's, who declared publicly, that they were now sure of their game; for it would be an easy matter to have a house of commons to their minds, and there was nothing else could resist them. Lord Bradford asked him if they were as sure of the house of lords, for he believed they would meet with more opposition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill who sat next him, and in a very loud shrill voice, cried, O Silly, why your troop of guards shall be called to the house of lords."

Lord Sunderland concluded all his hypocrisy by pretending to ask refuge in France, at a time when he had resolved to take it in Holland.

In the Depot.

Barillon writes on the 7th of October, that Sunderland told him he would be ruined if the Prince of Orange succeeded; and that he had applied to him for a refuge in France. He writes on the 6th of Novem-

ber, that Sunderland had renewed his application, and that he, Barillon, had promised him a retreat in France.

But though those around King James were by means of Lord Sunderland's having the command of the foreign correspondence, kept in the dark as to the preparations of the Prince of Orange, there were not wanting men of honour to warn him of the mischiefs which his ideas of arbitrary power would bring upon him. Lord Dartmouth's manuscript notes on Burnet, contain the following passage.

"P. 590. Not long before his (Bishop Morley's) death (for he then kept his chamber) my father carried me with him to Farnham castle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the Bishop talked much of the duke, and concluded with desiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance he would find himself deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the Church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very sure they would in practice. My father told me he had frequently put King James in mind of Morley's last message to him, though to very little purpose: for all the answer was, that the bishop was a very good man but grown old and timorous."

While tempests were on all hands gathering around King James, he interested himself only in reconciling the King of France with the holy see, and in the fate of a war against the infidels.

While the Prince of Orange was in the heart of his kingdom, Barillon writes to his court on the 22d of November, that James had sent for him with joy to inform him of a letter he had received from Lord Thomas Howard, to let him know that the Pope had accepted his mediation in the affair of Franchises. *In the Depot.*

The following letters (except a few already printed concerning the recall of the Dutch troops) are the last which King James wrote to the Prince of Orange. They come down so low as the 17th of September, and to the end are full of the other folly of a war against the infidels.

It is observable however, of all these letters after the Prince's refusal to part with the British troops in the Dutch service, that the expression of his assurance of kindness at the end of the letters is changed. For whereas his former way of giving that assurance, was by saying he would be as kind to the Prince "as the Prince could desire," he now says, "as the Prince could expect." The letters are in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Desires peace in Europe.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1688.

"I Had not yours of the 12th till this day, and know not by what accident those letters which were written the post after were here two days sooner. I see you apprehend some things which have been transacted lately, may cause trouble in Europe. No body desires more the continuance of the peace than I do. It has been a treasury day with me, and is now so late that I can say no more, than that you shall still find me as kind to you as you can desire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—He is against peace with the Turks.

Whitehall, April 3, 1688.

"WHEN I came from hunting yesterday, I received yours of the 7th, and find by it, you have as ill weather, and that the spring is as backward with you, as it is here, and had a very cold hunting of it abroad. There is very little news stirring here, all things being very quiet, and I hope will continue so, not only in this country, but on your side of the sea also, I mean in Christendom; for if there should be peace with the Turks, I fear a war would break out in some part or other of Europe. I have no more to say to you now, but that you shall find me as kind as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—About the weather and a fruit season.

Whitehall, May 11, 1688.

"MY going to Chatham on Tuesday last hindered me from writing to you by that day's post, to let you know I had received yours of the 11th. I found my ships and stores in very good condition, and chose

one of the new three rates, to be fitted out to carry the Queen Dowager, when she goes for Portugal. I came back hither yesterday morning, and found the Queen had not been well, and was in some fears of coming before her time, but God be thanked she was very well all day yesterday, and continues so now, so that I hope she will go out her full time. The weather is now very seasonable, and there is like to be great store of fruit this year. I have no more to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Likes the Turkish war.

Whitehall, May 15, 1688.

"I Have received yours of the 18th, by the which I find the Earl of Suffex was gone from the Hague, and had been with you on board the ships which were before Scheveling, which must needs have been a new and pleasing sight to one who lives so far from the sea. I am now setting out my summer guard, though there will be little for them to do, except the French who are gone, or agoing to Algiers, oblige those people to make peace with them, and then of course they must fall out with me, though they have already war with you. For my part, I continue still of the mind I was, and will endeavour to support the peace of Christendom, that the Emperor and Venetian may prosecute the war against the Turks. I intend to have a camp as usual at Hounslow the beginning of next month, which is all I have to say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—An apology for not writing to him.

St. James's, May 19.

"I Am so ashamed to have been so long without answering your obliging letter, that I know not what to say for myself. I well believe you know me too well to suspect it want of kindness, and therefore I hope you will think it as it was, want of time, or at the worst a little laziness, which being confessed, I hope will be excused, for else I did long to re-

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turn you a thousand thanks, as I do now for your kind wishes, which I hope you will continue, and believe that I am with all sincerity truly yours,

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Common news.

Whitehall, May 29, 1688.

" I Have received yours of the first of June, and am of the opinion that the Algerines will not break with me, unless they make peace with you, for they do not care to have to do with both of us at once : the Queen Dowager being resolved not to go for Portugal, will save me the charge of a great third rate I was fitting out for her, and the continuing out of some other ships longer than I had at first designed them. The Queen was let blood this morning, having a great cold and being somewhat feverish ; she is now better than she was, and I hope will be quite well tomorrow. I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious about the Turkish war.

Whitehall, June 8, 1688.

" I Have had yours of the 11th, and am afraid that the death of the Elector of Cologne, may in time cause some disturbance. I should be glad it did not, being still desirous there should be no war amongst Christians. And by letters of the 2d of May, from my ambassador at Constantinople, I am informed that the Turk can have no considerable army in the field this year, by reason of the great disorders they have had amongst themselves ; so that the Imperialists have a fair opportunity of taking Belgrade this summer. I intended to have said more, but it is so late that I cannot, and so must end, which I do with assuring you of my being as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince of Wales born.—The Turkish and Algerine war.

St. James's, June 12, 1688.

“THE Queen was, God be thanked, safely delivered of a sonne on Sunday morning a little before ten; she has been very well ever since, but the child was somewhat ill this last night of the wind and some gripes, but is now, blessed be God, very well again, and like to have no returns of it, and is a very strong boy. Last night I received yours of the 18th, and hope by this the campaign is well begun towards Belgrade. I expect every day to hear what the French fleet has done at Algiers, having heard they were just arrived before that place. 'Tis late, and I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me to be as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Sorry for the slowness of the Turkish war.

St. James's, July 13, 1688.

“I HAVE had yours of the 13th, and am sorry things go on so slowly in Hungary; the Duke of Lorraine's having been indisposed has been very advantageous to the Turk. I came back last night from Windsor, after having hunted there. This next week I intend to go down to the buoy of the Nore, to see the small squadron of ships I have out, having ordered them to come thither for that purpose; and about the 24th of this month intend for Windsor, to stay there the remaining part of the summer. My troops are still encamped at Hounslow. When Mr. Zulisten goes back he will give you an account of them. I have not time to say more, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you have reason to expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—A dry answer to the Prince's congratulation on the birth of the young Prince.

St. James's, July 22d, 1688.

“I HAVE had yours by M. Zulestein, and who has, as well as your letter, assured me of the part you take on the birth of my son; and would not let him return without writing to you by him, to assure you I shall always be as kind to you as you can with reason expect.”

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—On the same subject.

St. James's, July 24th, 1688.

“**T**H E compliments Mr. Zulistein made me from you, and the letter he brought me are so obliging, that I know not which way to begin to give you thanks for it. I hope he will help me to assure you that I am very sensible of it, and that I esteem and desire nothing more than the continuance of your friendship, which I am sure shall always deserve one way mine, by being with all the sincerity imaginable truly yours.
M. R.”

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Turkish war.

Windfor, August 31, 1688.

“**I** H A V E received yours of the 30th from Loo, and by it find you had had the good news of the Elector of Bavaria's having passed the Sane, and, I hope, the next letters from that army will bring the news of the taking of Belgrade. When the Emperor is once master of that place and Gradisca, he will have a very good frontier towards the Turks. This place of itself affords little news, for 'tis none now to tell you when the parliament is to meet, and till then we are to expect what news we have from your side of the water. I shall now say no more, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange.”

King James's last letter to the Prince of Orange.—The same subject.

Windfor, September 17, 1688.

“**I** H A V E received yours of the 17th from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany, to speak with some of the Princes there. I was very glad to hear, by an express which came to the Spanish ambassador here, of the taking of Belgrade, which, with the taking of Gradiska, will secure the Emperor's conquests in those parts. I am sorry there is so much likelihood of war upon the Reyn; nobody wishing more the peace of Christendom than myself. I intend to go tomorrow to London, and the next day to Chatham, to see the condition of the new batteries I have made in the Medway, and my ships which are there. The Queen and my sonne are to be at

London on Thursday, which is all I shall say, but that you shall find me as kind to you as you can expect.

For my sonne, the Prince of Orange."

James's disavowal of d'Avaux's memorial at the Hague, and the imprisonment of Skelton, who had suggested it, provoked the pride of Louis, and he left James to his fate. The following letter from Louis to Barillon both shews his pique, and gives full evidence that there was no formal treaty between Louis and James.

Lettre du Roy à Mr. Barillon, Septembre 30, 1688.

"M O N S. Barillon, votre lettre du 23me de ce mois m'informe des In the Depot.
précautions que le Roy d'Angleterre prend pour se garantir d'une descente du Prince d'Orange en Angleterre; et je suis bien aise d'apprendre qu'il ne néglige rien pour faire repentir ce Prince d'une si injuste entreprise; mais je suis d'autant plus surpris de toutes les demarches que le dit Roy fait à Londres et à la Haye pour faire voir qu'il n'a aucune part à la déclaration que le Sieur d'Avaux a faite par mes ordres aux Etats Generaux. Il ne doit pas douter que si quelque chose est capable de détourner le Prince d'Orange de passer en Angleterre, c'est l'intérêt que je temoigne prendre à tout ce qui regarde le dit Roy; et qu'encore qu'il n'y ait pas de traité de signé entre moi et lui, néanmoins les liaisons de convenance en ont formé depuis son avènement à la couronne une plus étroite que si elle avoit été stipulée par un traité solennel; et dailleurs quelque moyen que j'aie de repousser par mes seules forces tous mes ennemis, je serai toujours bien aise que les Princes qui auront quelque affection pour ma couronne déclarent la guerre à mes ennemis sans que je les en recherche; en fin de quelque côté qu'on examine les déclarations que le Roy d'Angleterre a faites sur ce sujet aux Etats Généraux, on y reconnoitra toujours une foiblesse capable d'encourager le Prince d'Orange dans ses pernicieux desseins.

J'approuve aussi la maniere dont vous avez parlé au Roy d'Angleterre, et au Comte Sonderland touchant le rappel du Sieur Skelton; cet envoyé méritoit plutôt une récompense qu'une disgrâce aussi éclatante que celle d'un si prompt retour en Angleterre pour y aller rendre compte de ses actions. Sur ce, &c."

Translation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to Mr. Barillon.—Is piqued by James's disavowing d'Avaux's memorial.—No formal treaty between James and Louis.

September 30, 1688.

“**M**R. Barillon, Your letter of the 23d of this month informs me of the precautions the King of England takes to guard himself against an invasion by the Prince of Orange in England; and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make that Prince repent of so unjust an enterprize; but I am, on that account, the more surpris'd at all the steps the said King takes at London and the Hague, to shew that he had no part in the declaration which the Sieur d'Avaux made by my orders to the States General. He ought not to doubt that if any thing is capable to divert the Prince of Orange from passing into England, it is the interest which I shew I take in all that regards the said King; and though there is no treaty signed between me and him, nevertheless the ties of agreement since his coming to the throne, have formed a more strict one than if stipulated by a formal treaty; and moreover, whatever means I may have to repel, with my forces alone, all my enemies, I shall always be very glad that the Princes who have any affection for my crown, should shew hostility to my enemies without my asking it of them; in short, in whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the States General are examined, there will always be found a weakness capable of encouraging the Prince of Orange in his first designs.

I approve also of the manner in which you have talked to the King of England and the Earl of Sunderland concerning the recall of Mr. Skelton; this Envoy rather deserves a recompence, than a disgrace so public as that of being obliged to return immediately to England to give an account of his actions.”

King James to his dying hour complained of his enemies for alledging that there was a formal treaty between him and France, and assumed merit from his innocence of the charge: a strong instance how the mind of man may impose upon itself. Many papers in this Appendix shew that the connexion was stricter between him and Louis than any formal treaty could create; and the words of Louis in this last letter, prove that Louis thought so.

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Amongst Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history there is the following one.

Page 783. "The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the design was upon England, and that he would immediately besiege Mastrick, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their force for such an expedition, but the secret must be kept inviolable from any of the ministers. Soon after the States ordered six thousand men to be sent to Mastrick, upon which the King of France desired to know of King James if he had revealed it to any body, for he himself had to none but Louvois, and if he had betrayed him should treat him accordingly. King James's answer was, that he never told it to any body but Lord Sunderland, who he was very sure was too much in his interest to have discovered it. Upon which the King of France said, he saw plainly that King James was a man cut out for destruction, and there was no possibility of helping him."

The Earl of Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the following curious notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her sister, which were taken from the originals by the late Doctor Birch.

Doctor Birch's notes from the Princess Anne's letters to her sister.

Cockpit, Dec. 29, 1687.

"**S**ORRY people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of Lady Churchill . . . I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than she has. It is true, she is not so strict as some are, nor does not keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess, I think, is never the worse, for one sees so many saints meer devils, that if one be a good Christian, the less shew one makes, it is the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, it is impossible to have better; and without that, all the lifting up of hands and eyes, and going often to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I must say for her, which is, that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; so that as to this particular, I assure you she will never change. The same thing, I will venture,

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now I am on this subject, to say for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful servant to the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are consistent with religion; yet rather than change that, I dare say, he will lose all his places, and all that he has.

K. once talks to her upon religion, upon occasion of her talking to some lady, or looking another way, when a priest said grace at the King's table.

Report of Lord Treasurer's being to be put out of his place. The King tells her that this morning.

Lord Treasurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a dispute; and that he heard one between two of their priests, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our side; and by it, that he was the more confirmed of the truth of our religion."

January 10, 1687-8.

"**A** FRAID to send a letter by Mr. d'Albeville, he having always had a very odd character.—He has always been counted a spy, that you may have a care of him.

Lord Tyrconnel is going tomorrow.

Very sorry that the King encourages people of that religion so much.

Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being sorry for on my mother's account; for as for himself, he has not behaved himself so well to me as I think he had reason, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary."

Cockpit, Jan. 31, 1687-8.

"**I** AM sorry the King encourages the Papists so much; and I think it is very much to be feared, that the desire the King has to take off the Test, and all other laws against them, is only a pretence to bring in Popery.

I am sorry the King relies so much upon Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin; for every body knows, that once they were as great enemies as any he had, and their own hearts can only tell what converts they are. As for the first of them, by all outward appearance, he must be a great knave (if I may use that expression of a minister) for he goes on fiercely

for the interests of the Papists, and yet goes to no church, and has made no public declaration of his religion, whatever it is. I fear he has not much of any. All we can do in these matters, is to pray to God to open the King's eyes, and to order all things for the best, that this poor nation may not be overthrown by Popery.

The Cockpit, March 13, 1687-8.

“ **T**HIS letter going by sure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

Denied the satisfaction of seeing her sister this spring, though the King gave her leave when she first asked it. Imputes this to Lord Sunderland, for the King trusts him with every thing; and he going on so fiercely for the interest of the Papists, is afraid you should be told a true character of him.

You may remember, I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late King's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the priests, and stirs up the King to do things faster than I believe he would of himself. Things are come to that pass now, that, if they go on so much longer, I believe, in a little while, no Protestant will be able to live here.

The King has never said a word to me about religion since the time I told you of; but I expect every minute, and am resolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it should come to such extremities, I will chuse to live on alms rather than change.

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to mass, but hears it privately at a priest's chamber, and never lets any body be there, but a servant of his.

His lady too, is as extraordinary in her kind; for she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman; but she has so fawning and endearing a way, that she will deceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then she has had her gallants, though may be not so many as some ladies here; and with all these good qualities, she is a constant church woman; so that to

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outward appearance one would take her for a saint, and to hear her talk, you would think she were a very good Protestant; but she is as much one as the other; for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

... One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and so retire, and by that means it is possible he will think he makes his court to you.

There is one thing about yourself, which I cannot help giving my opinion in, which is, that if the King should desire you and the Prince of Orange to come over to make him a visit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handsome excuse) not to do it; for though I dare swear the King could have no thought against either of you, yet since people can say one thing, and do another, one cannot help being afraid; if either of you should come, I should be very glad to see you; but really if you or the Prince should come, I should be frightened out of my wits for fear any harm should happen to either of you."

The Cockpit, March 14, 1687-8.

"**I** Cannot help thinking Mansell's Wife's (i. e. the Queen) great belly is a little suspicious. It is true indeed, she is very big, but she looks better than ever she did, which is not usual; for people when they are so far gone, for the most part, look very ill: besides, 'tis very odd, that the Bath, that all the best Doctors thought would do her a great deal of harm, should have had so very good effect so soon, as that she should prove with child from the first minute she and Mansell met, after her coming from thence. Her being so positive it will be a son, and the principles of that religion being such, that they will stick at nothing, be it never so wicked, if it will promote their interest, give some cause to fear there may be foul play intended. I will do all I can to find it out, if it be so; and if I should make any discovery, you shall be sure to have an account of it."

The Cockpit, March 20, 1687-8.

"**I** HOPE you will instruct Bentley, what you would have your friends to do, if any alteration should come, as it is to be feared there will, especially if Mansell has a son, which I conclude he will, there being so much reason to believe it is a false belly. For methinks, if it were not, there having been so many stories and jests made about it, she should, to

convince the world, make either me, or some of my friends feel her belly; but quite contrary, whenever one talks of her being with child, she looks as if she were afraid one should touch her. And whenever I have happened to be in the room, as she has been undressing, she has always gone in the next room, to put on her smock. These things give me so much just cause of suspicion, that I believe, when she is brought to bed, no body will be convinced 'tis her child, except it prove a daughter. For my part, I declare I shall not, except I see the child and she parted.

I can't end my letter without telling you, that Rogers's wife (*i. e.* Lady Sunderland) plays the hypocrite more than ever; for she goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon (because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall chapel), and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church to church after the famousest preachers, and keeps such a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure there never was a couple so well matched, as she and her good husband; for as she is throughout in all her actions the greatest jade that ever was, so is he the subtillest workingest villain, that is on the face of the earth."

The Cockpit, March 26, 1688.

King angry with the Princess of Orange for having taken Lord Coote into her family.

Richmond, April 11, 1688.

Account of her manner of life.

The Cockpit, April 29, 1688.

Firmness to her religion.

"**I** Abhor the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is possible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greatest reason in the world to do so, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, most of them, plain downright idolatry."

Richmond, May 9, 1688.

"**U**PON the King's proceedings against the University of Cambridge. By this, one may easily guess, what one is to hope for henceforward—since the priests have so much power with the King as to make

him do things so directly against the laws of the land, and indeed contrary to his own promises. It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every one has the free exercise of their religion, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which, I think, to all impartial judges is very plain. For my part, I expect every minute to be spoke to, about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.

.... This last honour the King has conferred on Lord Sunderland, will, I doubt not, make him drive on our destruction with more haste. His Lady too, is now in all appearance like to be a favourite with the Queen; for now, that Lady Rochester is dead, there is nobody to put the Queen in mind, often, how ill a woman Lady Sunderland is. Though the Queen of late had no good opinion of Lady Rochester; yet the truth she told of Lady Sunderland, did certainly keep her from growing great with the Queen while she lived. But now she is dead, Lady Sunderland, what with her fawning insinuating way, and the court her Lord makes to the Queen, is to be feared will grow in great favour; and then no doubt she will play the devil, for she has no religion, though she pretends to a great deal; and so she is great, she cares not who she ruins. And to say truth, she does not want wit nor cunning, and that, with her ill nature together, may make her capable of doing a great deal of mischief. The Queen, you must know, is of a very proud haughty humour; and though she pretends to hate all form and ceremony, yet one sees, that those that make their court that way, are very well thought of. She declares always, that she loves sincerity, and hates flattery; but when the grossest flattery in the world is said to her face, she seems extremely well pleased with it. It really is enough to turn one's stomach, to hear what things are said to her of that kind, and to see how mightily she is satisfied with it. All these ways Lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her. She is now much oftener with the Queen than she used to be.

It is a sad, and a very uneasy thing to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that one knows hates one, and does all she can to undo every body; which she certainly does.

One thing, I must say of the Queen, which is, that she is the most hated in the world of all sorts of people; for every body believes, that she presses the King to be more violent than he would be of himself;

which is not unlikely; for she is a very great bigot in her way; and one may see by her, that she hates all Protestants. All Ladies of quality say, she is so proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they must needs, just out of mere duty. And indeed, she has not so great a court, as she used to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindness for me; but I doubt it is not real; for I never see proofs of it, but rather the contrary.

Apprehends that the King will speak to her about religion, when the Prince goes to Denmark at the end of the month."

The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

"MY dear sister can't imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I should be so unfortunate to be out of town when the Queen was brought to bed, for I shall never now be satisfied, whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows, for she never took care to satisfy the world, or give people any demonstration of it. It is wonderful, if she had really been with child, that nobody was suffered to feel it stir, but Madam Mazarin, and lady Sunderland, who are people that nobody will give credit to. If out of her pride, she would not have let me touch her, methinks it would have been very natural for her sometimes, when she has been undressing, to have let Mrs. Roberts, as it were by chance have seen her belly; but instead of endeavouring to give one any satisfaction, she has always been very shy both to her and me. The great bustle that was made about her lying in at Windsor, and then resolving all of a sudden to go to St. James's, which is much the properest place to act such a cheat in; and Mr. Turone's lying in the bed-chamber that night she fell in labour, and none of the family besides being removed from Whitehall, are things, that give one great cause to be suspicious. But that, which to me seems the plainest thing in the world, is, her being brought to bed two days after she heard of my coming to town, and saying that the child was come at the full time, when every body knows, by her own reckoning, that she should have gone a month longer. After all this, 'tis possible it may be her child; but where one believes it, a thousand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonstrations, which is almost impossible now, I shall ever be of

the number of unbelievers. I don't find that people are at all disheartened, but seem all of a mind, which is a very comfortable thing at such a time as this.

All the time the bishops were in the Tower, every body flocked to see them; and there was great joy at their coming out. As many Lords as could without falling into a premunire, intended to petition the King, but their not having done it yet, makes me fear they will stay till 'tis too late. One cannot help having a thousand fears and melancholy thoughts; but whatever changes may happen, you shall ever find me firm to my religion, and faithfully yours."

Windfor, June 22, 1688.

"**H**AVING heard, that in Scotland every body has taken new commissions for their places, without taking the Test, and thinking it of very great consequence, because all that has been done there, has been but a fore-runner of what in a short time has been done here, I thought myself obliged to send one a purpose to give you notice of it, as soon as it was possible, that you may, if you can, do something to put a stop to it, before it is gone too far; for I am wholly of your mind, that in taking away the Test, and Penal laws, they take away our religion; and if that be done, farewell all happiness; for when once the Papists have every thing in their hands, all we poor Protestants have but dismal times to hope for. Though we agree in these matters, yet I can't help fearing, that you are not of my opinion in other things, because you never answered me to any thing that I have said of Rogers, nor of Mansell's wife."

The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.

"**T**HE Prince of Wales has been ill these three or four days; and if he has been so bad as some people say, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.

You will not have many more letters from me, from hence, this summer; for I intend next week, as it please God, to go to Tunbridge, which the doctors tell me is the best thing I can do to hinder me from miscarrying, when I am with child again. I confess I am very glad I am advised to go thither, for it is very uneasy to me to be with people, that

every moment of one's life one must be dissembling with, and put on a face of joy, when one's heart has more cause to ake; and the Papists are all so very insolent, that it is insupportable living with them. There is no remedy but patience; but you may easily imagine, as the world goes now, to a sincere mind, the court must be very disagreeable.

This going with the packet-boat, I shall not write to you, by to-morrow's post.

Questions sent by the Princess of Orange, to the Princess Anne of Denmark.

July 21, 1688.

“ 1. **W**Hether the Queen desired at any time any of the Ladies, in particular the Princess of Denmark, to feel her belly, since she thought herself quick; and who those ladies are; and when that was, whether in the beginning of her being quick, or of late?

2. Whether the milk that, as is said, was in the Queen's breasts, was seen by many, or conducted in a mystery?

3. Whether the astringents, that the Queen is said to have taken, were taken by her openly, or if a mystery was made of that?

4. Whether the treating of the Queen's breasts for drawing back the milk, and the giving her clean linen, has been managed openly, or mysteriously?

5. At what hour did the Queen's labour begin?

6. At what hour was the notice of it sent to the King? Whether the King did not lie at St. James's, or with the Queen that night; or if he was gone back to Whitehall?

7. Whether upon sending to the King, the thing was let fly over St. James's and Whitehall; or if the notice was sent secretly to the King?

8. Whether did the King send about for the privy counsellors; or if he took those that were by accident at Whitehall?

9. At what time came the King with the council into the Queen's chamber?

10. Whether was there a screen at the foot of the bed, between it and the rest of the room, or not?

11. Whether did any women, besides the confidents, see the Queen's face when she was in labour? And whether she had the looks of a woman

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in labour? Who was in the room, both men and women? What time they came in, and how near they stood?

12. How long was the King talking to the privy counsellors, after the child was carried into the next room, before he went to look upon it? and in this, as well as in the other questions, relating to the point of time, a critical answer, as near to a minute as it is possible, is desired.

13. What women, of one sort or other, were present? And if no woman was called in to hold the Queen?

14. Were no Ladies sent for? or who were sent for? and at what time the message was sent to the Queen Dowager? Also at what time she came?

15. Whether in any former labour the Queen was delivered so mysteriously, so suddenly, and so few being called for?

16. If many observed the child's limbs being slender at first, and their appearing all of a sudden to be round and full?

17. Is the Queen fond of it?

18. How Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Bromley stands with the Queen? Which of her bed-chamber women are most in favour?

Ad. 12. Who took the child, when it was born?

Ad. 13. If the King did not use to be nearer the bed, and hold the Queen in former labours?

Ad. 16. If every body is permitted to see the child at all hours, dressed and undressed?

Ad. 16. Who is about it, rockers and dry nurse?

Ad. 3. What doctors were consulted about the Queen, before, and since her being at the Bath. Whether Doctor Waldgrave alone, or others with him, knew the particulars of her condition, all along."

The Princess Anne of Denmark's answer.

The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.

"I Received yesterday, yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not satisfied with the account I have given you in my last letter; but I hope you will forgive my being no more particular, when you consider, that not being upon the place, all I could know, must be from others; and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to enquire so narrowly into things, as I have since; but before I say any more, I can't

help telling you, I am very sorry you should think I would be negligent in letting you know things of any consequence. For though I am generally lazy; and it is true indeed, when I write by the post, for the most part, I make those letters very short, not daring to tell you any news; by it; and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy, when I write such letters, since I have never missed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able; and pray be not so unjust to believe I can think the doing any thing you can desire, any trouble; for certainly I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the answering your questions, which I shall do now as exactly as you desire.

1. I never heard any body say they felt the child stir; but I am told Lady Sunderland, and Madam Mazarin say they felt it at the beginning. Mrs. Dawson tells me she has seen it stir, but never felt it.

2. I never saw any milk; but Mrs. Dawson says she has seen it upon her smock, and that it began to run at the same time it used to do of her other children.

3. For what they call restraining draughts, I saw her drink two of them; and I don't doubt but she drank them frequently and publicly before her going to the Bath. Dr. Waldgrave was very earnest with Sir Charles Scarborough, to be for her going thither; but he was so fierce against it, that there was another consultation of doctors called, Sir Charles Scarborough, Dr. Waldgrave, Wetherby, Brady, and Brown. After that, there was only Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Waldgrave (and for the first I believe he knew but little), excepting once, when she was to be let blood, and when she was to have gone to Windsor. Then some of the others were called in to give their opinions.

4. All I can say in this article is, that once in discourse, Mrs. Bromley told Mrs. Roberts, one day Rogers's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Mansell was putting off her clouts, and she was very angry at it, because she did not care to be seen when she was shifting.

5. She fell in labour about eight o'clock.

6. She sent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, and was then dressing.

7. As soon as the King came, he sent for the Queen Dowager, and all the council. After that, it was known all over St. James's.

8. Most of the other men, I suppose, that were there, was at the King's rising.

9. They came into the room presently after the Queen dowager came, which is about half an hour before she was brought to bed.

10. There was no screen. She was brought to bed in the bed she lay in all night, and in the great bed-chamber, as she was of her last child.

11. The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two sides were open. When she was in great pain, the King called in haste for my Lord Chancellor, who came up to the bed-side to shew he was there; upon which the rest of the privy counsellors did the same thing. Then the Queen desired the King to hide her face with his head and periwig, which he did, for she said she could not be brought to bed and have so many men look on her; for all the council stood close at the bed's feet, and Lord Chancellor upon the step.

12. As soon as the child was born, the midwife cut the navel-string, because the after-burthen did not follow quickly; and then she gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who, as she was going by the bed-side, cross the step, to carry it into the little bed-chamber, the King stopt her, and said to the privy-counsellors, that they were witnesses there was a child born, and bid them follow it into the next room and see what it was, which they all did; for till after they came out again, it was not declared what it was; but the midwife had only given a sign that it was a son, which is what had been done before.

13. When the Queen Dowager first came into the room she went up to the bed-side, but after that stood all the while by the clock. There was in the room Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, the two Chamberlains, Lord Middleton, Lord Cran , Lord Huntingdon, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Peterborough, Lord Melfort, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Ernley, Lord Preston, Sir Nicholas Butler, Duke of Beaufort, Lord Berkeley, Lord Murray, Lord Castlemain; these were of the council: And for others, there was Lord Feversham, Lord Arran, Sir St. Fox, and Mr. Griffin, besides pages of the back-stairs and Priests. The women that were there were, Lady Peterborough, Lady Bellasis, Lady Arran, Lady Tyrconnel, Lady Roscommon, Lady S. Buckley, Lady Fingal, Madam Mazarin, Madam Bouillon, Lady Powis Lady Strickland, Lady C , Mrs. Cran,

two of the Queen Dowager's Portugueses, Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Dawson, Mrs. Waldgrave, Lady Wentworth, and Mrs. Feraine. All these stood as near as they could. Lady Bellasis gave the midwife the receiver, and Mrs. Dawson stood behind a Dutch chair that the midwife sat upon to do her work. All the time the child was parted, I do not hear of any body that held the Queen except the King, and he was upon the bed by her all the while.

14. I don't hear that any Ladies were sent for but the Queen's own, and they were called presently after the Queen Dowager. She came a quarter after nine: Where she stood, and at what time she was sent for, I have already told you.

15. Her labour never used to be so long.

16. I never heard what you say of the child's limbs. As for seeing it drest or undrest, they avoid it as much as they can. By all I have seen and heard, sometimes they refuse almost every body to see it; that is, when they say it is not well; and methinks there is always a mystery in it, for one does not know whether it be really sick, and they fear one should know it, or whether it is well, and they would have one think it is sick, as the other children used to be. In short, it is not very clear any thing they do; and for the servants, from the highest to the lowest, they are all papists.

17. The Queen forbid Lady Powis to bring the child to her before any company; but that, they say, she used to do to her other children. I dined there the other day, when it was said it had been very ill of a looseness, and it really looked so; yet when she came from prayers she went to dinner without seeing it, and after that played at comet, and did not go to it till she was put out of the pool.

18. I believe none of the bed-chamber women have any credit with the Queen but Mrs. Tureine; but they say Mrs. Bromley has an interest with the King.

I am going to Tunbridge; but if I was to stay here I could not watch the child, for it is to be at Richmond. Lady Churchill does not go with me at first, and as long as she stays here I am sure she will do all in her power to give you and I an account if any thing happens that is worth knowing.

I have done my endeavour to inform myself of every thing; for I have spoke with Mrs. Dawson, and asked her all the questions I could think of: for not being in the room when the Queen was brought to bed, one must enquire of somebody that was there; and I thought she could tell me as much as any body, and would be less likely to speak of it; and I took all the care I could, when I spoke to her, to do it in such a manner that I might know every thing; and in case she should betray me, that the King and Queen might not be angry with me.

It was she that told me what I have said in the 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15th Articles. She told me, besides, that when she came to the Queen, she found Mrs. Tureine and the midwife with her. All that she says seems very clear; but one does not know what to think; for methinks it is wonderful if it is no cheat, that they never took pains to convince me of it.

I hope I have answered your letter as fully as you desire; if there be any thing else you would know, pray tell me by the first safe hand, and you shall always find me very diligent in obeying you, and shewing by my actions how real and sincere my kindness is.

One thing I had forgot, which is, that the last time she was brought to bed, the reason of her being delivered in the great bed was because she was catched; and this time, Mrs. Dawson says, though the pallet was up, the Queen would not go into it because the quilts were not aired."

Windfor, August 18, 1688.

"**I** AM in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I can never believe that Mansel would go on so violently, if he had not some hopes that in time he may gain either you or me."

In the Depot. The Princess Anne, in the above letter, of 13 March, 1688, mentions a visit she intended to have paid her sister in the spring of that year. Barillon writes to Louis the XIVth, on the 13th March, 1688, that Prince George had applied to King James for leave to go to Denmark, and that the Princess should in the mean time pay a visit to her sister in Holland, and that the King had at first consented, but afterwards changed his mind. Barillon writes, on the 17th March, 1688,

that the Princess Anne had herself applied to the King, but had got a refusal. There can, I imagine, remain little doubt what the intention of this interview was.

The ingenious and learned Mr. Duan was so obliging as to communicate to me the following letter, in his possession, from Dr. Chamberlayne to the Electress Sophia, concerning the birth of the Pretender.

Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Electress Sophia.—Account of the Pretender's birth.

May it please your Royal Highness,

“ I SHOULD not have presumed to interrupt your better spent hours with my rude and unpolished lines, had I not been encouraged by your gracious commands, sent by the Rev. Heer Meuschen, minister of the gospel to the Lutheran church in the Hague. He was pleased to give me a short account of a discourse past in your Royal Highness's presence, wherein my name was mentioned upon two different subjects, of which I think it my duty to give your Royal Highness the best satisfaction I can.—The first related to my attendance at the birth of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain, now firmly settled by law on your Royal Highness. In this I perceive the Heer Meuschen was misled, confounding my discourse with him, on this matter, together with the conversation he might have had with others, occasioned by pamphlets, then here current, pretending an account how far I had been therein engaged, to which several falsehoods were added; one of those papers was writ by Mr. Burnet, son to the bishop of Salisbury.—The matter of fact follows :

On Sunday morning, the day of the month and year occurs not at present to my memory, the Queen sent early a footman to fetch me to St. James's; but late the night before being gone to Chatham to visit a patient, he missed me; a post was immediately dispatched, and I hastened and found a child newly born loose and undrest in Lady Powis her lap, and, as I was informed, brought forth an hour before I came. I was not long in the chamber when came the late Duke Hamilton, then Lord Arran; more, as to this particular, I cannot offer on my own knowledge,

but shall subjoin a few probable circumstances; for instance, the Dutcheſs of Monmouth having ſome time before ſent for me, and being in the mean time gone to the Queen's levee, left order I ſhould wait her Grace's return; when arrived, ſhe was pleaſed to make this excuſe for my waiting; that ſhe had been with her Maſteſty, ſaw her ſhifted and her belly very big, which I ſuppoſe nothing can ſo ſoon reduce as the bearing a child; other tumors requiring for a compleat abatement, weeks, months, or years. This relation being wholly occaſioned by a chance, and mentioned by one at that time diſobliged by the court, I take to be genuine, without artifice or diſguiſe, ſo that I never ſince queſtioned it. Another circumſtance in this caſe is, that my being a noted whig, and ſignally oppreſſed by King James, they would never have hazarded ſuch a ſecret as a ſuppoſitious child, which, had I been at home to have immediately followed the ſummons, I muſt have come time enough to have diſcovered, though the Queen had uſually very quick labours. Next morning meeting the King coming through the Park to St. James's, he was pleaſed to tell me that when he ſent I was abſent: To which I humbly replied, more warning had been neceſſary: But he told me they were ſurprized, for the Queen expected to go a fortnight longer: Whereupon I answered, that if his Maſteſty had given me three or four months warning as formerly, I would not have left the town without their Maſteſties knowledge and leave. The King told me further, that Dr. Brady, one of his phyſicians, and phyſick profeſſor in Cambridge, had informed him no woman exceeded eight and thirty weeks with child: To which, with a modeſt ſmile, I replied, it might be true, though I could not gueſs how he, I, or another, could know it to be ſo without having been guardians to a ſeraglio. I confeſs I was a little piqued, that beſides former flights, neither the King nor Queen themſelves had ſpoke to me to attend: Indeed, Lady Sophia Buckley told me, in her Maſteſty's preſence, ſome weeks before, that ſhortly there would be occaſion for me; but I did not take that for ſufficient orders. At another time Lady Jefferies aſking whether I had commands to attend her Maſteſty? I briskly answered, I thought I ſhould, unleſs their brains were in diſorder. A third material circumſtance may be admitted; that during my attendance on the child, by his Maſteſty's directions, I had frequent diſcourſe with the neceſſary woman, who being in mighty dread of Popery, and conſiding in my reputed whiggism, would

often complain of the busy pragmaticalness of the Jesuits, who placed and displaced whom they pleased, and for her part she expected a speedy remove, for the Jesuits would endure none but their own party: such was our common entertainment; but about a fortnight after the child was born, a rumour being spread through the city, that the child was supposititious, she cried, Alas! will they not let the poor infant alone? I am certain no such thing as the bringing a strange child in a warming-pan could be practised without my seeing it, attending constantly in and about all the avenues of the chamber.

Other remoter accidents might be alledged, which being of smaller moment, are *forborne* but neither the laws nor practice of England allow other *hereditary* right to the crown, or private estates, than what upon good grounds the nation hath power to alter, and often do."

To defend the Revolution upon a pretended supposititious birth, is to affront it; it stands upon a much nobler foundation, the rights of human nature. The supposititious birth was a mere lie of party, and was intended to have been made use of six years before, if King James's Queen had then been brought to bed of a son.

In The Observer, No. 194, printed Wednesday, August 23d, 1682, is the following remarkable passage.

"If it had pleased God to give his Royal Highness the blessing of a *son*, as it proved a *daughter*, you were prepared to make a *Perkin* of him. To what end did you take so much pains else, by your instruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutchess of York was *not* with child? And so, in case of a son, to represent him as an *impostor*; whereas you have now taken off the mask in confessing the daughter.—I would have the impression of this cheat sink so far into the heads and hearts of all honest men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten. For we must expect, that the same scam shall, at any time hereafter, *be trumped up again upon the like occasion.*"

Compare also Lord Clarendon's Diary as follows.

Diary of the Earl of Clarendon, 1688, p. 20.

"Jan. 15th. In the morning, I went to St. James's church; this is the thanksgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child; there

PART I.

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were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them. It is strange to see how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if scarce any body believed it to be true. Good God help us ! ”

Lord Hardwicke was so obliging as to give me the use of manuscript memoirs in his possession, of Byng Lord Torrington, which throw considerable light upon a part of the story of the Revolution, hitherto very little understood.

In this manuscript there are the following passages.

Extracts from the MS. memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington.—The intrigues of the fleet with the Prince of Orange.

Extract first.

“ Lord Dartmouth remained three weeks with the fleet at the Nore, and then judging it most proper to lye off the Gunfleet, he therefore failed with it there. Here my Lord called a council of war, when it was proposed, and much insisted on by some, that the fleet should go over to the coast of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this proposition had no effect; for the greater number of Captains were steady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefest and most considerable of them were otherwise inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their management they brought over a majority of the council to think it was hazarding the fleet, to lye on that dangerous coast at this time of the year, and therefore much better to remain where they were, sending some frigates over to observe the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered, and the fleet only removed without the Ship Wash, Lord Dartmouth sending three frigates to observe them. This was a point artfully gained by those that were industrious to possess the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the measures taken to prevent his designs. The Captains they were most desirous of bringing over to their party were, Ashby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet: it was therefore agreed, that Mr. Byng should break it to them,

for Ashby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him, and Cornwall was his most intimate friend. Mr. Byng himself had been early entrusted with what was then doing; for at a meeting in London, where the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others, were consulting of the designs then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet could be trusted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a person he would answer for, and Captain Aylmer was to acquaint him with it, which he did, as they went down to the fleet, in the beginning of October, trusting himself with him upon General Kirk's assurances of his faithfulness to them. Mr. Byng replied, that Mr. Kirk should lose no honour by what he had said, assured him he would not betray him, desired to consider about joining with them, and finding by further discourse, that General Kirk, Mr. Ruffel, and other particular persons, were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree with them in their undertakings, and from that time was entrusted by them. Ashby was not soon prevailed on, thinking that in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King. But after some discourse with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the fleet, and shewing the necessity there was to free themselves from popish oppression, he then yielded so far as to become a well wisher to the cause. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be persuaded. In a discourse he expressed the obligations of himself and family to the King, and thought it a villainy in those who attempted any thing against him; but when Mr. Byng named some persons that were engaged in it, that were his most intimate and particular friends, he was surprised, and when convinced of it he gave up his zeal for the King, and from that time no man was more heartily in the cause, using his endeavours to bring over several in his own ship, and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

Nov. 3. While the fleet lay off the Ship Wash by the Gunfleet, with the yards and topmasts down in a hard gale at E. S. E. the Dutch fleet passed by them, making the best of their way to the westward, and though it was foggy weather, yet six of their ships were within sight of the English fleet early that morning, upon which they got up their yards and topmasts, and three ships slipped immediately, and plyed to discover them, and soon

after made the signal of seeing the enemy's fleet; but Lord Dartmouth could not stir with his, not only from the lee tide, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to pursue them, which kept him at an anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay.

The next day the Lord Dartmouth sailed with the English fleet, standing after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them, so there was a meeting of such Captains as were inclined to the Prince, to consult what measures they should take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion, that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they should do their duty against them; but the opinion to which they agreed, was, upon such an occasion, to leave him."

Extract second.

"The fleet had remained nine days in the Downs, when Lord Dartmouth sailed again to the westward with thirty men of war and eighteen fire ships; but when he came off of Portland, they met with such bad weather as separated and forced them back into St. Helens and Spithead, which was, perhaps, from want of skill, for it is thought they might have stretched over, and got to windward, as did the *Defiance*, within sight of Alderney. Captain Ashby finding himself on the French coast, he was inclined to carry over his ship to the Prince. He was standing on our coast to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strickland, he could not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to shew themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto, at a meeting they had, they determined to send him a message, and to assure his Highness of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders. This was to be done in secrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this message, and to that purpose first addressed himself to Mr. Ruffel, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be absent, on pretence of going into Huntingdonshire upon affairs that very much concerned him."

Extract third.

“ The Prince of Orange had passed Exeter, in his way to Salisbury, and was at the Earl of Bristol’s house, at Sherborne, when Mr. Byng came to him. The first person he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the stairs head asked him, what he did there? Mr. Byng desired he would ask no questions, but carry him to a private room, where he might see Mr. Ruffel; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his message, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company then retiring except Mr. Ruffel, and he then delivered to his Highness the message from the officers of the fleet, naming those who had engaged themselves to assist him. The Prince expressed great satisfaction at such welcome assurances, received Mr. Byng with courtesy, and promised him, if he succeeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the necessity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet, with promises that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was some variance) should not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince advised Mr. Byng to put into the stuffing of his saddle, lest, in case he was seized, it should be found upon him; but he thought it best to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches; so Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned safely to the fleet again. There was some difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette. This letter had some effect on him, for from that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince’s party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the measures then taken; yet he was terrified at the disposition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpose to oppose them, and knew not what might be the consequences to himself, since the Prince of Orange advanced with such success, and all the people were daily rising against the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour from a design that was discovered to seize him on board the commanded by Captain Hastings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpose, in which case they intended to give the command of the fleet to

the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Floid, who had found himself neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, discovered their design to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution by excusing himself from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and consistent with his duty to the King, seeing himself in the power of those of the other party, and not able to refuse his assistance in an attempt of the most dangerous consequence; for the young Prince of Wales had been brought down to Portsmouth, to go in a yacht to France with Sir Roger Strickland, which being known to several Captains of the fleet, they were resolved to seize him, and representing to Lord Dartmouth the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape when the nation was in confusion, and the government unsettled, they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Hastings and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they should come out of Portsmouth, in case he should escape Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng, who were appointed to go with armed boats to wait his coming off, to lay that yacht on board where the Prince of Wales should be; and in case of resistance, these three ships were ready to take him in case he escaped from them. Upon this design Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng were employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town, to get intelligence of the time of his going off, appointing a place to confer at upon occasion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the stairs going to embark, where he found the Duke of Powis's (Governor of the town) coach and six horses at the door, and approaching them in the dark, felt their legs, which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in, but going out of town. He was surprised at this, and found an end of their enterprize, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh succeeding, since all the baggage and necessaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great disappointment to those who had projected the design; yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill success in such an attempt;

since their being possessed of the Prince's person must have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought this discovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor suffer them to be put in execution, and that by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might escape.

The Prince of Orange making great progress in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by those he most confided in, and the Queen sent with the young Prince away to France, deserted by his army, and seeming himself to have no remedy but in his flight, circumstances that so terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highness's service, and sent it by Captains Aylmer, Hastings and Byng."

The opportunity which the Duke of Grafton had of serving the Prince of Orange's interest in the fleet, is confirmed by a letter from Barillon to his court, of the 6th Nov. 1688, in which he says, that the Duke of Grafton had asked leave to go down to the fleet as volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was gone there. In the *Depos.*

The Earl of Dartmouth was also so obliging as to communicate to me the following letters, relative to his ancestor's conduct in the command of the fleet at the Revolution, and the part which he acted with regard to the transporting of the young Prince into France.

Letters which passed between King James and Lord Dartmouth, whilst Lord Dartmouth lay with the fleet at the mouth of the Nore.

Extract of King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1688.

" You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what is done about the victuals, and what Sir R. Haddock and the rest of them said to me this evening; which if so, you may be soon ready to sail with most of your ships, and though all that are in the Hope should not be quite ready, consider well whether you should lose the opportunity of this westerly wind to get out from among the sands, or venture to have the Dutch come and find you posted somewhere near the buoy of the Ozeedge among the sands, for you must expect they will come out, and be looking for you with the first easterly wind, &c."

A P P E N D I X.

*Extract of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Buoy of the Nore,
October 12, 1688.*

" I am infinitely sensible of the great trust your Majesty is pleased to put in my conduct of this fleet, which, to the best of my understanding, shall be faithfully performed for your service. Your Majesty cannot be more desirous to have me from among the sands, than I am impatiently endeavouring to get out. I judge it much more for your service to unite while we have time, than to drop out in parcels with the hazard of being separated, especially knowing myself here in the best place to do my business while these winds continue; and be assured, Sir, I shall be at sea upon the first alteration. And, Sir, though it is your Majesty's great goodness to trust so great a concern to me, yet I humbly beg leave to lay my thoughts before you, that your Majesty may please to judge better, and to give me your commands, if you please to approve or disapprove of my present intentions, which cannot be final till I am at sea, and, with the humblest submission, may alter with the opportunities I may meet, being hard to take any result but as the place and occasion may offer. None of the Portsmouth ships are yet come to me, therefore, at my first going out, I will look towards the Downs, and see what ships I can get from thence, and leave directions with those ships that are to follow, to come thither first, where farther orders shall lye ready for them: with what I have with me I intend to keep the sea as much as possibly I can, thinking that much safer for this squadron, than to venture being any where embayed, or trusting myself to be set upon in any road, and if it shall be necessary for me to ride at any time in the Downs, I will always put to sea upon any easterly winds. As soon as I get a reasonable squadron together, I believe it for your Majesty's honour and service, if the weather be any thing reasonable, to shew myself upon their coast, as near as I conveniently can in the day time, still standing off to get good sea room every night, while I see it reasonable to stay thereabout."

*Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall,
October 14, 1688.*

" I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and prosper my arms both by land and sea. I need say no more to you, being sure you will do

what is best for my service, which you that are on the place are the only judge of, and must govern yourself according to the enemies motions, and as wind and weather will permit."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Oax Edge,
October 17, 1688.*

"We are all now of opinion that upon the first flatch of wind and fair weather, we should fall down to the Gunfleet, where though it be hard roading, yet the ground is good, and we shall be well formed: there we shall be ready to cover Harwich as well as the river Thames; be able to go to sea, if occasion be; or we can but come up again at worst; we shall be ready to look towards the channel, have very good anchoring between the Kentish knock and the North sands-head, and the Downs always to friend upon bad weather. This, Sir, with the humblest submission to your Majesty's better judgment, is the present measures I think of, till any thing better offers for your service.—Upon the caution your Majesty hath given me, I will not venture over on the coast of Holland, without I see settled fair weather, which is not impossible after so much bad."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet,
October 24, 1688.*

"I thank God I am at last got hither, with your Majesty's fleet safe, and in as good condition for the time as could be expected, whatever may be suggested to the contrary; and our coming out not sooner hath been hitherto for the best, as I hope all things will do for your advantage. Sir, we are now at sea before the Dutch after all their boasting, and I must confess I cannot see much sense in their attempt, with the hazard of such a fleet and army, at the latter end of October, and if they can make use of this moon, it is as good for us as them."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet,
October 29, 1688.*

"—I thank God your Majesty's fleet is in very good condition, and (considering the whole matter your Majesty hath been so graciously pleased to leave to me) I will endeavour to keep it so, &c."

*Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet,
October 30, 1688.*

" Since mine to your Majesty yesterday, the wind came up last night, between 9 and 10 o'clock to the N. and continued most of the night between the N. and N. N. E. About 4 o'clock I gave the signal for unmooring, and we are just now under sail with the tide of ebb, and the wind at S. S. E. and hope to get clear of the Galloper before night. On Friday last the Prince of Orange and Herbert were both seen at Helvoet-fluys, so that they could not be stirring, as the winds have been, till last night and this morning; no doubt, they will get all to sea this day, and I hope by to-morrow, to give your Majesty a better account of them. I have my scouts out, and I believe it impossible for us to miss such a fleet. God prosper your Majesty, and send you victory over your enemies; I am sure I will endeavour heartily my part towards it."

Copy of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Nov. 5, 1688.

" **S**INCE mine to your Majesty on Tuesday last, by Mr. Bridges, I came that night to an anchor at six o'clock, the Nar bearing W. and Balzy Church N. W. and by N. with a very fresh gale of wind, at due E. Besides the 3 cruizers I had out before, I sent out the Suadado's to ply to the northward, upon the receipt of the abstract from Marquis d'Albeville's letters. The Katherine yaucht I ordered to ply off to the Eastward, and the Kitchen to the Southward; the King-fisher Ketch was likewise sent to Ostend, with letters from captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind stood, and as it blew so hard, availed me nothing; for on Thursday our Frigates that were sent a-cruizing were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing at a league and a half to the windward of us; one of them came in without a foretopmast, and another wanted his maintopmast. It blowed so very hard that we were forced to strike all our yards and topmasts, and rid with two cables and a half out, the wind fretting and never varying above one point either way. Just at break of day on Saturday morning, we saw 13 sail about three leagues to windward of us; the 3 frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one fly-boat that had lost her rudder; she was taken by the Foresight, and sent into the

Downs with the Swallow, who it seems sprung a leak, so that I fear I shall have little good from her. Major Colondsby of colonel Babington's regiment with 290 men were in the fly-boat, and as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken, but I do not find the officers so, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to sail with the fleet on Saturday, but the sea came in so heavy, and the tide fell so cross, that we could not till yesterday morning. We got under sail at 8 o'clock, with the wind E. S. E. a topsail gale. About 10 captain Clements came in to us, with the Katherine yaucht, which was the first news we received of the Prince of Orange, for the Foresight returned not to us till 2 this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat. We made all the sail possible we could to the Northward, the weather came very fair, and the wind continued at E. S. E. a steady gale. By 8 at night we got about the Southsands-head; about 12 we got the length of the Nefs, and I hauled in with the shore, lest they should be in Rye Bay; but it pirred so little wind from 12 o'clock, that when the flood came in we could scarcely stem it, and got no further than Beachey by 9 this morning; but this ebb I hope we shall make better of it. Thus I have given your Majesty a true account of all my proceedings, which are so far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myself for the most unfortunate man living, though I know your Majesty is too just to expect more than wind and weather will permit.

Sir, finding that the Dutch sailed by Dover on Saturday in the afternoon, and that they had a fresh gale all that night, and a fair wind all yesterday, and such weather for their purpose and so little for mine to day, I am in great apprehensions they will be landed before we fetch them; and if their fleet lie at St. Helens, whilst the rest land in Stokes Bay and Hampton water, their fleet being so much superior, as I find they are, both in number and quality, I am at a stand what to do; for on calling the flag officers and commanders, they unanimously advise me against attacking the Dutch fleet, if all possibility of hindering their landing be over; though every body I assure you, Sir, I think are so exasperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majesty's service. I consider the success of their landing, and beating your only

fleet, together with the destruction, as I may say, of the flower of the English fleet, or so many of them at least as are here at present, Sir, I confess the thoughts of this, with the consequence it may have in London, and all over England, checks my inclination of setting upon them without your Majesty's further orders; but I resolve to endeavour to fall in with the Isle of Wight at break of day to-morrow morning, and see what advantage it will please God to offer me, taking the caution not to shoot too far to the westward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreasonably, or at least that I see some hopes of doing it.

Just as I was finishing this, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Jo. Berry, and Captain Davis came all together to me, and earnestly pressed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in consideration that the Squadron is at present so weak; shewing what are now wanting of what I should have with me, which are the Swallow and Tyger in the Downs; the Dover, Bonadventure, and Suadado's not yet come to us from cruising with the Foresight; since we came into the channel, the Speedwell and Sally Rose fireships missing, as is all the small craft, except one ketch and the two yachts, besides the Yorke, Woolwich, St. Alban's, and Newcastle; so that at present we want twelve. They further urged, that they are doubtful that upon our appearance their whole fleet would come out to us, and either force us to a disadvantageous battle, or a disgraceful going from them; so that I have now resolved with them to ply off and on, and jogg on easily till the scouts I have now, upon their advice, sent to the westward, bring me an account of the enemy, and that the ships a-stern (or rather left behind for the present) come up to me; and that I know your Majesty's pleasure what you would have me do; which I humbly desire may be as soon as is convenient, for the case is much different now, and from what it would have been if we had been so happy to have met them before they were discharged of their great convoy. The places I am likely to come to anchor at, are the Nefs or the Downs, where I believe some of our ships may be that are missing. I understand the Prince of Orange changed his measures upon his last coming aboard, when he heard your Majesty's fleet was at the Gunfleet; for before that he intended for the river. Pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majesty; and notwithstanding all this, I hope, by his blessing, yet to be

able to render your Majesty good service from this squadron, as time and opportunity offers; for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majesty to my life's end."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, November 9, 1688.

"I had last night your's by Captain Rooth, but had not then leisure to answer it, and am fully satisfied you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwise than you did. I am sure all knowing seamen must be of the same mind, and therefore be at ease as to yourself, and consider of the best means of securing the squadron you have with you, and of being in a condition of taking such advantages upon the enemy which may offer themselves to you," &c.

I found among Lord Preston's dispatches, in the possession of Mr. Graham, the following letter from Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth, which shews both the sentiments which the King entertained of Lord Dartmouth's not having betrayed the command with which he was trusted, and the aversion of these Lords to the Popish counsels of their master.

Lord Preston to Lord Dartmouth.—Complains of Popish counsels.—The King pleased with Lord Dartmouth's conduct.

My Lord,

London, Nov. 11th, 1688.

"I HAVE received your Lordship's very kind letter of the fifteenth instant, and was very glad to find by it that you were in good health, which I hope God will continue to you. I wish you all the success that may be in whatsoever you undertake, and I must assure you that notwithstanding the malice of a party at court, which hath already almost wrought our destruction, your lordship is extremely safe and happy in the King's justice to you; who knoweth, and hath declared publicly and privately, that it was impossible for you to take other measures than you did when the Dutch passed by you. He is this afternoon gone for Windsor, and hath taken the Prince with him in order to have him at Portsmouth.

The Queen stayeth here for some time.

A P P E N D I X.

God give him good success, and grant him a safe return.—God of heaven send us a good meeting and preserve you. You may be assured that I shall be watchful over whatever concerns you. I shall ever remain,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate friend,
and most humble servant,

P R E S T O N."

Letters between King James and the Earl of Dartmouth concerning the transporting the young Prince into France.

Andover, Nov. 25, 1688.

" I SEND this to you by the Lord Dover, whom I send to Portsmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myself, intending to be there to-morrow; and have ordered all my army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with some others. I have charged Lord Dover also to speak with you of my intentions concerning my son, and you must follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our said son, by being assisting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to say more.

J A M E S, R."

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1688.

" T H I S is the second letter I write to you upon the subject of my son, though the other was from Andover, as I remember; it will not have been delivered to you sooner than this; that was not given to you sooner, hoping still things would not have been so very bad as they are. 'Tis my son they aim at, and 'tis my son I must endeavour to preserve, whatsoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to assist Lord Dover in getting him sent away in the yachts, as soon as wind and weather will permit, for the first port they can get to in France, and that with as much secrecy as may be; and so that trusty men may be put in the yachts, that he may be exposed to no other danger but that of the sea; and know I shall look upon this as one of the greatest pieces of service you can do me.

" Nov. 30. Since the writing of what is before, I have altered my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you will see more at large by mine to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do again conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my son secured, as in the first part of this letter, and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark, as I have already said in mine to Lord Dover.

J. R."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688.

" U P O N the receiving of this you are immediately to put in execution the orders I have already given you and Lord Dover, for the sending away of my son, the Prince of Wales.

J A M E S, R."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688. 9 at night.

" M R. Pepys writes the news to you, so that this is only to tell you I had this morning yours of the 28th and 30th; and though, as you say in it, I have reason to mistrust mankind, yet I assure you, though all the rest of those about me should betray me, I could never suspect you, as you may have seen by some letters of mine, which I hope will have been given you before this gets to you. Let me know by this messenger, when he returns, when you received them: I shall be very impatient till I know you have had them, and put those orders in execution.

J. R."

These four letters, together with another, dated Nov. 29, relating only to the disposition of the fleet, are together in one parcel, on the outside of which is the following endorsement, viz.

" These three letters received not till the 2d of December; two by the hands of Lord Dover, the other as indorsed in Mr. Pepys's packet: The other two being dated the 1st December, were brought to me soon one after the other, on the 3d in the morning. All these five letters were answered on that 3d of December, and delivered to my Lord Dover, and by him sent with a messenger on purpose. Resolved, between us both, not to do any thing in carrying away the Prince of Wales till we have his Majesty's further order, and an answer to my letter."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—His reason for declining to carry the young Prince to France.

Spithead, December 3, 1688.

“YESTERDAY in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me, and brought me two letters from your Majesty, one dated at Andover the 25th of November, the other at Whitehall of the 29th, with a postscript of the 30th, on the subject of sending away the Prince of Wales, wherein you were pleased to shew thoughts of delaying your intentions therein, and I must confess I was in hopes, if your Majesty took the least time to consider, you would find so many undeniable reasons to the contrary, as would soon oblige your Majesty to alter your resolutions, and therefore I forbore shewing my Lord Dover the surprise I was at first in; but by two letters dated from Whitehall yesterday, (which I received this day soon after another) with the greatest dread and grief of heart imaginable, I understand your Majesty persists in your former intentions and consultation held with my Lord Dover, in sending away the Prince, and conjures me to be assisting therein. I need not tell your Majesty how strict the laws are in this matter, nor after so many experiences of my duty, and loyalty to your person, lay before you fresh assurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treason to your Majesty and the known laws of the kingdom, of so high a nature as this, when your Majesty shall further deliberate on it, I most humbly hope you will not exact it from me, nor longer entertain so much as a thought of doing that, which will give your enemies an advantage, though never so falsely grounded, to distrust your son's just right, which you have asserted and manifested to the world (in the matter of his being your real son born of the Queen) by the testimonies of so many apparent witnesses. Pardon me therefore, Sir, if on my bended knees, I beg of you to apply yourself to other counsels; for the doing this looks like nothing less than despair, to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement, but distrust of your friends and people, who I do not despair but will yet stand by you, in the defence and right of your lawful successor. Your Majesty knows I have always professed myself of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promises of being of any other; and therefore as such, and a faithful servant

subject and counsellor, I beg leave to advise you, and give you my humble opinion, that sending away the Prince of Wales, without the consent of the nation, is at no time advisable, and therefore the doing it at this time especially, and that to France, being what I dread will be of fatal consequence to your person, crown, and dignity, and all your people will (too probably) grow so much concerned at this your great mistrust, as to throw off their bounden allegiance to you, which God forbid; therefore pray, Sir, consider farther on this weighty point: for can the Prince's being sent to France, have other prospect than the entailing a perpetual war upon your nation and posterity; and giving France always a temptation, to molest, invade, nay hazard the conquest of England, which I hope in God never to see, but that we may have this Prince of your own loins, to rule over us. The most I can apprehend your Majesty may be jealous of, is his being brought up in the religion of the Church of England, and that ought (for his Royal Highness's sake especially) to be the prayer of every honest loyal subject. Pardon me therefore, Sir, that I most earnestly implore you, not to make me the unhappy instrument of so apparent ruin to your Majesty and my country, as an act of this kind will be; and I hope your Majesty will not suffer it to be done by any other, for I can foresee nothing less from it, than the putting in hazard your own sacred person and the Queen's, and making England the most miserable nation in the world.

Remember I pray, Sir, how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes, and the courses you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you, but to put you in mind of doing it now at last; and for heaven's sake, Sir, as you have made a great step towards reconciliation by publishing your Royal intentions of calling a parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly; God in his infinite mercy will preserve you, and your Royal Issue, and the Church of England will defend you in all your just rights, and remove the disturbers of your peace, and settle you as great and firm on your throne, as any of your predecessors. Pardon me, Sir, for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a sincere heart, and concern for you and yours; and what has past between us on this unfortunate subject shall never be an injury to you, by being made known from me, and I

know your goodness is too great to think ill of your constant faithful servant, or to impute to me any disobedience; for what I have thus most humbly laid before your Majesty, is really and honestly, from the utmost and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preservation; for as I will not be instrumental in, nor suffer him to be carried into France, if by any means I can prevent it, so on the other hand, I will frankly venture my life in your Majesty's and his defence; and as the last expedient, I can at present propose nothing more essential to your Majesty's great service, than in delivering him safe into your own Royal custody, and the sooner your Majesty gives me order for it, it will be the better: Sir, I am afraid if I go from hence, the Dutch fleet will soon be here, and I likewise fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portsmouth, therefore I desire your Majesty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you speedily, and that you will please to recollect yourself, and apply reasonable means to prevent what you seem to be under such dreadful apprehensions of. Your Majesty may see in what confusion I am, so that I can say no more, but my daily prayers to God Almighty, to direct and prosper you."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—Upon his first Flight.

Spithead, the 2d.

"**I**T is impossible for me to express the grief and anxious cares I am in for your Majesty, and the news of your withdrawing was the greatest surprize of my life; for I did humbly hope, my dutiful supplications to your Majesty would with your own considerate thoughts have wholly altered your intentions of sending away the Prince of Wales, and did think it impossible ever to enter into any body's thought, that had the least inclination of duty to your Majesty, to give you so pernicious and destructive counsel as to go away yourself; and if your Majesty had been drove to such a desperate course (which was morally impossible, at least in my thoughts) as to absent yourself, Sir, could you have been with more honour and safety, than in your own fleet, who would always unanimously (I dare say) have protected and defended your sacred person, from any violence or unhallowed hands; but this looks like so great mistrust of me, that many can witness it hath almost broke my heart. Your Majesty knows what condition you left the fleet in, and me in the utmost unsupportable calamity of my life; what could

I do but send to the Prince of Orange, when I found the whole nation did, and received orders from the Lords, which were communicated to the fleet, and removed all Roman Catholic officers. I have had yet no return from the Prince of Orange, but I hope all will end in your Majesty's happy re-establishment. Mr. Pepys will acquaint your Majesty with the state of the fleet, and Mr. Vaudry, I hope, will do me justice of my care of the Duke of Berwick, garrison and harbour of Portsmouth, with all the great ships; but withal, my confusion is so great, that I am only able to beg God Almighty's protection of your Majesty, and to deliver you out of all these troubles, which shall not only be the prayers, but hearty endeavours of a heart that never studied any thing but your real service, and will ever do to my unfortunate life's end."

In King William's box there are, among many other letters written to him, or by him, upon his coming to England, the following ones.

Copy of three letters from the Prince, without address, in Lord Portland's hand-writing.

Letter first.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{12}{2}$ de Novembre, 1688.

"J'E say le zele que vous avez pour votre religion, et l'intérest que vous avez au bien de ces royaumes; ainsi je ne doute pas que vous vous joindrez avec moy pour contribuer tout ce qui sera en votre pouvoir pour cet effet. Je suis d'avis que vous ne devez point bouger du lieu où vous êtes, et ne vous en point laisser dissuader; c'est à vous à savoir qui estes sur les lieux les mesures que vous devez prendre, ne pouvant vous l'écrire d'ici. Je vous prie d'être assuré qu'il est impossible d'être votre serviteur [plus passionnement que je le suis, et je le temoigneray en toutes occasions."

Letter second.

A Exeter, ce $\frac{12}{2}$ Novembre.

"J'Espere que vous approuverez la cause qui m'amene icy, et je ne doute pas que quand vous l'aurez bien examinée que vous vous trouverez être autant intéressé que moy; ainsi j'espere que vous aurez la bonté d'y concourir et me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable pour

travailler à une si bonne et juste fin ; je vous en auray une obligation tres grande que je tacherai de reconnoitre en toutes occasions ou je vous pourrai temoigner combien passionement je suis votre serviteur."

Letter third.

A Exeter, ce 12 de Novembre, 1688.

" **L'**ON ne fauroit avoir plus d'obligation que je vous ay de la maniere que vous en ufes avec moy, et des assurances que vous continues à me donner à m'assister à procurer à ce pais l'establissement de leur religion et liberté. Je vous prie de me joindre le plutôt que vous le jugerez convenable, laissant à vous de prendre votre temps ; mais il sera neccessaire de considerer combien des gens scavent l'affaire, qu'il est dangereux d'attendre trop long tems ; cependant il sera neccessaire de m'envoyer de nos amis le plus que vous jugerez convenable, puisque cela donne un bon exemple pour des autres à nous venir joindre ; et vous prendrez toutes les precautions qu'il sera possible en ce que vous m'avez fait, et envoyer ce que l'on a requis. Je marcheray en avant le plutôt qu'il sera faisable et ne perdray aucun temps, mais il faut considerer l'eloignement, les mauvais chemins, et que nous n'avons pas tous les chariots que nous souhaiterions. Je vous prie d'estre assure de mon amitié, et que je n'oublieray jamais les obligations que je vous auray. Je vous prie de faire les mêmes assurances de ma part à nos bons amis."

Translation. Letter first.

Exeter, 12-22 November, 1688.

" **I** Knew the zeal which you have for your religion, and the interest which you have in the good of these kingdoms, therefore I do not doubt that you will join with me to contribute all that shall be in your power for this effect. I am of opinion that you ought not to stir from the place where you are, and not to allow yourself to be dissuaded from it. You who are upon the spot, know best the measures which you ought to take, as I cannot point them out to you from this. I entreat you to be assured that it is impossible for me to be your servant more passionately than I am, and will shew on all occasions."

Letter second.

Exeter, 12-22 November.

“I Hope that you will approve the cause which brings me here, and I doubt not that when you have well considered it, you will find yourself as much interested in it as I am: I hope, therefore, that you will have the goodness to concur in it, and to join me the soonest that you shall judge convenient to help so good and just an end. I shall have a great obligation to you for it, which I will endeavour to acknowledge upon all occasions, where I can shew how passionately I am your servant.”

Letter third.

Exeter, November 12-22, 1688.

“N Obody can be under greater obligations than I am to you for the manner of your proceeding with me, and for the assurances which you continue to give me to assist me in procuring to this country the establishment of its religion and liberty. I pray you to join me the soonest that you shall judge proper, leaving to you to take your time. But it will be necessary to consider how many people know the affair, and that it would be dangerous to wait too long. In the mean time it will be necessary for you to send me as many of our friends as you shall judge proper, since that gives a good example to others for joining us, and to take all precautions possible in what you have done, and to send what has been asked. I will march forward the soonest that is feasible, and will lose no time: but you must consider the distance, the bad roads, and that we have not all the waggons we would wish. I beg you to be assured of my friendship, and I shall never forget the obligations which I have to you. I pray you to give the same assurances to our good friends.”

*The Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange.—Prince George is to join him.—
Uncertain whether to continue where she is, or to repair to the city.*

The Cockpit, November 18.

“H A V I N G on all occasions given you and my sister all imaginable assurances of the real friendship and kindness I have for you both, I hope it is not necessary for me to repeat any thing of that kind; and on the subject you have now wrote to me, I shall not trouble you with many compliments, only in short assure you, that you have my wishes for your

good success in this so just an undertaking; and I hope the Prince will soon be with you, to let you see his readiness to join with you, who I am sure will do you all the service that lyes in his power. He went yesterday with the King towards Salisbury, intending to go from thence to you as soon as his friends thought it proper. I am not yet certain if I shall continue here, or remove into the city; that shall depend on the advice my friends will give me; but wherever I am, I shall be ready to shew you how very much I am your humble servant.

A N N E."

The Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—A curious letter to be written by a Bishop.—The Princess Anne thinks of joining the Prince of Orange.

S I R,

Nottingham, December 2.

"**W**E are just arrived here, and find the gentlemen here much disposed to go in to you. Her Highness has a desire to go with them, that she may be under your protection: that you may therefore contrive how to secure her passage to you, it is fit you should know the condition of our troops here; they are very raw, and defective of good officers. We shall march a thousand, and increase every day very much, but still we are very weak in discipline. I beseech you, therefore, Sir, to advise best of this matter what forces will be necessary for you to send, and wherever I shall meet them, and when. I am, Sir,

Your Highness's most obedient servant,

H. L O N D O N."

Lord Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—The Princess Anne wants to join him.

Nottingham, Dec. the 2d, at midnight.

May it please your Highness,

"**B**Y this express your Highness will receive notice from the Princess and likewise from the Bishop of London, that she intends to join your Highness as soon as she can. I shall presume to add nothing more, only to give your Highness, as near as I can, a state of our force. We are (reckoning the gentlemen that are with us) in all about a thousand horse, but both our officers are unexperienced, and our men new raised; of these we shall make about two troops of dragoons, and I am afraid no

more. We can have great numbers of foot, if we had arms, and submit to your Highness whether you will order me to march with such. If not, in my humble opinion, it would be absolutely necessary that a detachment were sent to meet the Princess at some certain place, for at this time we are in perfect ignorance (at least I am in my particular) where your Highness is. I likewise humbly beg that your Highness would appoint every day's march. I am, with all duty and respect, Sir,

Your Highness's most obedient and most humble servant,

DEVONSHIRE."

Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange.—Is to obey the Prince's directions.

May it please your Royal Highness,

"I DO with all possible gratitude acknowledge the great honour of your late most gracious letter with so many signal marks of favour and goodness towards me, which I shall endeavour to deserve by all the faithful services and actions of my life. Having now fully discoursed with my most worthy friend the bearer, and particularly imparted to him the methods and measures that I have presumed to think fittest to be taken in this juncture, with my resolution to submit all things to your pleasure and great wisdom, I crave leave most humbly to refer myself to his relation, and shall ever yield perfect obedience to your commands, and improve my utmost interest with all zeal for your service, who am, with all duty and respect, may it please your Royal Highness, your Royal Highness's

Most humble, most faithful, and most obedient servant,

Nov. 18, 1688.

B."

The Bishop of Bristol to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—Concurs in his enterprize.

May it please your Highness,

"I Received the great honour of your Highness's letter, and beg leave to return you my most humble thanks for those kind opinions you have been pleased to conceive of me, which I shall endeavour still to preserve.

My Lord Shrewsbury (with whose conduct we are all extremely pleased) will give you a full account of what has been done here, which if your

Highness shall approve of, it will be great satisfaction to me, that I have bore some part in the work which your Highness has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preservation of the protestant religion, the laws and the liberties of this kingdom.

I desire Almighty God to preserve you, as the means of continuing to us the exercise of our holy religion and our laws; and humbly beseech your Highness to believe me very ready to promote so good a work, and on all occasions to approve myself your Highness's

Bristol,
December 5.

Most obedient, faithful, humble servant,

J. BRISTOL."

Bishop of St. Asaph to the Prince of Orange.—Irritates the Prince against the King.—Has tried in vain to get the Bishop of Ely to adopt the idea of a cession of the crown by the King.

S I R,

December 17, 1688.

" I DID not find the Bishop of Ely at home, but I looked him out, and broke the matter to him with all possible care, that he might not discover what I said to be any more than my own thoughts; and it was well I used this caution, for I found him strongly possessed with a project of accommodation. He told me what my Lord Halifax said he had spoken to his Majesty formerly, when the King was sending him commissioner to his Highness, and told his Lordship he was willing to make large concessions for peace. He told his Majesty he could not expect that the Prince would accept of any less concessions than such as would put it out of his power to do such things as he had done heretofore against the laws. The Bishop said, that now he believed his Majesty was willing to do all that could be required of him, and even to be reduced to the state of a Duke of Venice, committing all the power of war and peace, and of making all officers, ecclesiastical and civil, to the Prince for his life-time; or that he would consent to bills in parliament for that purpose, and to all other bills that should be offered for the security of religion and civil rights. I did not think it worth the while to ask him what reason he had to believe this, both because I was not instructed on that subject, and also because I did not think the church and kingdom would be very safe in such an accommodation. I was not provided to answer what he said, that this way was most agreeable to his Highness's declaration. But how unsafe it would be,

I shewed him by all the reasons in my instructions, which he was not able to answer. Yet I could not persuade him to propose the other way of cession, he has too great a tenderness for that, and besides, he despaired of doing good in it. If there be any good way of bringing his Majesty to this, it must be by some of the criminals that are in danger of the law; they are the men that have always had the greatest power with him; and now their power is like to be so much the greater, because he looks upon them as his sufferers, though, in truth, he is theirs. And they have not done with him yet; for, as I am certainly informed, there was a throng of Papists about him last night, with Mons. Barillon at the head of them; and this day there were thirty or forty at his Majesty's dinner, and no other priest but a Jesuit to say grace.

I beseech God to direct his Highness in all these difficulties, and to bless all his councils with success; and the same gracious God to continue your health, and to fill you with all comforts. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful, humble servant,

W. A S A P H."

But the most material letter of all is the following anonymous one, which seems written by a person of condition, and suggests directly to the Prince to assume the crown. I cannot find out the hand writing.

Anonymous letter to the Prince of Orange, urging him to take the crown.

"THE occasion of my presenting this to your Highness, arose from my Lord Hallifax coming on Friday last to me, to let me know that he and my Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin were appointed by the King to go commissioners to treat with your Highness; and that he received the employment with some trouble. I freely told his Lordship that he had reason so to do, for he would give very unhappy suspicions that he was engaged in a design to give a stop to your Highness's advancing to this place by the delays of a treaty, and the mistaken notion of an accommodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that would be endured, for there was no room left for trust, and every thing must be built upon new foundations: He seemed then fully to agree with me, and assured me he would not act so as to deserve the least censure of this nature.

PART I.

U u

Yesterday, being Saturday, he came again to me in the evening, and told me, that though the trumpet that was sent to your Highness for a passport was not yet returned, yet they were ordered to go next morning (which is this Sunday) to Windsor, and next day to Reading, and to expect to meet the trumpet by the way.

I perceived by this haste that they were reduced almost to a dependancy on this design, and, therefore, by the advice of some considerable persons here, whose interest in the city and parliament will be very great, I have presumed to give your Highness this account, that you may not only be prepared to judge of his proceedings, but also that you may be presented with the general sense of things here as near as I can collect them; and I may presume to assure your Highness, that any delay caused by the notion or pretence of a treaty, will cast a damp on the spirits of people who are now raised with the mighty expectation of your advance, and are so far from having any thoughts of settling things by an accommodation, that they only fix upon hopes of remedy by the total change of persons; judging it the greatest folly to graft any thing upon the old stock; taught by too sad experience that the difference of religion makes it irreconcilable to trust though but the name of power with it; for all limitations of power are but notions that may be raised to interrupt or hinder that blessing to us all, which nothing but mistakes of such a nature can now prevent; and, therefore, as your Highness has come to redeem us from the threatening miseries of Popery and Slavery, we can never suffer the name or trust of power in any other person.

I doubt not but your Highness has in your clearer judgment discerned all this, and perhaps you have received accounts of the same nature from other hands; yet I, and those friends I advise with, thought we could not discharge our duties to your Highness, and this great cause, in which we are all so deeply concerned, without our humble representation of this to you, which, if it be agreeable to your sense, we doubt not but your Highness will prevent all designs that may give the least delay or interruption to your proceedings; for all things are in such a posture here to receive you, that we have reason to suppose that you will find little opposition from force, and therefore all other artifices will be attempted, which we doubt not but your great judgment and prudence will prevent.

The city keep themselves prudently quiet, but are very well inclined, and resolved upon your approach to appear in your assistance, which I receive now from a considerable person of it, who also believes, that if I can get released by that time of this fit of the gout, that has now held me this three weeks, I may probably be of some use to them.

Your Highness will have an account of the Duke of Norfolk's appearing very considerable in that country.

Lastly, give me leave to present to your Highness the person I send this by, Mr. Richard Ophile, he is my wife's brother that died; at present a cornet of horse in the King's army, who has been ready to embrace any occasion that I should direct him in to serve your Highness. I have so good an opinion of him in all respects, that I used him in this business; and humbly desire your Highness to believe, that in any thing you command him he will not deceive your expectation."

There are also in the box letters from the Lords Delamer, Stamford, and Brandon (three persons whose lives had been called in question by the King) making apologies to the Prince for their want of speed in joining him: offences, however, which he never afterwards forgave.

Lord Mountagu to King William.—Asks a Dukedom.—Enumerates his services in the question of the Regency.

S I R,

London, May the 18th, 1694.

"I DID not think it very good manners to trouble your Majesty in the middle of so great affairs as you had at your going away, else I should have made it my humble request that you would have been so gracious as to have done my family the same honour you have done to my Lord Clare, Bedford, and others. This request had been made to you by the old Duke of Schomberg, who thought himself under some obligation to me for the encouragement I gave him to attend you in your expedition into England, but that I did not think it reasonable to ask the being put over the Duke of Shrewsbury's head; but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatness of his family and personal

In King William's box.

merit has deserved, I may, by your Majesty's grace and favour, pretend to the same dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myself the head of a family that many ages ago had great honours and dignities, when I am sure these had none; and we having lost them by the civil wars between York and Lancaster, I am now below the two younger branches, my Lord Manchester and Sandwich. I have to add to my pretension the having married the Duke of Newcastle's eldest daughter; and it has been the practice of all your predecessors, whenever they were so gracious to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to bestow it upon those who married the eldest, without there were some personal prejudice to the person who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretension, which is the same for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family; the having been one of the first, and held out till the last, in that cause which, for the happiness of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a less merit to be alive and ready on all occasions to venture all again for your service, than if I had lost my head when my Lord Russel did. I could not then have had the opportunity of doing the nation the service I did, when there was such opposition made by the Jacobite party, in bringing my Lord Huntington, the bishop of Durham, and my Lord Ashley, to vote against the Regency, and for your having the crown; which was carried but by those three voices and my own. I should not put you in mind of this, but hoping that so fortunate and so seasonable a service as this, may supply all my other wants of merit; and which, since you were pleased to promise me in your bed-chamber at St. James's, before you were King, never to forget, you will not now that are so great and so gracious a one. The Duke of Shrewsbury can further satisfy you what persecution I suffered, and what losses I sustained in the two last reigns, which must make the mortification greater if this humble suit be refused to,

Sir, your most dutiful

and obedient subject and servant,

M O U N T A G U."

This letter is singular in several respects: First, It supposes that Lord Russel's conspiracy had been agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Secondly, It insinuates that Lord Mountagu had been a party to it, whereas it is

certain he was not. I found, in Barillon's correspondence, that infinite pains were taken in England to fix his accession to that conspiracy upon him, but in vain. But it must be doubly curious to those who, in this Appendix, have seen the intrigues of Mountagu with the French court in the reign of Charles the II^d. King William refused the request of this letter.

Barillon's remaining dispatches, after the Prince of Orange's landing, contain the following anecdotes.

His letter of 25 November, 1688, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to sail for England. *In the Depot.*

His letter of 1st December, relates that Lord Melfort had pressed James to seize all the principal persons of the whig party, as soon as the Prince of Orange had landed. *In the Depot.*

Letter of 11th December, expresses King James's astonishment at the desertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, because, of all his regiments, he trusted it the most.

In this letter, and that of 27th December, Barillon says James had ordered Jefferies to reside in the palace, in order that the Great Seal might be at hand to be carried off; and that James believed the loss of the Great Seal could not be repaired, and that the constitution must fall loose by his disappearance.

Letter of 13th December, describes the various and contradictory advices with which King James was tormented from all quarters.

Letter of 22^d Decemb. describes the indignation of the English common soldiers upon hearing Lord Feverham's order for disbanding them read.

Letter of 24th December, relates that when King James was discovered by the fishermen in his first flight, one of them knelt and wept; that upon this James wept, and the other fishermen who had behaved ill to him before, at the sight of his tears, fell upon their knees; and that at Feverham the common people behaved to him with far more respect than those of better condition; for which Barillon assigns this reason, that these last were afraid of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Dartmouth's notes on Bishop Burnet's history, contains the following anecdotes of the time in question.

Extract 1st, from Lord Dartmouth's notes.

Note on p. 790. of Bishop Burnet's history. "The Duke of Shrewsbury told me, the Prince was much surpris'd at his backwardness in joining with him, and began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; in which case he resolv'd to publish the names of all those that had invited him over, which he said would be but a just return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewsbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongst them was, who should run the hazard of being the first, but if the ice were once broke, they would be as much afraid of being the last; which proved very true."

Extract 2d.

Note on p. 819. "There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonshire's, where the dispute ran very high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby; one for the Prince, the other for the Princess: at last Lord Halifax said, he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own sentiments, and desired Fagel would speak, who defended himself a great while, by saying he knew nothing of his mind upon that subject, but if they would know his own, he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher; upon which Lord Danby said, he hoped they all knew enough now, for his part he knew too much, and broke up the assembly, as Sir Michael Wharton who was present told me."

Extract 3d.

Note on p. 808. "The Duke of Leeds told me, that Lord Tyrconell sent several messages to King William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuse, by sending any thing that looked like a force to demand it: but Lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army: and if there was none, he would be turned out, as easily as he had been brought in; for it was impossible to please England long, and he might see they began to be discontented already."

END OF PART FIRST.

A P P E N D I X

TO

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs

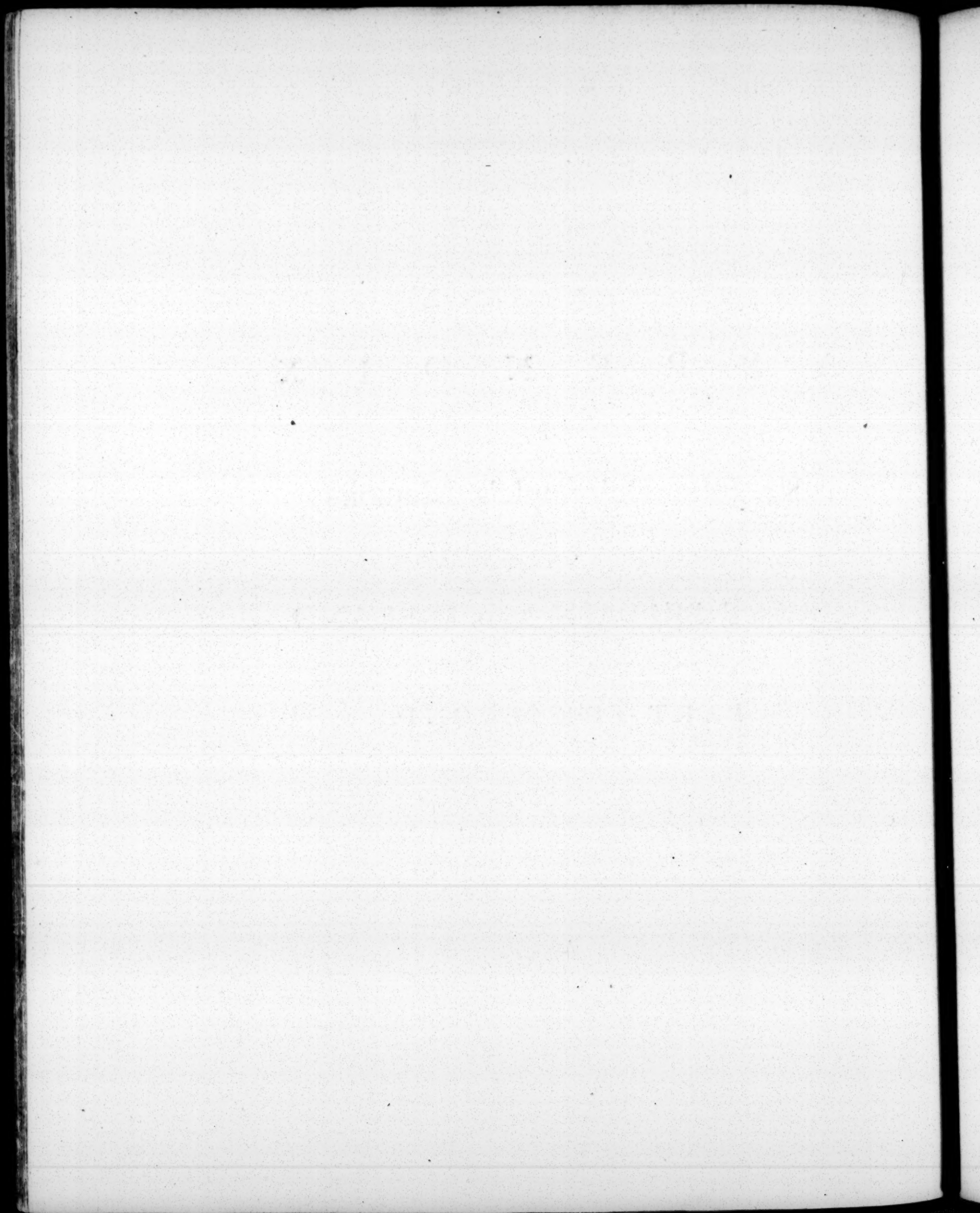
OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

PART THE SECOND.

PART II.

A



A P P E N D I X.

B O O K I.

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, dated Amsterdam, March 8th, immediately after the revolution.—Anxious about his own fate—reminds King William of his services in the revolution.

May it please your Majesty,

IF I had not followed the advice of my friends rather than my own sense, I should not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had served the publick so importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious ministry ought not to have obliged me to be absent: but nothing makes me repine so much at it, as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majesty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive; and do now most heartily wish you all the greatness and prosperity you deserve, which is to wish you more than any man ever had. I must now beg leave to offer to your Majesty my most humble acknowledgments for your justice and grace in ordering me to be set at liberty. I came into this country because I desired to be intirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majesty will never do. I should be sure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your consideration. Wherever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, shall be most exactly obeyed by,

May it please your Majesty,

Amsterdam,
March the 8th.

Your Majesty's most faithful, most humble,
and most obedient subject and servant,

SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

A P P E N D I X.

Lady Sunderland to King William.—A similar letter.

S I R,

THE relief I had by your Majesty's justice and grace from the sharpest apprehensions that ever I lay under, may, I hope, be allowed a sufficient plea for the liberty I now take to present you my most humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours: I dare not impute it to any other motive; but however unfortunate my present circumstances are, I have this to support me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare say ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majesty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe you. But long before your glorious undertaking, I can't but hope you remember how devoted I was to your service, which was founded upon so many great and estimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world; and may I but hope for so much of your Majesty's favour, as to live quietly in a country where you have so much power, till it shall please God to let me end my days at my own home, I shall ever be most truly and humbly thankful. Nothing can make me more than I am already,

S I R,

Amsterdam,
March 11th.

Your Majesty's most humble,
obedient subject and servant,
A. SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William—Anxious about his fate.

May it please your Majesty,

YOUR displeasure is of all things the most grievous. I deserve pity upon many accounts. That I beseech you do withdraw, and forgive my failings, and dispose of me for ever as you shall think fit. God Almighty preserve you for ever. I am,

Thursday.

May it please your Majesty,

Your most faithful, most humble, and
most dutiful subject and servant,
SUNDERLAND.

[In King William's chest.]

A P P E N D I X.

Remark.] The above three letters shew the difficult situation into which the double conduct of lord and lady Sunderland (as double-dealing always does) had thrown both themselves and King William.

Remark:] In memoirs written by sir John Lowther, first lord of the treasury to King William, part of which sir James Lowther was so obliging as to show me, there is a very strong picture of the distresses which King William was under in England, from want of money.

BUT the strongest picture of all is in a letter in King William's chest, from lord Godolphin to King William, without a date, but appearing from its contents to have been written in the year 1693. This letter containing the true state of parties and of the king immediately after the revolution, and being a very capital one in many respects, I print the whole of it.

For the KING.

SIR,
HAVING according to my duty made it my business not only to give a constant attendance in the house all this sessions, but at all meetings to which I was called, to consider how to carry on your affairs; and having thereby had an opportunity to make several observations that may prove for your Majesty's service to know, I think myself obliged, with all imaginable submission, to lay them before your Majesty.

AND it being generally discoursed as if your Majesty had a peace in prospect, you'll pardon me, Sir, if from those observations, in the first place, I presume to say how much, in my poor opinion, it will contribute to your future happiness if it should, if possible, be perfected before the meeting either of this or any other parliament.

WHEN your Majesty considers the present state of the kingdom, and the factions that are in it, you'll find that the two great points that require more especially your care, are how to manage the parties soe as to maintain yourself against your enemies abroad, and at the same time so to preserve your authority at home, that the necessity of doing the one may not bring you to such circumstances that it will be impossible for you to keep the other; and this task is more difficult, because the Toreys, who are friends to prerogative, are so mingled with Jacobites, that they are not to be confided in during the war; and the Whigs, who are, for that reason, of necessity to be employed to support your cause against the common enemy, will at the same time endeavour all they can to make use of that opportunity to lessen your just power. And let them pretend what they will to your Majesty, the several instances they have given this session of their intentions that way, puts this matter out of all doubt to any person who has taken the least pains to observe them, and it's beyond all dispute manifest, that though they will give money to keep out King James, yet they'll never give you one vote to support your just right in any point where (what they please to call) the interest of the people is concerned.

THIS being the condition of your partye, which I presume your Majesty will allow to be too true, I am confident, when you look into the funds that are given for the service of this year, and consider how much they lessen and incumber your hereditary revenue; and when you know, Sir, that if the war continue, it will be impossible to save the customs (which is the only tax now left you can expect will ever be given for a longer time than from year to year) from being likewise pawned for five years at least: I presume to say, Sir, these things considered, your Majesty will be of opinion that it is more your interest, with relation to your affairs at home, to have a peace this summer, than ever it was since you sat upon the throne of England; and that if you have it not, as things have been managed, the next year's expences will so anticipate those branches of the revenue that ever have been kept hitherto for the ordinary support of the government, that it will be scarce pos-

A P P E N D I X.

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able that your Majesty should ever see an easy day, though it should please God hereafter to give you such a peace as yourself could wish: and the ground-work on which I build this assertion is, that it ever was and ever will be impracticable for any king of England to be the least happy, who must depend upon a parliament every year to give him a million of money for his common and necessary support; and that this will be your Majesty's circumstance, if the war be another year continued, will, I fear, by the following account of expence of this year, and by the guess or computation of what may be the funds for the next, appear to be very near a demonstration.

The funds for 94.

Land-tax, besides what is paid thereout to the defect of the poll, to this year's charge,	—	—	1,500,000
2d, Ninepense upon the excise granted for 16 years, to commence from May, 97.; the salt to make good the fund in the mean time, to rais by way of lottery for this year's servis,	—	—	1,000,000
3d, Ninepense upon the excise, granted for 99 years, to commence from May, 97.; the tunag being to supply the same in the mean time, to rais upon perpetual interest and lives for this year's service,	—	—	1,500,000
Quarterly poll given for	—	—	700,000
Hackney coaches to be licensed for 21 years	—	—	100,000
Paper act for four years,	—	—	230,000
			5,030,000

Note, The 2 ninepenses granted this year upon the excise, with that which was last year given upon the same revenues, for raising a million of money upon lives, are allowed to sink the hereditary excise above 250,000 per annum; and the remainder being made a collateral security, that the salt and tunage shall answer 280,000 per annum, till May, 1695, will, in probability, be thereby sunk about 100,000 a-year more for that; from the salt branch must not hereafter be expected

more then 300,000 per annum; though formerly it yielded when the half crown stood singly, (and that is only hereditary) 650,000 *l.* a-year. I take it for granted that if the war continue, it will be impossible for your Majesty to lessen your charge, for as the confederats must take it ill if the land forces are not the same, for the parliament will never suffer the navy to be decreased, therefore I compute the money necessary to be given to be likewise 5,000,000.

A guess at the funds for 95.

Four shillings in the pound upon land, unless it be more equally affect, (and that the major part of the house will never allow) will not yield above 1,800,000, and of that then will probably be anticipated by the clauses of credit given this year about 600,000, so that to next year's charge must not be expected more than — 1,200,000

THE pole can't possibly be repeated next year, in regard it will be in collection in April next, nor more can be got upon trade, since the tunnage is now granted.

THERE can be no more money raised by protests for want of funds, there being no renew out of which to make any, but the small remainder of the hereditary excise.

FOR that not only the customs must be pawn'd for a considerable time, but a further charge upon land, and several heads of excises must be brought to make up the sum wanting; and when the customs are so pawn'd, the hereditary excise part lessened for ever, and an other part made a collateral security for three years, to its prejudice 100,000 per annum; and the ninepence (that used to be given to the crown in cases of necessity) settled two of them for 99 years, and the third for 19 years to come, nothing is more plain, than that your Majesty has not a renew of your own to depend upon at present, of above 400,000 per annum, nor will there be any other in prospect when the usual ones are disposed on as abovesaid; for that computing the necessary charge of

the government, in time of peace, at 1,400,000 a year, which is the lowest it has been estimated at, a million must constantly be raised out of your subjects pockets, by extraordinary ways for your support, and how uneasy that will make your government to yourself, I leave your Majesty to judge. I shall only add, that it is manifestly the designs of some people to keep necessities always upon you, and it was from such that the reversion of the 600,000 upon the East India company, and the resolutions to charge the customs this year, proceeded. And nothing, I can assure your Majesty, prevented the latter but the warmth you spoke with on that subject to the secretary.

A new parliament will not help this matter, for let who will be the givers, there will remain still the same ways of giving; and let what sort of men soever be chosen, I dare answer for't, a majority of them will be much rather for mortgaging the revenue of the crown, than their own land; and this makes me have reason to fear your Majesty will never again have such an offer as was made you this session; and refused by those that pretended to be your friends, and soon after repented that it was ever tendered, by those that were your enemys; when, upon thinking on't more thoroughly, they found of what infinite advantage it would have been to your government.

BUT, Sir, since I have mentioned a new parliament, and knowing you will be press'd by the whiggs to have one, being sanguine enough to imagine they shall be able to get a greater majority in the next than they can pretend to in this, you'll pardon me for troubling you with a word or two on that subject, and in my humble opinion it seems to be unquestionably your interest, if the war continue, to continue the parliament; and if the war ends, to let that end with it. And my reasons for this opinion are:

1st, These are the same men that engaged your Majesty in the war, and are obliged by their votes to support you in it.

2dly, The experience you have that this house will do it, ought to be an unanswerable argument against parting with it, for a new one, when you do not know whether they will be for you or not.

3dly, The great reason that's given for dissolving this, being, because it's said they have an ill reputation, ought not to sway in this affair, but the contrary; since that is only a scandal raised by the enemys of the government; and the supporting your Majesty being the crime they lay to their charge, your Majesty's friends ought to esteem them for that, for which they are hated by their enemys.

4thly, Your Majesty has for this 4 years last past been giving all employments to members of the house, which though it has not signified much in any party business, yet in the grand affair of carrying on the war, they have been of mighty service, for there is but very few instances of any of them but which upon occasion appear to be hearty for your government, in relation to the foreign dispute, and many of these will be left out in a new choice, which will be no small prejudice to your Majesty, considering that most of your enemys in the house of commons are made so, because they have not places like the rest.

BUT what's the most dangerous consequence of a new election is, that it will throw the ballance too much on the one side or the other, for either the Whigs will, according to their expectation, get it into their hands intirely, and then I fear your Majesty will think the impositions they'll be laying upon you unreasonable; or otherwise the Tories will have the ascendant, and then it's to be doubted that they, in revenge to the Whiggs, will, for the major part, be governed by the artifices of the Jacobites, and from such a misfortune nothing less than destruction can proceed.

WHEREAS, as the house is now constituted, the Whigs are not strong enough to make use of the necessities of your government as much as they are inclined to do; neither are the Tories numerous enough to resent your Majesty's favouring the Whiggs. Sir, upon the whole I

shall presume to conclude as I began, that the parliament that begun with the war, should likewise end with it, and not before.

AND if it pleased God to grant your Majesty an honourable peace, and you would then be pleased to sett up for a party of your own, and lett all people see that if they expected your favour they must depend upon you for it, and not lett any one hope for promotion for being true to a faction, but by serving of you; I presume to say that the war being ended, a new parliament called, and such measures pursued, your Majesty would quickly find, that the Jacobites would turn moderate churchmen, and loyall subjects, and the Whiggs much more obsequious courtiers, and easier servants than now they are.

I SHALL conclude with begging your Majesty's pardon most humbly for the trouble I have presumed to give you, and I am persuaded if you knew with what zeal this is intended for your service, you would not refuse to grant it to,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most dutifull
and obedient subject and servant.

Remark.] My reason for imputing this letter to lord Godolphin is, that I found it in the bundle of lord Godolphin's letters, and there was written on the label of the bundle these words: "57 letters from lord Godolphin," and in the bundle there were 56, besides this one. People who have seen the letter differ whether it be his hand-writing. The orthography is, in several words, different from his common spelling. It is not signed by him; but this circumstance rather aids the presumption of his having writ it: for all King William's other ministers signed their letters to their master; whereas, of the other 56 letters written by lord Godolphin, there is only one signed by him.

Remark.] While King William was engaged in his project of reconciling the religious differences of England, he was at great pains to find out the proportions between churchmen, dissenters, and papists. In his chest there is the following curious report in consequence of an enquiry upon that head.

A P P E N D I X.

The NUMBER of FREEHOLDERS in ENGLAND.

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.
Province of Canterbury,	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York,	353,892	15,525	1,978
In both,	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
Conformists,	2,477,254		
Nonconformists,	108,676		
		2,585,930	
Papists,		13,856	
In all England,		2,599,786	

According to which account, the proportion of

Conformists to Non-conformists, is	22 $\frac{4}{3}$ to one.
Conformists to Papists, is	178 $\frac{10}{17}$
Conformists and Non-conformists together to Papists, is	186 $\frac{1}{2}$

P A P I S T S in the several provinces above the age of 16.

Canterbury,	-	-	-	-	142
London,	-	-	-	-	2,069
Winchester	-	-	-	-	968
Rochester,	-	-	-	-	64
Norwich	-	-	-	-	671
Lincoln,	-	-	-	-	1,244
Ely,	-	-	-	-	14
Chichester,	-	-	-	-	385
Salisbury,	-	-	-	-	548
Exeter,	-	-	-	-	298
Bath and Wells,	-	-	-	-	176
Worcester,	-	-	-	-	719
Coventry and Litchfield,	-	-	-	-	1,949
Hereford,	-	-	-	-	714
Gloucester,	-	-	-	-	124
Bristol,	-	-	-	-	199
Peterborough,	-	-	-	-	163
Oxford,	-	-	-	-	358
St. David's,	-	-	-	-	217
Landaff,	-	-	-	-	551
Bangor,	-	-	-	-	19
St. Asaph,	-	-	-	-	275
Total of these,					11,867

A P P E N D I X.

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	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Conformists to Non-conformists, as 1 to	Conformists to Papists, as 1 to	Conformists to both, as 1 to	Non-conformists to Papists, as 1 to
Canterbury,	59596	6287	143	9 R 3013	419 R 98	9 R 1735	44 R 39
London,	263385	20893	2069	12 R 12669	127 R 622	11 R 10805	10 R 201
Winchester,	150937	7904	968	19 R 761	155 R 823	17 R 113	8 R 160
Rochester,	27886	1752	64	15 R 1606	445 R 46	15 R 646	27 R 24
Norwich,	168760	7934	671	21 R 2146	251 R 339	19 R 465	11 R 553
Lincolne,	215077	10001	1244	21 R 5056	172 R 1109	19 R 1422	8 R 49
Ely,	30917	1416	14	21 R 1181	2208 R 5	21 R 887	101 R 2
Chichester,	49164	2452	385	20 R 124	129 R 399	17 R 935	6 R 142
Salisbury,	103671	4075	548	25 R 1796	189 R 99	22 R 1964	7 R 239
Exeter,	207570	5406	298	38 R 2142	696 R 162	36 R 2326	18 R 42
Bath and Wells,	145464	5856	176	24 R 4920	826 R 88	24 R 696	33 R 48
Worcester,	37489	1325	719	28 R 389	52 R 101	18 R 697	1 R 606
Coventry & Litchfield,	155720	5042	1949	30 R 4460	79 R 1749	22 R 1918	2 R 1144
Hereford,	65942	1076	714	61 R 606	92 R 254	36 R 2602	1 R 362
Glocester,	64734	2363	128	26 R 296	505 R 84	25 R 2449	18 R 59
Bristol,	66200	2200	199	30 R 200	332 R 132	27 R 1487	11 R 11
Peterborough,	91444	2031	167	43 R 1961	591 R 111	40 R 1684	12 R 125
Oxford,	38812	1122	358	34 R 664	108 R 148	26 R 1332	3 R 48
St. David's,	68242	2368	217	28 R 1938	314 R 104	26 R 1032	12 R 198
Landaffe,	39248	719	551	54 R 422	71 R 147	30 R 1148	1 R 168
Bangor,	28016	247	19	113 R 95	1474 R 10	105 R 86	13
St. Asaph,	45088	635	275	71 R 3	163 R 263	49 R 498	2 R 85
	2123362	93104	11876				

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THERE are in the province of Canterbury 23740 papists, half of these is under the age of 16 years, viz. 11870; a seventh part of these are aged, and above 3391. Taking out of the said number of papists the two last sums, which make in all 15261; there remains then 8479, of which the one half is women: there remains therefore in the province of Canterbury, fitt to bear arms, 4239 papists.

THE province of York bears a sixth part of the taxes, and hath in it a sixth part of the people as that of Canterbury hath, (viz.) 3956, whereof half are under the age of 16, (viz.) 1978; and a seventh part above 60, (viz.) 565; and of the aforesaid sixth part one half is women.

THE total therefore of the papists of the province of York fit to bear arms is 701; joyning which to the total of the papists in the province of Canterbury fitt to bear arms, makes the total of the papists throughout all England fitt to bear arms to be 4940.

THERE being every where as many under the age of 16 as above it, the total of the whole papists in the whole province is 23740.

An Account of the Province of Canterbury.

IN the taking of these accounts we find these things observable:

1. That many left the church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.
2. The sending for these enquirys hath caused many to frequent the church.
3. That they are Walloons chiefly that make up the number of dissenters in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover.
4. That the presbyterians are divided, some of them come sometime to church, therefore such are not wholly dissenters upon the 3d enquiry.
5. A considerable part of dissenters are not of any sect whatsoever.

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6. Of those that come to church very many do not receive the sacrament.
 7. At Ashford and at other places we find a new sort of hereticks, after the name of Muggleton, a London taylor, in number 30.
 8. The rest of the dissenters are presbyterians, anabaptists, independents, quakers, about equal numbers, only 2 or 3 called self-willers professedly.
 9. The heads and preachers of the several factions are such as had a great share in the late rebellion.
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The Rev. Dr. Percy was so good as to give me a few memorandums in the hand writing of Lord Nottingham secretary of state to King William, among which was the following:

Memorandum by Lord Nottingham.

April 9th. Letter from King James to the Queen, that he had hitherto been willing to make excuses for what had been done, and thought her obedience to her husband, and compliance with the nation, might have prevailed, but that her being crowned was in her own power; and if she did it, while he and the prince of Wales were living, the curses of an angry father would fall on her, as well as of a God who commanded obedience to parents. Princess of Denmark had a Letter also. King William declared there is nothing he has done, but he had the queen's advice and approbation.

B O O K II.

DOCTOR PITCAIRN, one of the first of modern Latin poets, wrote the following fine epitaph upon lord Dundee:

Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo fospite solo
 Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ:
 Te moriente, novas accepit Scotia cives,
 Accepitque novos, te moriente, deos.
 Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi:
 Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane vale.
 Tuque vale, gentis priscae fortissime ductor,
 Ultime Scotorum, atque ultime Grame, vale.

Thus translated by Mr. *Dryden*.

Oh last and best of Scots! who didst maintain
 Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign.
 New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
 New gods the temples, and new kings the throne.
 Scotland and thou did in each other live;
 Nor wouldst thou her, nor could she thee survive.
 Farewell, who dying didst support her state,
 And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate.

The following letter from lord Strathnaver, to lord Dundee, and lord Dundee's answer, were given to me by my worthy fellow labourer in historical enquiries, Sir David Dalrymple.

Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee—Advises Dundee to make his peace.

My Lord,

THE concern that many equally interested in us both, has for your lordship, abstracting from that respect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occasion regrate in me, to see that the courses you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if persisted in. I cannot therefore but wish, that you would follow the duke of Gordon's example, and I am persuaded it will be found the best course; neither shall your friends who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to show their affection to you, and interest in the standing of your family, and I hope you will do me the justice to believe that none wishes it better, or will more effectually lay himself out in it, than,

Inverness,

3d of July, 1689.

My Lord, &c.

STRATHNAVER.

Lord Dundee to Lord Strathnaver—His spirited answer.

My Lord,

Struan, 15th July, 1689.

YOUR lordship's, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Enverlochic, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and amunition sent from Irland. My lord, I am extreamly sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine, and in return, I assure your lordship, I have had no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you; but delayed it till things should appear more clear to you. I am sorry your lordship should be so far abused as to think, that there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of government these men have framed to themselves: they made you, I doubt not, believe, that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By

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printed accounts, and I can assure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came amongst they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I assure you the king has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the west (whom I am sorry for) very soon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which I am afraid amongst your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be most in danger. However, I acknowledge frankly, I am no less obliged to your lordship, seeing you made me an offer of your assistance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your lordship or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand, I will study your well as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most humble servant,

DUNDEE.

Remark.] The following speech of King James, at St. Germain's, to the Scotch officers when reduced to a company of centinels, is a strong instance, how a mind naturally severe and weak, may be humanized, and even elevated by misfortunes.

King James's speech to the Scotch officers, when reduced into a company of centinels at St. Germain's.

MY own misfortunes are not so nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the prospect of being the chief officers in my

army, reduced to the stations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and of a few of my subjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the prince of Orange, and who I know will be ready on all occasions to serve me, and my distressed family, could make me willing to live. The sense of what all of you have done, and undergone for your loyalty, hath made so deep an impression in my heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetfull of your services and sufferings. Neither can there be any posts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have just pretensions to. As for my son, and your prince, he is your own blood, a child capable of any impressions; and as his education will be from you, it is not supposable he can forget your merits.

At your own desires, you are now going a long march, far distant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, shoes, stockings, and other necessarys. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.

B O O K III.

IN King William's chest there is the following letter from the Princess Sophia to King William, upon occasion of that prince's endeavouring to bring the family of Hanover into the line of succession.

The Princess Sophia to King William—Thanks for endeavouring to bring her family into the succession.

SIRE,

C'EST un avantage si grand pour moy de me voir honoré des marques de la bienveillance de Votre Majesté, que j'ose prendre la liberté de vous en temoigner ma tres humble reconnoissance. Le chevalier Colt m'a dit fort particulièrement l'obligation que je vous ai. Je veux croire que ceux qui sont contraire a la volonté de V. M. ont une faculté prophetique qui leur inspire qu'il ne leur manquera point de successeur en Angleterre, des personnes royales que le parlement a deja nommé. Pour moy, je ne vivrai pas assez longtems pour en voir l'issue; mais tant que je pourrois respirer je serai devouée, avec tous les miens, au service de V. M. pour m'attirer la continuation de l'honneur de ses bonnes graces, et qu'elle me puisse conter toujours pour,

SIRE,

De V. M.

La tres humble et tres obeissante fervante,

SOPHIE.

Translation.

IT is so great an advantage for me to see myself honored with marks of your majesty's goodness, that I presume to take the liberty to testify to you my humble gratitude for it. The chevalier Colt has told me very particularly the obligation which I am under to you. I am apt to believe that those persons who act contrary to your majesty's intentions, have a prophetic faculty which gives them the inspiration

that there will not be wanting a successor in England, from amongst those royal persons whom the parliament has already named. As for me, I shall not live long enough to see the issue: but as long as I breath, I and all mine shall be devoted to the service of your majesty, in order to draw to me the continuation of the honour of your good graces, and that you may always count upon me for,

SIR,

Your Majesty's
most humble and most obedient servant,
SOPHIA.

In the same chest there is a letter from the Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne; the tenderness of which, to an unfortunate though guilty prince, does honour to her memory.

The Princess Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne—her joy—her pity for King James—her attachment to the Protestant religion.

SIRE,

A PRES la profession que j'ay toujours faite d'être une tres humble servante de Votre Majesté, je crois qu'elle ne scauroit douter de la part que je prens en tous ce qui contribue a son elevation et a sa gloire: ce n'est pas que je ne plaigne le Roy Jaque, qui m'honoroit de son amitié. Je craindrois que Votre Majesté auroit mechante opinion de ma sincerité si je luy cachois ce sentiment. Je suis même persuadé que ma franchise vous donnera melietre opinion de moy; et que V. M. croira plus facilement la protestation que je luy fait de mes vœux pour sa prosperité, et de l'opinion que j'ay qu'elle merite la couronne qu'elle porte, par mille endroits que je ne veus nommer de peur de choquer sa modestié. Cependant, comme il a plut a Dieu de faire Votre Majesté le protecteur de notre religion, j'espere qu'il la mettra aussi dans un etat a avoir les bras libre, pour pouvoir assister nous autres pauvres mortels, qui aprochons, par la desolation de nos voisins, de la

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bete mugifante qui tache a nous devorer, afin que tous ceux qui ne font pas papifte puissent par fucceffion maintenir la religion jufqu'en eternité en Angleterre et ailleurs, dont nous faffons profeflion, et que V. M. me puiſſe conter parmy une des plus zelées, qui fera tout fa vie,
SIRE,

De Votre Maiefté,
La tres humble et tres obeiffante fervante,
SOPHIE, P. PALATINE.

Translation.

SIR,

AFTER the profeffion which I have always made of being an humble fervant to Your Maiefty, I believe you cannot doubt of the part which I take in every thing that contributes to your elevation and your glory: yet I lament King James, who honoured me with his friendship. I ſhould be afraid that Your Maiefty would have a bad opinion of my ſincerity if I concealed from you this ſentiment. I am even perſuaded that my candour will give you a better opinion of me, and that Your Maiefty will the more eaſily believe the proteſtation which I make you of my prayers for your proſperity, and of the opinion I have, that you deſerve the crown which you wear, in a thouſand reſpects which I am unable to name, from the fear of ſhocking your modeſty. However, as it has pleaſed God to make Your Maiefty the proteſtor of our religion, I hope you will put it alſo in a ſtate to have its arms free, to aſſiſt us poor mortals, who, by the deſolation of our neighbours, are near to that roaring beaſt which endeavours to devour us, in order that all thoſe who are not papifts may ſucceſſively maintain the religion we profeſs to all eternity, in England and elſewhere; and that Your Maiefty may count among the moſt zealous, one who ſhall be all her life,

SIR,

Your Maieſty's
moſt humble and moſt obedient fervant,
SOPHIA, P. PALATINE.

B O O K IV.

IN King William's chest are the dispatches of the duke of Schomberg, in Ireland, to King William. I print the following ones, because they paint in lively colours the state of the army in that country, clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity, which has been unjustly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant simplicity of Cæsar, and to whose reputation and conduct, next to those of King William, the English nation owes the revolution.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things not in order.

Heyleek, 9 Aoust, 1689.

LES vaisseaux de vivres destinés pour Londonderry et pour Kirck n'ont pu partir que ce matin. Ce qui cause bien de l'ambarras est, qu'il ny à pas d'ordre icy de l'amirauté, pour les vivres des vaisseaux de guerre, qui sont presque finis; il à falu en prendre des nôtres.

Jây été forcé de faire donner presque à toust les regiments cinq cents mousquets ou fusils, tant parce que les nouveaux soldats les rompent, que parce qu'ils sont asses mal faits, et fort vieux, et que peutetre sieur Henry Sheils, qui en à eu l'inspection, peut avoir pris des presents pour recevoir de mechantes armes.

Translation.

Heyleek, 9 of Aug. 1689.

THE vessels with provisions intended for Londonderry and for Kirek could not sail till this morning. It causes much embarrassment that there is no order of the admiralty here for provisions for the ships of war. Their provisions are almost finished; they have been obliged to take some of ours.

I have been forced to give five hundred muskets to almost every regiment, both because the new soldiers break them, and because they are ill enough made, and very old, and because perhaps Mr. Henry Shales, who had the inspection of them, may have taken presents to receive bad arms.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—Disagreement among officers.

Carickuergus, le 26 Aoust, 1689.

JE ne puis pas passer sous silence que Messrs. Goulon et Cambon m'ont donné beaucoup de peine. Il se trouve que le premier est un peu brutal, et que le dernier est chicanneur sur ses mathématiques; à cela ce joint une ancienne rancune, qu'ils ont l'un contre l'autre depuis Holande. Je les ay pourtant un peu pressé de demeurer à leur devoir, et que ce qu'on ne leur souffriroit pas en France, ou ils ont servy, je ne leur souffrirois pas aussi icy. Cambon m'ayant dit, qu'il ne vouloit par servir d'ingenieur, je lui ay repondu, qu'on se pourroit passer de luy, aussi bien que d'être colonel d'un regiment Francois; et s'il ne se tenoit point en son devoir, j'en avertirois V. Mté.

Carickfergus, 26 Aug. 1689.

I CANNOT pass over in silence that Messrs. Goulon and Cambon have given me a great deal of pain. The first is a little brutal, and the last is a mathematical chicaner; besides, there has been an ancient grudge between them since they were in Holland. I have however pressed them a little to keep within their duty; telling them that I would not suffer them to do there, what they would not be suffered to do in France, where they have served. Cambon having told me, that he did not like to serve as an engineer, I answered, that we could do without him in that station, as well as in that of his being colonel of a French regiment; and that if he did not do his duty, I should inform Your Majesty of it.

Part of Duke Schomberg's letter to King William—The burthen of every thing lies on him.

Carricfergus, du 27 Aoust, 1689.

J E croy qu'il faudra laisser icy Sir Henry Inglesby avec son regiment, qui n'est pas des meilleurs. J'avois eu quelque dessein de le faire brigadier; mais j'ai trouvé qu'il y a trop long tems qu'il est hors d'action. J'ay fait servir dans ce siege Mr. de la Meloniere comme brigadier: nous aurions besoin encore de quelques autres; mais je n'en voy point dans cett armée icy. On m'a dit que dans les regiments qui sont avec Kirck, le colonel Stewart pouroit y etre propre. Vôte Mte. me mandera sur tous les deux sa volonté; car jusques icy, il a falu avoir tout le soin des vivres, des vaisseaux, de l'artillerie, de la cavalerie, de tous les payemens, et de tout le detail de l'attaque de la place. Si on venoit plus pres d'un ennemy, on auroit peine de fournir à tout cela; les officiers d'artillerie sont ignorans, paresseux, et craintifs. Je decouvre que dans cett artillerie il y a beaucoup de tromperie: les bombes mal chargés, les canons d'une mechante fonte, les armes mal faites, et bien d'autres choses, qui sont trop longues à dire à V. Mte. à quoi je croy que Sieur Henry Sheil a beaucoup contribué; car jusques aux mineurs, on ne les a pas pû attacher à la muraille; un officier et quatre soldats Francois l'ont entrepris, et en sont venus à bout, dont trois ont été blessés par nos gens.

J'ay fait faire la charge de quartier maître general à Sieur de Cambon; nous n'en avons pas de meilleur icy pour cela.

Jusques icy les cheveaux et le bagage de nos officiers n'est point arrivé; cela nous ambarraffera un peu pour avancer au de la de Belfast.

Translation.

Carickfergus, 27 Aug. 1689.

I BELIEVE I must leave Sir Henry Inglesby, who is none of the best here, with his regiment. I had some thoughts of making him a brigadier; but I found that it is too long since he was in action. I made Monsieur de la Meloniere serve as brigadier in this siege. We have need of still more, but I see none in this army. I have been told, that in the regiments which are with Kirk, colonel Stewart may be a proper man: for hitherto I have been obliged to take upon me all the burden of the provisions, the vessels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the attack of the place. If we came nearer the enemy, we should have difficulty to furnish officers for all these duties. The officers of artillery are ignorant, lazy, and timorous. I discover that in the artillery there has been a great deal of roguery: the bombs ill charged, the cannon ill cast, the arms ill made, and many other things too long to tell Your Majesty; to which, I believe Mr. Henry Shales has contributed much; for even the miners could not be got to fix themselves to the walls: an officer and four French soldiers did it, and succeeded: three of them were wounded by our own people.

I HAVE given the charge of quarter master general to Mr. Cambon. We have no better here to employ.

THE horses and the officers' baggage are not as yet arrived, which will embarrass us in going beyond Belfast.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Position of the armies.—Complaints of the new army.

A Dundalk, le 20 Sept. 1689.

VOTRE Majesté recevra par Mr. de Sgravemour deux de mes memoires, et s'il court la poste, elle sera encore mieux informée par luy. Depuis quatre jours qu'il est party, il ne s'est rien passée de considerable.

On a fouragé à la veüe de la garde des ennemys, cela n'est pas fort difficile à faire, puisque ce est un pays traversé de petit marets, les chemins et les champs renfermes par des pierres et de la terre. Je ne scay si cela est la cause que les ennemys n'ont pas avancé depuis quatre jours : je croy qu'il est difficile d'en venir à une bataille en ce pays icy, quoy qu'ils ayent une armée à ce qu'on peut voir fort etendue.

Je ne voys pas que de nôtre côté nous devions aussi rien hazarder. Nous avons une petite riviere devant nous, et eux une. Etant aller ce matin trouver le comte de Schonberg, qui estoit assés proche des vedettes des ennemys, nous avons veu avancer un gros de cavallerie, qui ne marchaient point en escadron, qui nous a paru être le Roy Jaques, ou divers officiers generaux. Ils ont dela pû voir notre camp; mais je croi que ce qui leur aura le plus depleu est, qu'ils ont veu arriver onze vaisseaux à la rade de Dundalk, par ou ils auront pû juger qu'ils auront peine à nous affamir icy, comme ils l'esperoient. Il est difficile de juger ce qu'ils entreprendront, apres avoir campé cinque jours à deux mille de cett armée, avec un si grand nombre du monde qu'ils ont ramassé de tous côtés, et fait courir le bruit qu'ils venoient nous attaquer. Il y en a qui croient à present que c'est pour detruire et manger tous les fourages entre cette place et Drogheda, pour nous empecher d'en pouvoir en suite approcher avec notre armée. Cela ne laissera pas de nous embarasser, et il sembleroit par la, que s'ils demeu- roient deriere Drogheda, où ils trouveront de fourage et des vivres, ils nous tiendront arrestés, sans beaucoup pouvoir avancer; et d'autant plus que Mr. Shals ne nous a pas encore envoyé les chevaux, ni les chariots pour porter nos vivres. Il nous manque meme une partie des chevaux de l'artillerye et des equipages d'officiers, comme aussi des officiers Francois de cavallerie, qui attend il y a long têmes pour passer. Cependant la saison s'avance pour camper sous des tentes, et cela deviendra dans un mois assez difficile.

DEUX cavalliers des ennemys, qui viennent de se rendre, disent, qu'ils ont rencontré cinq de nos soldats, qui alloient aux ennemys. Par

les habillements, je juge que c'est de Mylord Mée. On dit que les ennemys font assurée de deux de nos regiments, et que si nous en approchons, ils s'iront rendre. S'ils prétendent nous affamir ce ne sera pas à l'égard des hommes, nos vaisseaux étant arrivés dans cette baye; mais ce sera nos chevaux, pour lequel on se trouvera indubitablement dans un grand embarras. Ce matin un party des ennemys est venu assés prest de la garde; un detachment de vint-cinq dragons les ont repouffé, et leur ont tué un homme et un cheval. Ils sont fort au guet pour voir si nous fourageons de leur coté. Le regiment de dragons de Luçon est celui qui sert le mieux icy. Les troupes d'Iniskilling, qui sont en partie arrivées, paroissent de bonne volonté; et je croy qu'il y aura plus de fond à faire sur elles que sur les regiments des Mylords Irlandois. Herbort est aussi arrivé, nous allons travailler avec luy pour établir un paye pour ces troupes d'Iniskilling. Il vaudroit mieux casser quelques regiments de ces nouvelles leves d'Angleterre, dont je viens de parler, et conserver tous les Iniskillings. J'espère que leurs habits viendront bientôt, ils paroîtront beaucoup mieux. Ils me paroissent tous fort adroits à tirer, s'ils avoient des fusils. Ce que nous manquons le plus dans cette armée sont des fouliers et des fers de chevaux. Je souhaitois que les troupes de Dannemark et celles que Votre Majesté a ordonné qu'ils vinssent d'Ecosse fussent arrivées. Avec cela nous nous aprocherions fort près d'eux. Il ny a pas un officier de tout la cavallerie capable d'être employé comme brigadier; cependant le Comt de Schonberg auroit besoin d'en avoir un de quelque conduite, pour en être soulagé. Si Sir Jean Lanyer vient, il pourra en être aydé dans l'infanterie. On a été obligée pour tenir quelque ordre d'en établir quatre, scavoir, Sir Henry Belys, la Melonniere, Stuard, et Sir Jean Eschuard.

IL faut aussi faire souvenir Votre Majesté d'un article que j'ay mis dans mon memoire, de Robert Broadnax, major du regiment de Mylord de la Mer; ce regiment deperit entierement; et le major n'est pas digne de le commandir, comme le Sieur de Sgravemour le pourra dire à V. Mté. qui l'a connu en Hollande. J'ay crû qu'il étoit bon d'envoyer à V. Mté. un petit papier, où elle verra les officiers que Mylord de

la Mer luy a mandé de remplacer au lieu de ceux qui manquent. Je tacherai de voir si demain je puis persuader le dit Broadnax de s'en aller trouver le sieur Blathuet, pour faire luy meme ses propositions; et je croy qu'il sera bon qu'il ne retourne plus. Il y a bien encore d'autres officiers que je voudrois qu'ils fussent en Angleterre. Je n'en ay jamais veu de plus mechants et de plus interesses: tout le soin des colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs regiments, sans aucun autre application.

Translation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.

Dundalk, 20th Sept. 1689.

YOUR Majesty will receive by Monsieur Sgravemour two of my memorials, and if he takes post, you will get still better information from him. Since he went from this, which is four days ago, nothing considerable has past. We have foraged in the view of the enemies guard, which is not difficult, because the country is cut with little bogs, and the roads and fields inclosed with stones. I don't know if this is the reason why the enemy have not advanced these four days. I believe it is difficult to come to a battle in this country, although, according to what we see, they have a very extended army.

I do not see why we should risk any thing on our side. We have one little river before us, and they another. Having gone this morning to find Count Schomberg, who was pretty near the vedettes of the enemy, we saw a body of cavalry advance, which did not march in squadron, and which appeared to us to be King James, or several general officers. From thence they could see our camp; but I believe the sight which has displeased them the most, was the arrival of eleven vessels in the road of Dundalk, from whence they might judge that they could scarce starve us here, as they hoped to have done. It is difficult to judge what they will attempt, after having been encamped five days, within two miles of our army, with so great a number of men,

whom they have gathered from all parts, and spread a report that they came to attack us. Some believe that the intention of this is to destroy and eat all the forage between this place and Drogheda, in order to prevent us from approaching it afterwards with our army. This would embarrass us; and it would appear by that, that if they should fix themselves behind Drogheda, where they will find forage and provisions, they could stop us from advancing much farther, and the rather, because Mr. Shales has not as yet sent us horses nor carts for carrying provisions. We even want a part of the horses for the artillery and the baggage of the officers, and also the horses of the officers of the French cavalry, which have been waiting a long time for a passage. In the meantime, the season advances for encamping under tents, and that will be difficult enough in a month.

Two troopers of the enemy, who have surrendered, say, that they met five of our soldiers going to the enemy; by the dress I judge they are my lord Meth's men. They say that the enemy are sure of two of our regiments, and that if we approach they will surrender. If they pretend to starve us, it will not be on account of the men, our vessels being arrived this day; but of the horses, for whose maintenance we are under great embarrassment. This morning a party of the enemy came pretty near the guard; a detachment of 25 dragoons drove them back, and killed a man and a horse. They patrol much to see if we forage upon their side. The regiment of Lucon's dragoons serves best of any here. The Iniskilling troops appear to have good will to the service, and I believe one may depend more upon them than on the regiment of the Irish lords. Harbord is arrived; I am going to work with him to establish a pay for the Iniskilling troops. It would be better to break some of these regiments newly raised in England, of which I am speaking, and to keep all the Iniskilliners. I hope their clothes will come soon; they will then appear much better. They appear to me to fire well if they had fuses, of which there is a want: what we want most in this army are shoes for the men and horses. I wish that the Danish troops and those which Your Majesty has ordered

from Scotland were arrived ; with these we could approach very near the enemy. There is not an officer of all the cavalry capable of being employed as a brigadier ; yet count Schomberg will have need of one of some conduct to relieve himself. If sir John Lanyer comes, he will get his assistance. In the infantry, we have been obliged, in order to preserve some order, to establish four, viz. sir Henry Bellasis, la Melonnier, Stewart, and sir John Stewart.

I must also remind Your Majesty of an article in my memorial, relating to Robert Broadnax, major of lord de la Mer's regiment. This regiment is entirely wasted away, and the major is unworthy of commanding it, as Monsieur Sgravemour, who knew him in Holland, can tell Your Majesty. I thought it right to send Your Majesty a small paper, where you will see the officers whom lord de la Mer has ordered to succeed upon vacancies. I shall endeavour to-morrow to persuade Broadnax to go to Mr. Blaithwait and make his proposals ; and I believe it will be right that he should not return. There are many other officers whom I would wish in England. I never saw more wicked and more interested. All the care of the colonels is to live by their regiments, without applying to any other thing.

SCHOMBERG.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Treachery in troops.

21 Septembre.

C E matin quelques escadrons des ennemys ont paru proche de ce camp, un marais entre deux, et ensuite trois ou quatre regiments d'infanterie, dont nous avons veüe les drapeaux, et par leur cris nous avons jugé que le Roy Jaques passoit devant leur bataillons. Ces troupes la ont demeuré à notre veüe sur un coteau jusques à deux heurs apres midy, qu'elles ont commencé à se retirer. Je croy que dans tous ces mouvements la, il y a quelques desseins pour tacher d'attirer quelques deserteurs de notre armée, ayant fait jetter meme quantité de billets imprimés, Anglois et François. Cela m'a obligé d'examiner de plus près les regts. d'infanterie François, et y ay trouvez que

la plupart des recreües qu'on a fait des deferteurs du coté de Bruxelles et Frankfort étoient des papistes, et que parmy eux il s'en est trouvez un qui a été capitaine de cavallerie en France, le quel avoit escrit une lettre à Roy Jaques et une à Mr. d'Avaux, qu'on a trouvé entre les mains d'un tambour, qui les devoit porter. Leur proces sera fait demain. Apres avoir decouvert cela, et qu'il y avoit dans ces regimts. quantité de papistes qui avoient caché leur religion, j'en ay fait arrester la nuist passée plus de cent vingt, que j'ay fait conduire a Carlingfort, pour les mettre dans les vaisseaux de guerre, qui doivent retourner à Heyleck, et ay escrit au gouverneur de Chester de les garder surement, jusque à ce que Votre Majesté en dispose; ils meriteroient qu'on les envoyast aux Indes, comme ils ont envoyé les protestants en Amerique. Non obstant ce retranchement et cette examination, les bataillons ne laissent pas encore d'etre plus forts que ceux des Anglois.

Translation.

21st September.

THIS morning some squadrons of the enemy appeared near this camp, a bog being betwixt us, and then three or four regiments of the infantry, whose colours we saw, and judged by their cries that King James was passing before their battalions. These troops remained in our view upon a coteau till two hours after mid-day, when they began to retire. I believe that all these movements are intended to draw some deserters from our army; they having spread about a quantity of English and French printed billets. This has obliged me to examine more narrowly the regiments of French infantry, and I find that the greater part of the recruits, which were drawn from deserters about Brussels and Francfort, were papists; and amongst them there was found one who had been a captain of cavalry in France. This man had written a letter to King James, and another to Monsieur d'Avaux, which were found in the hands of a drummer, who was to deliver them. They will be tried to-morrow. Upon discovering this, and that there were in these regiments many papists, who had concealed their religion, I made arrest above an hundred and twenty of them

last night, whom I ordered to be conducted to Carlingford to be put on board the ships of war which are returning to Heyleck; and have written to the governor of Chester to guard them strictly, till your Majesty shall dispose of them. They deserve to be sent to the West Indies as they sent the protestants to America. Notwithstanding this loss and this examination, the batalions are still stronger than those of the English.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—State of the two armies.

Le 27 Septembre.

MR. Shals etant enfin arrivé à Carlingfort, Mr. Herbort et moi avons été d'avis d'attendre que nous le vissions parler pour scavoir ce qu'il a amené. L'on a été avant hyer au fourage sans que les ennemys ayent parû; mais hyer ils sont venus avec leur cavallerie et quelque infanterie brusler le fourage qui restoit entre eux et nous, sur leur droit tirant vers la mer. J'ay evité de faire ce fourage, apprehendant que toute leur cavallerie ne me tombast sur les bras, pendant que tous nos fourageurs seroient epars dans la campagne. Ils l'ont meme bruslé jusque asses proche de leur camp, et deux ou trois petits villages entre eux et nous, par ce qu'on peut apprendre de deux rendus. Ils ont aussi leur manquements. Le pain ne se peut pas donner regulierement dans leur armée à tant de peuple ramassé, qui a crû qu'on en viendroit d'abord icy à une bataille. On ne peut pas bien conter sur tout cela, puisque d'un autre coté, ces peuple ramassé vivent encore de quelque betail, et bruslent la paille ou est le grain, le quel par la se durcit et en font de la farine, et ensuite des gallettes à la mode du pays. Nos manquements jusque icy sont en habits et en souliers, ce que je croy contribue autant à la maladie des soldats, que la bierre nouvelle a quoy contribue grandement le peu de soin de leurs colonels, quoique je leurs en parle souvent. Cela m'a fait juger a propos de faire une reveûe à toute l'armée, à fin que Mr. Herbort puisse payer la dessus. J'en enverray l'etat à votre Majesté.

Ce que je puis juger de l'etat de l'ennemie, est que le Roi Jacques ayant ramassé en ce royaume tout ce qu'il a pû, vaudroit bien en venir à une bataille avant que ses troupes se pussent dissiper par la mauvais

faison dans laquelle nous allons entrer. Pour cela il me semble que nous devons tenir bride en main icy, si Votre Majesté l'approuve ainſy, puis-que il nous doit encore arriver des troupes d'Ecoſſe et ceux de Danemark meme ; et le meme raifon qui empeche les ennemys de pouvoir m'obliger à une bataille, puisqu'il faut qu'ils viennent à moi, par deux ou trois grands chemins ſeulement, le reſte étant entrecoupé de marais, m'empeche auſſy d'aller à eux, ayant une petite riviere et quelques montagnes devant eux. Si neanmoins ils l'opiniatrent de demeurer en ce poſte, le fourage pour la cavallerie pourra nous manquer ; en ce cas je feray obligé d'en envoyer la plus grande part à vingt milles d'icy, du coſté de Charlemont, que je pourray faire aſſieger en meme temps, pour n'avoir rien derriere nous qui nous incommode, et en me retranchant un peu mieux que je ne le ſuis encore, je pourray bien demeurer en ce camp icy, ſans que les ennemys m'y puiſſent forcer.

L'ARMEE du Roy Jacques s'étant veneüe preſenter diverſes fois aſſes proche de ce camp, ſemble avoir eu quelque eſperance que quelques troupes pouroient plus facilement ſ'aller rendre à luy, j'ay eu quelque ſoupçon du regt. de Mylord Mée, parcequ'ils s'étoient allés rendre quelques ſoldats les nuits auparavant. Pour m'oter cette inquietude, le Colonel Wſley m'a propoſé d'envoyer ce regiment. à Iniskilling, et de faire venir un regiment de la en ſa place.

Translation.

27th September.

MR. Shales having at laſt arrived at Carlingford, Mr. Harbord and I thought it beſt to wait till we ſaw him, to know what he had brought. The day before yeſterday we foraged without the enemy appearing; but yeſterday they came with their cavalry to burn the forage that was left between them and us, drawing towards the ſea upon their right. I avoided foraging, leſt all their cavalry might fall upon us whiſt the foragers were ſcattered in the country. They have burnt even pretty near their camp, and two or three little villages, as we have learnt from two who ſurrendered. They alſo have their wants. They are not able to give bread regularly in their army to ſo many people gathered together, who thought that immediately there would have been a battle. However

we cannot count upon all this, since on the other hand this collection of people have still some cattle to live upon, and burn the straw in which the grain is, by which it becomes hard, and corn is made of it, and then they make it into a bread, according to the custom of the country. Our wants hitherto are in clothes and shoes, which I believe contributes as much to the maladies among the soldiers, as the new beer, of which there is indeed but little, owing greatly to the little care which their colonels take, although I often speak to them of it. This makes me think it right to make a review of all the army, in order that Mr. Harbord may pay on that footing. I will send the state to Your Majesty.

So far as I can judge from the state of the enemy, and King James's having collected here all the force that he could in this kingdom, he wants to come to a battle before the troops separate, on account of the bad season, which will soon begin; for this reason it appears to me, that we should lie here upon the defensive, if Your Majesty approves of it, since there are troops to arrive from Scotland and Denmark; and the same reason which hinders the enemy from forcing me to a battle, since they can only come to me by two or three great roads, the rest being cut with bogs, hinders me from going to them, who have besides a little river, and some mountains, before them: however, if they persist in continuing in this post, forage for cavalry may fail us; in that case I shall be obliged to send the greatest part twenty miles from this, towards Charlemont, which I may cause to be besieged at the same time, in order to have nothing behind which can incommode us; and in entrenching myself a little better than I am, I can continue in this camp, without the enemy being able to force me.

KING JAMES's army having presented itself several times near this camp, appears to have had some hopes of facilitating the desertion of some troops. I had some suspicion of my lord Meth's regiment, because they had permitted some soldiers to desert some nights before. To remove this uneasiness, colonel Hulsey has proposed to me to send this regiment to Iniskilling, and to bring another from thence in its place.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—Reasons for his not fighting.

A Dundalk, le 3^{me} Octobre, 1689.

JE suis de l'opinion de V. M. que l'armée ennemye ne nous attaquera pas icy ; mais il ne sera pas moins difficile, que nous la puissions attaquer dans le poste où elle est. Elle est campée endeca d'Atherdee a une lieuë de nous, une petite riviere devant elle. A trois où quatre gues, qu'il y a, ils ont fait des retranchements ; et je ne doute pas, comme V. M. le dit dans sa lettre, que leur dessein est de couvrir Dublin, et que le manque de fourage nous obligera de reculer. Quand je n'auray que l'infanterie seule avec moy, ils ne pourront pas me faire sortir d'icy ; mais je feray obligé, dans peu de jours, d'envoyer la plus part de la cavallerie, qui n'est pas en grand nombre, dans la comté de Downe, d'où, en deux petites journées, on la peut toujours avoir icy ; et comme il y a un gué au dessus de Carlingford, on peut même l'avoir en moins de tems. Les chevaux, par le couvert qu'ils y trouveront, se conserveront un peu mieux qu'icy : les officiers en prenant, outre celà, peu de soin, laissant toujours aller leurs cavaliers à toute bride, et ne savent pas fourager, ny faire des trouffes, ce qui a été cause que nous n'avons jamais pû faire de provisions plus que pour deux jours.

Pour ce qui est de pouvoir marcher aux ennemys, jusques icy cela ne s'est pas pû faire, n'ayant pas eu un seul chariot pour porter des vivres : et quant au chemin qu'il faudra tenir, toutes gens du pays pourront dire à V. M. qu'on est toujours obligé de defiler par un grand chemin, des marêts à droit et à gauche : il ne s'est jamais veu un tel pays : et pour pouvoir aller jusques à Nauan, que V. M. verra sur la carte, il faut faire un fort grand tour, et les ennemys, en deux petites journées de marche, y arriveront deux jours devant nous. Par la gauche on ne peut point marcher que le long de la mer ; mais les ennemys n'auront qu'à descendre le long de leur riviere, pour nous en empêcher le passage.

IL y a dans cett armée environ mille malades, compris quelques blessés, qu'on a laissé à Belfast : ils commencent à en revenir, et il en meurt peu.

J'AY peine à croire que les ennemys n'ayent aussy des malades, et qu'il ne leur coute plus de peine à porter leur vivres de Dublin, que nous de

les tirer des vaisseaux, qui sont icy proche, et à conserver ses troupes avec la monnoie de cuivre, pendant que celle de V. Mté. est bien payée. Votre Mté. mande qu'elle envoie quelques troupes d'Ecosse; pendant que celles la arriveront, peutêtre celles de Dannemarck viendront-elles. Par là on hazarderoit moins en leur donnant une bataille, et la guerre s'en finiroit plus sûrement. Ce n'est peutêtre pas l'opinion du conseil des commites d'Irlande, ny de quelques personnes de Londre, qui croient qu'il ny a que donner une bataille pour la gagner.

MONSIEUR Herbort s'est chargé d'envoyer à V. Mté. la reveüe que j'ay fait faire depuis deux jours de l'armée de V. Mté. Elle y paroitra plus nombreuse quelle n'est, les colonels etants fort habiles en matiere de montres.

QUOYQUE les troupes d'Iniskilling ne paroissent pas, acause de leurs habits; elles sont neanmoins assez vigoureuses: elles ont deffait quelques troupes des ennemys du côté de Boyle et Jamestown. Ce fera aussi Mr. Herbort, qui rendra compte à Votre Majesté du traité que nous avons fait avec eux; mais il me semble qu'ils ne s'en contentent pas, pretendans ne pouvoir servir à ce petit prix, ainsi que V. Mté verra par un escrit qu'ils m'ont donné en presence du sieur Herbort, le quel s'est chargé de luy envoyer. J'ay donné le regimt. de Norfolk à Mr. Bellasis, ainsi que V. M. me l'a ordonnée. Le lieutenant-colonel, qui est un jeune homme, de ce nom, se plaint fort: je l'ay exhorté de ne pas quitter, et que V. M. feroit quelque chose pour luy dans les premieres occasions.

JE dis hyer à My lord Methe, que j'avois eu ordre exprés de V. M. de donner les regiments à ceux, que je croirois les mieux apliqués au service, quand je verrois que leurs colonels les negligent.

Translation.

Dundalk, 3d October, 1689.

I AM of Your Majesty's opinion, that the enemy's army will not attack us here; but it will not be less difficult for us to attack them in the post they are in. They are encamped on this side Atherdee, at a league distance from us, with a little river on their front. At three or four fords which the river has, they have cast up entrenchments; and I do not doubt, as Your Majesty says in your letter, that their design is to cover Dublin, and that the want of forage will oblige us to fall back. If I had

nothing but infantry with me, they could not force me from hence; but in a few days I shall be obliged to send the greatest part of my cavalry, which is not numerous, into the county of Down; from whence, in two days, I can always bring them here; and as there is a ford above Carlingford, I can have them even in less time. The horses, by the cover which they will find there, will be better preserved than here: besides, the officers take little care of them here, allowing their troopers to go at full gallop; and knowing nothing of the way of foraging or of making trusses. This has been the occasion of our never having had provisions for above two days.

WITH regard to our marching to the enemy, that could not be done hitherto, as we had not a single cart to carry provisions; and as for the roads, all the people of the country can tell Your Majesty, that we should be obliged to defile through a great road, with bogs to right and left: such a country was never seen. And as for going to Navan, which Your Majesty will see in the map, we should be obliged to make a great tour; and the enemy, in two short days march, would be there before us. By the left we can march only along the sea; but the enemy would have nothing to do but to come down along the river to stop our passage.

THERE are in this army about a thousand sick, comprehending some wounded men, left at Belfast: these begin to come back from thence, and few of them die.

I HAVE difficulty to believe that the enemy have not sick also, and that it does not give them more trouble to carry their provisions from Dublin, than for us to receive them from our vessels, which are at hand, and to keep their troops together with copper money, while Your Majesty's are well paid. Your Majesty intimates that you are sending some troops from Scotland: whilst these are on their way, perhaps those from Denmark may come too. In that case there would be less hazard in giving battle, and the war would be finished with less risk. This perhaps is not the opinion of the committee for Irish affairs, nor of some persons in London, who believe that one has only to give battle to win it.

MR. Harbord has engaged to send Your Majesty a review of the army which I made two days ago: by that it will appear more numerous than it is, the colonels being very able at making up musters.

ALTHOUGH the Iniskilling troops do not appear, on account of their clothes, they have however a good deal of vigor. They have defeated some troops of the enemy, on the side of Boyle and Jamestown. Mr. Harbord will also give Your Majesty an account of the agreement we made with them; but it appears to me, that they are not contented with it, pretending they are not able to serve upon so small pay, as Your Majesty will see by a writing which they gave me in presence of Mr. Harbord, who engaged to send it to you. I gave the regiment of Norfolk to Mr. Bellasis, as Your Majesty ordered me. The lieutenant-colonel, who is a young man of the same name, complains much. I exhorted him not to quit the service, for that Your Majesty would do something for him on the first occasion.

YESTERDAY I told my lord Meth, that I had an express order from Your Majesty, to give the regiments to those who I believed gave the most application to the service, when I saw that their colonels neglected them.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Reasons for not advancing.

A Dundalk, le 6me Octobre, 1689.

VOTRE Majesté pourra voir par le mémoire que j'ay écrit de ma main du quatre, que ces raisons là m'ont fait penser à marcher vers la riviere de Shanon; ce sera peutaitre encore le meilleur de ce qu'on pourra faire, aumoins que d'aller chercher les ennemys, et leur donner une bataille; car il me paroist que V. Mté. est du sentiment que l'on les pousse, avaut que cett' armée déperisse par les maladies, ou que les secours qu'ils pouroient esperer de France vienne. J'aurois fort envie de faire les choses, pour les quelles V. Mté. montre plus de penchant, et j'aurois marché des demain; mais comme V. Mté. aura veu, par les avis de officiers generaux, que toute l'armée est sans souliers, et qu'on ne feroit pas deux journées de marche que la moitié demeurroit pied nud; il faut attendre qu'il nous en vienne d'Angleterre, où Mr. Herbort a envoyé: cela nous fait perdre l'occasion de marcher en même tems, sur la droite, vers la riviere de Shanon, pendant que les ennemys l'eloignent de nous. Je laisse à part les autres difficultés, qu'il faudra tâcher de surmonter le mieux qu'on pourra. J'en ay fait mention dans mon memoire, qui sont,

que les chariots de vivres ne font pas tous arrivés, les chevaux de ceux qui le font, font même en fort mechant état. Shals dit qu'il a été obligé de s'en servir toutes jours à Chester, n'en ayant pas pû trouver à louer. J'ay déjà dit qu'il n'avoit pas aussi pris soin de faire embarquer six vingt chevaux de l'artillerie, qui restent encore là.

Translation.

Dundalk, 6th October, 1689.

YOUR Majesty will see by the memorial of my hand-writing of the 4th, the reasons which made me think of marching to the river of Shannon. It will perhaps be the best thing that can be done except seeking the enemy and giving them battle. For it appears to me that Your Majesty is of opinion that we should push them before this army perishes by diseases, or the succours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I should desire much to do the things which Your Majesty is so eager for, and I would have marched to-morrow; but as Your Majesty will see by the opinion of the general officers, that all the army is without shoes, and that it could not march two days without half of them being barefooted, it is necessary to wait till shoes come from England where Mr. Harbord has sent for them. This has made us lose the occasion of marching upon the right towards the river of Shannon, while the enemy are removing from us. I speak not of the other difficulties which it will be necessary to surmount the best that we can. I mentioned them in my memorial. They are, That the provision waggons are not all arrived, the horses of those which are, are in a very bad state. Shales says, that he was obliged to make use of them at Chester, because he could not find any to hire. I have already said that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horses which are still left there.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Cannot comply with the King's desire that he should fight.

A Dundalk, le 8me Octo. 1689.

QUAND je relis les deux dernieres lettres de V. Mté. des 2. et 6. Octobre, je trouve qu'elle auroit envie qu'on poussat les ennemys. Je lui ay déjà mandé que cela etoit difficile à faire, en un pays où on ne

peut aller à eux que par deux ou trois grands chemins, le reste étant partagé par des marais et des montagnes; mais il y a encore d'autres circonstances à représenter à Votre Majesté qui font que j'ay peine à commettre son armée contre une autre, qui est, come toute le monde sçait, en ce pays icy au moins double en nombre de la notre, d'ont une partie est disciplinée et assez bien armée, et jusques icy mieu nourrie que la notre en pain, viande, et biere; mais ce qu'il y a de plus facheux est que les colonels qui ont nouvellement levé des regiments, et particulièrement les Mylords Irlandois, n'ont regardé que avoir des garçons à bon marché. C'est ce que j'ay bien preveu, lorsque on leur donna leur commissions: et j'en parlai dans le conseil des comités d'Irlande à Votre Majesté, mais l'avis de Mr. Halifax fut plutot suivy que le mien. Je ne parle point de souliers, en ayant deja fait mention en tous mes mémoires. Mais si l'incapacité de ces officiers est grande, leur inaplication et leur paresse l'est encore d'avantage: Quoyque la cavallerie ne soit pas si nouvellement levée, les officiers ne prennent néanmoins point soin des chevaux de leurs cavaliers, et tous sont si acoutumés à loger dans les cabarets, partout où ils marchent, que cette maniere de guerre les étonne. Je suis fâché d'importuner V. M. de tous ces détails; mais je croy que c'est mon devoir de l'en informer, afin qu'elle voye par là les raisons, pourquoy j'ay peine de me résoudre à decider de tout par une bataille.

J'ESPERE qu'à tout heure ce qui nous reste de chevaux d'artillerie, et de vivres, et les troupes Ecoissoises arriveront, et que les souliers qui sont achetés il y a plus de deux mois, se retrouveront. Sans faire valoir mes services, n'y mettre en conte les chagrins que j'ay eu, ce n'a pas été sans peine que je suis venu icy, et d'y avoir pu demeurer presque sans pain. Il auroit été bien difficile d'aller en avant sans aucun chariots de vivres. Et comme il y avoit un ruisseau entre les enemys et nous, j'aurois peutêtre été obligé de faire un pas en arriere, qui auroit eu de mechantes suites.

A ce que l'on peut juger, les enemys tachent de consommer et brusler tout le fourage qui est autour d'eux, et qu'ils continueront de faire de meme jusque aupres de Drogheda.

Translation.

Dundalk, 8th October, 1689.

WHEN I read over again Your Majesty's two last letters of the 2d and 6th October, I find you have a desire that the enemy should be push'd. I have already wrote that that was difficult to do in a country where one cannot go to them but by two or three great roads, the rest being divided by bogs and mountains. But there are still other circumstances to be represented to Your Majesty; to wit, that I am uneasy to venture your army against one which is, as all the world here knows, at least double the number of ours, of which a part is disciplined, and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nourished with bread, meat, and beer than ours. But what is still more uneasy is, that the colonels who have lately raised their regiments, and particularly the Irish lords, thought of nothing but to have boys at a cheap rate. I foresaw this when their commissions were given them, and I spoke of it to Your Majesty at the meeting of the committee for Irish affairs; but Lord Hallifax's advice was rather followed than mine. I do not speak of shoes, having mentioned them in all my memorials. But if the want of capacity of the officers is great, their want of application, and their laziness, is still greater. Although the cavalry are not so lately raised, the officers, however, take no care of the horses of their troopers, and all are so accustomed to lodge in inns wherever they march, that the present kind of war astonishes them. I am vexed to importune Your Majesty with all these details, but I think it is my duty to inform you of them, that you may see the reasons why I am unwilling to resolve to decide all by a battle.

I hope every minute, that the rest of our artillery horses and provisions and the Scotch troops will arrive, and that the shoes which were bought above two months ago will be found again. Without enhancing my services, or bringing into the account the chagrins which I have suffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come thus far, and continued here almost without bread. It would have been very difficult to advance without any waggons or provisions: and as there was a rivulet between the enemy and us, I might perhaps have been obliged to fall back, which would have had bad consequences.

As far as one can judge, the enemy endeavour to consume and burn all the forage around them, and will continue to do the same as far as Drogheda.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—To the same purpose.—Presses for a diversion by the fleet upon the coast.

12 Octob.

JE voye par la lettre de Votre Majesté qu'elle est informée que nous avons beaucoup plus de malades dans cette armée qu'il ny en a, et pour ne pas attendre qu'il y en ayt d'avantage, il faudroit pousser les choses le plus qu'on peut, en hazardant quelque chose. Si V. Mté étoit bien informée de l'état de notre armée, de celle des ennemys, du pays, et de la situation de leur camps, je ne croy pas qu'elle voulust qu'on se hazardat à l'attaquer. Si cela ne réussissoit pas, l'armée de V. Mté seroit perdu sans ressource. Je me fers de ce terme là, car je ne croye pas que si le desordre s'y étoit une fois mis, qu'il fut aisé de la retablir. Rien ne scauroit donner à Votre Mté une plus forte idée de tout cecy, que le souvenir de toutes les troupes nouvellement levées, dont generally cett' armée est composée.

Je voy aussi par la meme lettre de V. Mté, que si on ne hazarde rien presentement, cette guerre tireroit en longueur. Je suis bien fâché de ne pouvoir pas trouver des expedients pour la finir. Il y auroit a craindre qu'en hazardant le tout pour le tout, et que cela ne reussit pas, que les ennemys seroit bientot maitres de toute l'Irlande. Je ne comprends pas, qu'un si grande flotte d'Angleterre et d'Holland n'ayant rien fait tout cet esté, ne puisse au moins garder les costes d'Irlande, et y faire un diversion par une descente, comme V. Mté l'avoit toujours projeté, et par là nous donner le temps d'attendre les troupes de Dannemark pour se servir de toutes ses forces, puisque V. Mté les destine pour icy ; lesquelles ne seroient plus d'un grand secours, si nous avions perdu une bataille avant leur arrivée. Pour ce poste icy, dont V. Mté me parle, je puis bien le conserver avec l'infanterie seule, jusques à ce que Shals aye un peu mis ses chariots de vivres en meilleur état, comme aussi les chevaux d'artillerie, qu'on usent de me dire être arrivés. Je crois que tout cela sera en état dans huit jours, apres quoy, si les ennemys s'oppiniatrent à demeurer à Atherde ou derriere Drogheda, V. Mté put bien juger, que

je ne puis faire autre chose que de marcher sur la rivière de Shannon, qui est le pays après Dublin, qu'ils considèrent le plus.

A l'égard de ce que V. Mté me mande des grands desordres, que les soldats commettent, sur tout les François; quand je suis arrivé dans ce royaume, je n'avois que six mille hommes, aucuns equipages, les officiers de l'armée pas un cheval. Apres m'estre rendu maistre de Belfast, j'ay marché aussitot pour assiéger Carrickfergus. J'ay été bien aise que les troupes trouvassent acheter quelques chevaux. Cela ne suffisoit pas au besoin. Tout le desordre qui peut s'estre commis, n'a été que prendre de petits chevaux qu'ils trouvoient dans les champs, pendant que ceux de Londonderry et d'Iniskilling pilloient de leur costé, et des payfans dans les glinns du leur. Parmy ceux qui ont pris quelques chevaux, il y peut avoir eu des François. Et je croy qu'on est bien aise, par les lettres qu'on escrit d'icy, de mettre cela sur eux. Comme je ne prens le party ny des uns ny des autres, il faut pourtant dire à V. Mté, que si nos colonels Irlandois estoient aussi habiles à la guerre, comme à envoyer piller dans le pays, et ne pas payer les soldats icy, V. Mté en feroit mieux servie; elle pourra estre informée par d'autres, que les trois regiments d'infanterie et celui de cavallerie François, font mieux le service que les autres. J'ay travaillé toute cette semaine à regler ce que les capitaines doivent donner à leurs soldats, pour tacher d'empêcher les chicanes qu'ils leur font. Les colonels prennent si peu de soin de leur regiments que la moitié des piques sont rompues, et les fusils et mousquets de meme, de sorte que je suis forcé presentement de leur en donner d'autres de ceux que j'avois apporté avec moy.

Si on accordoit le congé à autant d'officiers, qu'il en usent pour le demander, une grande partie de l'armée demeurroit sans officiers, les plus part affectant des incommodités, ou des maladies, qui n'ont d'autres fondement que de s'ennuyer beaucoup icy.

Venant d'entretenir Mr. le Comte de Solms de la pensée que j'avois d'envoyer la plupart de notre cavallerie du coté d'Ardmagh, il a trouvé une raison, qui est considerable, que l'ennemy pourroit se mettre entre elle et nous, et qu'il vaudroit mieux attendre encore quelques jours, en donnant de l'avoine à notre cavallerie des vaisseaux, et voir si les ennemys ne marcheront pas d'Altherde à Drogheda, ou

que peutêtre en attendant un peu, les troupes de Dannemark arrivoient, et cependant on pourvoiroient les soldats des fouliers, et de meilleurs habits. En tout cecy, je croy qu'un plus habile homme y feroit beaucoup embarrassé; car les ennemys ne sont pas seulement forts en nombre, mais aussi sont biens disciplinés, et la situation des camps aussi bien choisie que des generaux les plus habilles pourroient faire.

Translation.

12th October.

I SEE by Your Majesty's letter, you are informed we have a greater number of sick in this army than we have, and that to prevent our having more, we ought to push matters as much as we can, in hazarding something. If Your Majesty was well informed of the state of our army and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the situation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to risk an attack. If we did not succeed, Your Majesty's army would be lost without resource. I make use of that term; for I do not believe if it was once put into disorder, that it could be re-established. Nothing can give Your Majesty a clearer idea of all this, than the remembrance of the nature of all new raised troops, of which this army is generally composed.

I SEE also by the same letter from Your Majesty, that unless something is risked now, the war will draw out to length. I am sorry it is not in my power to find expedients to finish it. There is reason to fear, that if we had hazarded all for all, and had not succeeded, the enemy would have been immediately masters of all Ireland. I do not understand why so great an English and Dutch fleet, which has done nothing all summer, should not be able at least to guard the coasts of Ireland, and to make a diversion in it, by a disembarkation, as Your Majesty always projected, and thereby give us time to wait for the Danish troops, so that we may make use of all our forces: but these troops would have been of little use if we had lost a battle before their arrival. As to this post which Your Majesty speaks of, I can keep it with the infantry alone, till Shales has put his waggons for the provisions into better order, as also the artillery horses, which he is in the use of telling me are arrived. I believe all this will be ready in eight days, after which, if the enemy

resolve to stay at Atherdee or Drogheda, Your Majesty may judge that I can do nothing else than march to the river Shannon, which is the country which, next to Dublin, they value the most.

WITH regard to what Your Majesty says of the great disorders which the soldiers commit, and above all the French; when they arrived in this kingdom, I had not more than 6000 men, no equipages, and the officers of the army not one horse. After making myself master of Belfast, I marched immediately to besiege Carickfergus. I was happy that the troops found some horses to buy. These did not answer our necessities. All the disorder that could be committed, was in taking the little horses, which were found in the fields, while the troops of Londonderry and Iniskilling pillaged on their side, and the peasants on theirs. Amongst those who took some horses, there are Frenchmen, and I believe people are very glad, in the letters which they write from hence, to lay the blame upon them. I do not take a side either way; I must however tell Your Majesty, that if our Irish colonels were as able in war as they are to send to pillage the country, and not to pay the soldiers, Your Majesty would be better served by them. You may be informed by others, that the three regiments of French cavalry and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than others. I have worked all this week, to regulate what the captains should give to their soldiers, to prevent their cheating the men. The colonels take so little care of their regiments, that the half of the pikes are broke, and also of the fuses and muskets; so that I am at present forced to give them others from amongst those which I brought with me.

If leave of absence was given to as many officers as ask it, a great part of the army would be without officers, the greatest part affecting to be out of order, or under diseases, which have no other foundation than in their weariness at being here.

HAVING communicated to Count Solms a thought which I had, to send the greatest part of our cavalry on the side of Ardmagh, he has found an argument which is considerable, viz. that the enemy may put themselves between it and us, and that it would be better to wait some days, giving oats from the vessels to the cavalry, to see if the enemy will not march

from Atherdee to Drogheda, or that perhaps in waiting a little, some of the Danish troops may arrive, and that in the mean time, shoes and better clothes may be providing for the soldiers. In all this I believe an abler man would be much embarrassed: for the enemy are not only strong in number, but also well disciplined, and the situation of their camps as well chosen as the ablest generals could contrive.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.—The Scotch troops arrived.—Yet it is impossible to advance.—Schomberg's unhappiness.

A Dondalk le 4 de Novr. 1689.

LES troupes qui sont venus d'Ecosse consistent en quatre regiments, dont les chevaux sont fort fatigués; celui de Haistings n'a pas trois cent soldats. Quand l'on auroit marché avec ces troupes icy, le pays est fait d'une maniere que l'on ne peut obliger un enemy à en venir à une bataille, s'il ne le veut. Il seroit à souhaiter que Votre Majesté eut parlé à un homme qui connoit bien ce pays icy autour. Il n'est pas moins difficile que la Flandre, pour obliger un enemy à donner une bataille. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas un établissement fait avec des personnes à certains prix pour fournir le pain de munition, comme on fait en France, Flandre, et ailleurs, il ne sera pas possible de soutenir cette guerre, dès que l'on s'éloignera de la mer. Voilà le principal article. Je ne diray rien icy des autres défauts de cette armée. Je me suis donné bien des peines et des fatigues pour y remédier. La chose n'est pas aisée avec de tels officiers. Et il n'y a que la passion, les obligations, et le parfait dévouement pour le service de Votre Majesté, qui puisse me faire supporter les chagrins, et les peines, où je me trouve.

Translation.

Dundalk, 4th Nov. 1689.

THE troops arrived from Scotland consist of four regiments, of which the horses are extremely fatigued. That of Hastings has not three hundred soldiers. Though we could march with these troops, the country is of such a form that an enemy cannot be forced to battle against his will. I wish Your Majesty would speak to a man who knows the country hereabouts well. It is not less difficult than Flanders for forcing an enemy to

a battle. As long as there is not an establishment made with people at certain prices for furnishing ammunition bread, as is done in France, Flanders, and elsewhere, it will not be possible to sustain this war, whenever we remove from the sea. This is the principal article. I will say nothing of the other deficiencies of this army. I have given myself much pain and fatigue to remedy them. The thing is not easy with such officers. And there is nothing but the passion, the obligations, and the perfect devotion which I have for your Majesty, that could make me bear the chagrins and the pains which I have suffered.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.—Bad arrangement in every department.

A Lisborne, du 26 Decembre, 1689.

PUISQUE j'ay commencé à parler de l'artillerie, il faut dire à Votre Majesté que je n'ay jamais vu tant de mechant officiers qu'il y en a. Ce qui peut avoir contribué à cela, c'est la paresse et inapplication aux détails de Goulon. Je veux croire qu'il entend à faire des mines et l'usage de la poudre, mais c'est le tout. Je croye être obligé en conscience à dire la verité à Votre Majesté, le seul homme que j'ay icy dont je suis foudroyé c'est le commissaire Halloway, lequel j'ay fait controlleur à la place d'un nomme Clerk qui vient de mourir, ayant des ministres avec lui, mais n'a pas voulu prier Dieu.

Pour les recreües de l'infanterie, je suis toujours d'opinion que Votre Majesté les fera faire meilleurs en Angleterre. Du temps de Cromwell il avoit cette commodité qu'il avoit plusieurs regiments en Angleterre, d'ou il tiroit la moitié ou le tiers des soldats pour ses recreües icy, lesquels sçavoient deja manier leur armes. A quoy je dois encore ajouter cette consideration, que l'on fait courir le bruit en Angleterre, que la peste est en Irlande, et ainsy et les soldats et les officiers lève parcy par la dans la pays, quand ils arriveront proche de Chester, aprenant par les gens mal intentionner, que la peste est dans ce pays cy, ils deserteront. Mais quand la moitié d'un regiment tout levé, armé et exercé sera envoyé par Votre Majesté à Highlake, il en desertera peu. Les regimens venus d'Ecosse n'auront pas moins besoins de recreües, etant arrivez icy fort foibles. Les colonels Irlandois ont plus d'inclination pour les gens

de leur pays, non pas parcequ'ils les connoissent plus braves dans un occasion, mais pour tirer plus de profit de leur regiments. Nous avons vüe par experience que vers le mois de septembre les Irlandois desertoient tous pour aller faire leur moissons.

LES regiments de Lisburne, Sanky, Roscommons, Drogheda, et Bel-lasis sont fort foibles. J'ay eté obligé de retirer ces deux derniers d'Ar-mach, n'y ayant pas trois cents hommes dans les deux.

QUANT à la cavalerie, nous avons examiné en presence de Messrs. Scra-vemour, Lanier et Kirke leur etat, et fait un reglement, et en la maniere que l'on doit faire les recrûes. Les officiers ne prennent pas soin de leurs cavaliers, et à les obliger de prendre soin de leur chevaux qu'ils ne se donne pas la peine de penser.

POUR les farines, biscuits et avoines, Vanhumery travaille à faire une etat de ce que nous avons, et ce que nous avons besoin. Je ne voy pas les peuples fort disposez à labourer leurs terres, quoy qu'ils vendent bien tout ce qu'ils ont, et l'on tient une discipline si exacte qu'ils ne tire que du profit du logement des gens de guerre. Cependant, je crains que les peuples manqueront du pain dans le printemps; mais à mon avis on pour-roit prevenir ces manquemens icy, en permettant aux marchands de tran-sporter d'Angleterre icy, du bled, de l'avoine et des farine, sans payer de droits, non seulement icy mais aussi du coste du nord, pour les peuples aussi bien que pour les soldats, du costé de Belleck et Bellichanon. Je suis obligé aussi d'informer Votre Majesté que la negligence de les officiers est cause que les soldats ont perdue beaucoup d'armes, nonobstant le reglement que j'avois fait que les capitaines feroient obliger d'en racheter à leurs depens : et leur negligence a été si grande qu'ils sont venus en ce royaume sans porter une tente avec eux, se servant de celles qu'on leur avoit donné pour les soldats. Les grand pluyes ayant presque tout pourry les dites tentes, il faudra en faire venir d'autres.

COMME je ne me suis jamais trouvé dans un armée, ou il y ait tant d'officiers nouveaux et parresseux, Votre Majesté n'aura pas peine à croire que cela me donne beaucoup de peine et de chagrin. Si on cassoit tous ceux là pour ce sujet comme ils le meritent, il en resteroit peu.

J'ay remarqué dans tous ces ambarquements icy, qu'il manquoit de gens appliquez pour avoir soin des vaisseaux marchands à Highlake pour am-

barquer les soldats, quoy qu'il y eut quelque envoyé de l'amirauté pour cela, il seroit tres necessaire aussi pour le service et l'epargne de Votre Majesté, qu'il y en eut deux icy pour avoir le besoin de faire decharger promptement toutes les denrées qu'ils apportent, pour les renvoyer ou decharger, si l'on n'en a plus besoin. Cela me soulagera un peu des soins qu'il a fallu que j'ay pris. Comme aussi les petites vaisseaux de guerre qui prennent toujours le pretexte qu'il leur manque quelque chose pour n'aller pas au mer. Votre Majesté a aussi besoin d'officiers de justice pour regler les desordres qui se commettent parmy les peuples, qui sont paresseux, et ne vive que de vols et de pillage. Je ne trouve pas aussi que les ministres ecclesiastiques soient appliquez à leur devoir, pendant que les pretres romains sont fort passionnez à exhorter les peuples à combattre pour l'eglise Romaine, et à se mettre à leur tete. Je croy que ce zele du peuple Irlandois se trouvera à ce printemps un peu relenty, par la quantité de gens qu'on apprendre qui meurt du costé des ennemys, de la fatigue de la campagne passée.

Les officiers de cette armée me demandent avec grand empressement leur congée pour aller en Angleterre. Je les ay remis la plus part sur ce que j'ay escrit à Votre Majesté pour luy en demander la permission, et que je l'attens; et qu'une partie de ceux la pourront aller aux recreües, a quoy je croy qu'il n'y a pas de temps à perdre, sur tout pour ce que regarde l'infanterie; car pour la cavallerie elle arrivera asles à temps vers la fin d'avril, comme aussi celle de Danemark.

M. Herbort doit avoir rendu compte à Votre Majesté de l'etat des regiments du pays de Londonderry et Iniskilling. Nous avons menagé cette paye en la faisant moins forte que celle des troupes Angloises qui sont venu en ce royaume. Et je croy que comme ils n'avoient rien du tout auparavant, ils devroient être content de celle qu'ils ont presentement. Car quoy que ceux d'Iniskilling ayent acquis quelque reputation dans le combat qu'ils gagnerent, il y a eu bien du bonheur de leur coste, et de la confusion des ennemys qui n'estoient point ensemble. Lorsque j'ay envoyé des troupes d'Iniskilling du coste de Sligo, l'affair a manqué, par ce que la plus part des soldats estoient tous allez chez eux. Et je suis d'opinion qu'on se peut servir de l'exemple des royaumes de France et d'Espagne, où on ne donne pas à beaucoup pres tant de paye aux soldats du pays qu'aux corps estrangers.

M. HERBORT est party sans nous avoir laissé de l'argent pour payer les troupes. Il faut esperer, comme il m'a mande de Highlake, qu'il en enverra de Chester; mais il nous a laissé dans une grand confusion. A l'égard des officiers, il n'a point fait aucun deconte avec eux. Ils s'excusent la dessus, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent pour leur subsistance, ny pour soulager leur soldats. Je croy que je menage à moins l'argent de Votre Majesté, comme elle pourra voir par le contingent money; mais M. Herbort, dans les depenses generalls, a de la peine à se defaire de l'argent qui est justement due; dont le retardement ne peut porter que de la confusion. Depuis qu'il est party, j'ay fait difficulté de signer les payments que les commis font: luy meme, aussi bien que moy, ayant decouvert, que ses dits commis se sont faits agents de tous les regiments Anglois de cette armée, et par là ils se mettent dans les interets des colonels. Jamais on n'a vüe tant des gens avoir envie de voler. Pour la compagnie de M. Herbort, je ne l'ay point encore vüe que l'estandard dans sa chambre. On dit que les officiers le servent de secretaire et de commis. Je ne voye pas que Herbort aye bien examiné les comtes du major genl. Kirk, ou qu'il n'a pas osé les finir, à ce que j'apprens le dit Mr. Kirk n'apportant point de quittance du payment des regmts. qui estoient avec luy. Je croy aussi, qu'il est necessaire de faire souvenir V. Majesté, à faire examiner à qu'elle prix l'argent se donne icy. Si cela est au proffit de M. Herbort, avec les droits qu'il tire sur les payments qu'il fait a l'armée, comme tresorier, cela va à une somme fort considerable par an.

Je suis bien fâché d'importuner Votre Majesté d'un si long memoire. On ne peut pas se dispenser de le faire, et encore de la prier qu'elle ne le laisse pas lire publiquement.

Translation.

Lisborne, 26th December, 1689.

SINCE I am speaking of the artillery, I must tell Your Majesty that I never saw so many bad officers as there are in it. What may have contributed to this, is Goulon's laziness and want of application. I believe he understands the making of mines and the use of powder, but that is all. I think myself obliged in conscience to tell truth to Your Majesty.

The only man here who has given me relief, is commissary Halloway, whom I have made controller in the place of one named Clark, who is just dead, having had ministers with him, but refusing to pray to God.

WITH regard to the recruiting the infantry, I am always of opinion it would be better to do it in England. In the time of Cromwell, he had the conveniency of several regiments in England, from whence he draughted the half or third of the soldiers for recruits here, who understood to manage their arms: to which I ought to add this consideration, that a report is spread in England, of the plague being in Ireland; and thus, when the soldiers, whom the officers raise here and there in the country, come near Chester, and are told by people of bad intentions, that the plague is in Ireland, they will desert: but when the half of a regiment, all raised, armed, and exercised together, shall be sent by Your Majesty to Highlake, few of them will desert. The regiments from Scotland have no less need of recruits, having come here very weak. The Irish colonels have more inclination for the people of their own country, not because they know them to be more brave upon an occasion, but to draw the greater profit from the regiments. We have seen by experience, that towards the month of September the Irish all deserted.

THE regiments of Lisborne, Sankey, Roscommon, Drogheda, and Bellasis, are very weak. I have been obliged to withdraw these two last from Ardmach, there not being three hundred men in the two.

WITH regard to the cavalry, we have examined their state in presence of Messieurs Scravemore, Lanier, and Kirck, and made an establishment, and likewise in the manner of their recruiting. The officers take no care of their troopers, or of obliging them to attend to their horses, which they are not at the pains even to blood.

WITH regard to the grain and biscuits, and hay, Van Humery is making a state of what we have and what we need. I do not see the people much disposed to labour their grounds, although they sell well all that they have: and so exact a discipline is kept, that they draw nothing but gain from giving lodging to the soldiers. However, I am afraid the people may want bread in the spring; but in my opinion, these wants may be prevented, if the merchants were permitted to carry grain and bread, and hay, without

paying duties, not only here, but also in the North, for the people as well as for the soldiers, on the side of Belleck and Bellechanon. I have also to tell Your Majesty, that the negligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost many of their arms, notwithstanding the regulation I made, that the captains should replace them at their own expence: and their negligence has been so great, that they are come into this kingdom without a tent with them, and make use of those which were given them for their soldiers. The great rains have rotted the tents; it is necessary that others be sent.

As I never was in an army where there are so many new and lazy officers, Your Majesty will have no difficulty to believe that this gives me much trouble and chagrin. If all were broke who deserved it on this account, there would be few left.

I HAVE remarked in all the embarkations here, that there are wanting people to have an eye upon the merchant vessels at Heylake, in the embarkation of the soldiers. Although there was one sent from the admiralty for this purpose, it would be necessary for the service, and a saving to Your Majesty, that there were two here, to take care for the speedy landing of the provisions, and to send them back or discharge them if there was no need of them. This would relieve me a little of the attention which I am obliged to pay. They ought likewise to have an eye upon the small vessels of war, who use always the pretext that they want something or other for not going to sea. Your Majesty has also need of officers of justice, to repress the disorders among people who are lazy, and live only by theft and pillage. I also do not find that the ministers apply themselves enough to their duty, whilst the Romish priests are passionate to exhort the people to die for the church of Rome, and in putting themselves at their head. I believe that the zeal of the Irish people will cool itself a little this spring, on account of the numbers who, we learn, have died on the enemy's side of the fatigues of last campaign.

THE officers of this army are very pressing for leave of absence. I put most of them off with my having wrote to Your Majesty, to ask your leave, and that I wait for it; and that a part of them may go to recruit. There is no time to be lost in this last service, especially for the infantry;

for as to the cavalry, it will come time enough in the end of April, as also that from Denmark.

MR. HARBORD will have given Your Majesty an account of the state of the regiments of Londonderry and Iniskilling. We spared upon the pay, in making it less than that of the troops which came from England; and as they had formerly nothing, they should be now content with what they have. For though the Iniskilliners acquired some reputation in the battle which they won, there was much good luck on their side, and confusion on that of the enemy, who had not got together. When I sent the Iniskilliners towards Sligo, the affair failed, because most of the soldiers were gone home: and I think we may make use of the examples of France and Spain, where they do not give so much pay to native as to stranger corps.

MR. HARBORD is gone without leaving us money to pay the troops. I hope that he will send it from Chester, as he writes from Heyleck he will do: but he has left us in great confusion. With regard to the officers, he has paid them no arrears. On this account they excuse themselves, that they have no money for their subsistence, or the relief of the soldiers. I at least spare Your Majesty's money, as you will see by the bill of contingencies. But Mr. Harbord, in the general expences, makes a difficulty to part with money which is justly due; a delay which must bring on confusion. Since he is gone, I have made a difficulty to sign the commissaries payments; he as well as I having discovered that these commissaries are agents to all the English regiments of this army, by which they put themselves in the interest of the colonels. Never were so many people seen so desirous of stealing. As for Mr. Harbord's company, I never saw any part of it but the standard in his chamber. They say that his officers serve him in the qualities of secretary and commissary. I find that Harbord has not well examined major general Kirk's accounts, or that he has not dared to finish them, as I learn that Kirk did not bring with him his discharges for the payment of the regiments which he had with him. I believe it is also necessary to remind Your Majesty to cause examine the value of money here. If the difference goes to the profit of Mr. Harbord, with the percentage, which as treasurer he draws upon the payments of the army, it must go to a great sum in the year.

I am troubled to importune Your Majesty with so long a memorial. I could not avoid doing it, and begging Your Majesty not to allow it to be read in public.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—He falls ill—his indignation at the complaints from England against him.

Lisborne du 27 Decembre 1689.

J'AY bien fait des reflexions sur ce que Votre Majesté m'a fait la grace de m'écrire du 2^e Decembre, et sans l'ennuyer de l'état de mon indisposition, je puis l'asseurer que mon envie d'aller en Angleterre, n'est venu que de la, et que les medecins croient que l'air et les eaux chaudes me gueriroient de ce mal dont mon fils l'aura entretenu à present. Il y en a en Angleterre qui croient que je me fers de ce mal pour un pre-texte, quoi que cela ne soit pas vray. J'avoüe, sire, que sans une profonde soumission que j'ay aux volonte de Votre Majesté, que je prefererois l'honneur d'être souffert aupres d'elle au commandement d'une armée en Ireland comme étoit composée celle de la campagne passée: et si j'eusse hazardé une bataille (ce qui étoit difficile à faire si les ennemis eussent voulu demeurer dans leur camp) j'aurois peutêtre perdu tout ce quelle a dans ce royaume, sans parler des consequences qui en seroit ensuivies en Ecoffe jusques en Angleterre. M'étant trouvé dans un tel état, aidé de fort peu de personnes, chargé d'une infinité de détails qui m'occupoient, pendant que d'autres generaux ne songent qu'au plus important d'une guerre. Je dis, sire, qu'il n'y a que mon dévouement pour les commandements de Votre Majesté, qui m'oblige a sacrifier la santé qui me reste pour son service. Je souhaite seulement que ce mal ne m'empêche pas d'agir comme je le voudrois. Lorsque je l'ay pû faire, je me suis presque chargé de tout; n'étant pas beaucoup soulagé des officiers generaux Anglois ou Ecoffois.

D'AILLEURS ce qui peut rebutter le plus de cet employ icy, c'est que je vois par le passé, qu'il sera difficile à l'avenir, de contenter les parlements et les peuples, qui sont prevenus qu'un soldat Anglois quoy que nouvellement levé en battra plus de six des ennemys. L'on auroit tort de m'envier cet employ pour les profits que j'en tire. Je n'ay pas encore trouvé cette invention; quand je l'aurois découvert, je ne le pratiquerois pas, me contentant des appointments que l'on me donne, et que l'on voit bien icy que j'en dépense le double.

Translation.

Lisborne, 27th December, 1689.

I HAVE made many reflexions on what Your Majesty had the goodness to write on the 20th of December, and without tiring you with the state of my indisposition, I can assure you, that my desire to go to England arises only from that cause, and that the physicians believe the air and the hot waters will cure me of that ailment which my son informed you of. There are people in England who believe that I make use of this ailment as a pretence, although that is not true. I confess, Sir, that without the profound submission which I have for Your Majesty's will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your person, to the command of an army in Ireland composed as that of last campaign was. And if I had risked a battle, (which was difficult to do if the enemy inclined to keep in their camp,) I might perhaps have lost all that you have in this kingdom, not to speak of the consequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even to England. Finding myself in such a state, assisted by very few persons, charged with an infinity of details which occupied me, while other generals attend only to the important part of the war: I say, Sir, that there is nothing but my devotion for Your Majesty's commands, which obliges me to sacrifice the health I have left to your service. I wish only that this ailment may not hinder me to act as I wish. Whilst I was able I took the charge of every thing upon me, not being much relieved by the English or Scotch general officers.

BESIDES what shocks one the most in this employment, is, that I see by the past, it will be difficult for the future, to content the parliament and the people, who have a prejudice that an English new raised soldier can beat above six of his enemies. People are in the wrong to envy me this employment for the profits which I draw from it. I have not as yet fallen upon that invention; and though I should discover it, I should not practise it; being contented with the appointments which are given me, and because people see well here that I spend the double of them.

Part of a Letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Condition of the army in winter.

Lisborn, du 30 Decembre, 1689.

COMME j'allois fair partir plusieurs memoires pour Votre Majesté, un expresse m'apporté de sa part son billet du $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶ Decembre, par lequel Votre Majesté m'a mandé qu'elle trouve la saison trop avancée pour envoyer Terlany avec ses troupes du costé de Kork, et qu'elle m'enverra l'infanterie Danoise icy, pour nous fortifier dans nos quartiers. Cela empechera les ennemis à s'en approcher. Les maladies commencent à se diminuer. Votre Majesté trouvera par les rolles des montres, que nous sommes plus forts que nous ne sommes pas. Je croy que si Votre Majesté faisoit chasser tous les commissaires des montres, ce seroit le mieux. Les officiers pour de l'argent en font ce qu'ils veulent. Et se servir de la methode d'Hollande, les capitaines de l'armée s'obligent à tenir leurs compagnies complectes le premier de May, et chatier ceux qui y manqueront.

My Lord Lisborne, dont le regiment est le plus foible, l'a fait passer fort. Il y a meslé 200 Irlandois. Je luy ay dit que l'intention de Votre Majesté n'estoit pas de meler des Irlandois parmy les regimens Anglois, mais de laisser les Irlandois aux regimens d'Iniskilling et Londonderry. La conduite du mylord Lisborne n'est pas bonne. Il passe la vie à jouer et boire. Peu de vin l'enyvre : apres cela, il tient des discours avec les officiers, qui vont jusque aux soldats, qui sont pernecieux au service. Puisque Votre Majesté lui a permis d'aller en Angleterre ; je croy qu'il vaudroit mieux qu'il y demeura, et que son regiment fut mis dans un autre. Pour les regimens a reformer, je les feray executer comme Votre Majesté me l'ordonne. Et j'espere qu'elle ne desapprouvera de ce que j'ay fait, par l'avis des majors generaux Scravemour, Kirk et L'Annier, de mettre le regiment de Drogheda dans celui de Goor, puisque il n'y a pas de colonel ny lieutenant colonel, et en laisser le commandement à mylord Drogheda. J'envoie aussi cy joint, l'estat des regimens levé en Irlande, et la reduction de la cavallerie. J'espere que votre Majesté l'approuvera, et l'estat de leur payement. Il ne faut pas faire estat sur ces troupes la que comme sur les cravattes. Un jour d'une bataille ils se jetteront toujours sur le premier pillage. M. Herbort en pensa faire.

PART II.

H

l'experience : ayant voulu aller avec le C. de Schonberg la nuit en partie, armé de son mousqueton, tomba en bas de son cheval. Cinq ou six cavaliers de Iniskilling commencerent à le deshabiller et de le depoüiller, quoy qu'il cria qu'il estoit le pay-master, qu'il donneroit de l'argent afin qu'on le ramena au camp. Un officier François en passant l'ayant reconnu, les Iniskillings le ramerent. Mais de cette histoire il faut passer à une plus serieuse, qui est qu'il s'en est allé sans nous laisser d'argent pour les troupes. Cela cause déjà du desordre dans les quartiers ou il y en a qui ne payent pas leur hostes. Je m'en vais travailler à voir si je puis emprunter quelque argent des doüannes de Votre Majesté dont le revenu commence à être considerable.

J'AYE epargné à votre Majesté, sur le train d'artillerie, depuis que je suis icy, trois milles livres sterlings ; elle le trouvera de meme si elle fait examiner les comptes du contingent money ; comme je n'aime pas à piller, je tache autant que je puis que Votre Majesté ne le soit pas par des gens qui ne pensent qu'à cela icy.

AYANT examiné le memoire que j'envoye à Votre Majesté, par le paquet que j'envoye à M. Blathwayt, de la maniere qu'on payoit icy les officiers du temps du Roy Charles Second, la paye y est aussy haute que celle des officiers en Angleterre, cela ne me paroist pas juste. Votre Majesté pourroit en diminuer au moins un quart.

Translation.

Lisborne, 30th December 1689.

WHILST I was going to send several memorials to Your Majesty, an exprefs brought me a note of $\frac{1}{2}$ December, by which Your Majesty intimates that you find the season too far advanced to send Trelawny with the troops to Cork, and that you would send me the Danish infantry to fortify our quarters. This will prevent the enemy from approaching us. The diseases begin to diminish. Your Majesty will find by the muster rolls that we are stronger than we really are. I believe if Your Majesty would drive away all the commissarys of musters, it would be better. The officers for money do with them what they please. It would be better to make use of the Dutch method, which is to oblige the captains to have their companies compleat on the first of May, and to chastise those who fail.

My lord Lisborne, whose regiment is the weakest, made it appear strong. He mixed two hundred Irish in it. I told him Your Majesty's intention was not to mix Irish amongst the English regiments, but to leave the Irish to the Iniskilling and Londonderry regiments. My lord Lisborne's conduct is not good. He passes his life at play and the bottle; a little wine fuddles him. After this he holds discourses with the officers which go even to the soldiers, that are pernicious to the service. Since your Majesty has given him leave to go to England, I believe it would be better he should continue there, and that his regiment was put into other hands.

With regard to the regiments to be broke, it shall be done as Your Majesty orders. And I hope you will not disapprove of what I have done by the advice of the majors general Scravemore, Kirk, and Lanier, in putting the regiment of Drogheda into that of Gower, since it has neither colonel nor lieutenant colonel, and in giving the command of it to my Lord Drogheda. I send likewise annexed the state of the regiments levied in Ireland and the reduction of the cavalry. I hope Your Majesty will approve of it, and the state of their pay. One must count upon these troops only as so many cravates. In the day of battle they will always throw themselves upon the first plunder. Mr. Harbord had the experience of this, for having gone one night with his fowling-piece upon a party with count Schomberg, he fell from his horse; five or six Iniskillen troopers began to strip and rob him, although he cried that he was the pay-master, and that he would give them money to carry him to the camp. A French officer, in passing, having known him, the Iniskilleners then brought him back. But from this story I must go to a more serious one, which is that he has gone off without leaving us money for the troops. This causes disorder already in the troops, where there are people who do not pay their landlords. I am going to see if I can borrow money from Your Majesty's customhouses whose revenues begin to be considerable.

I HAVE spared Your Majesty since I came here, 3000 pounds upon the artillery, and the same upon the contingent money, if you will look at the accounts. As I don't love to pillage, I do what I can to prevent others from doing it, who think of nothing else.

HAVING examined the memorial which I sent to Your Majesty by Mr. Blaithwait's packet, concerning the manner in which the officers were paid in the time of Charles II. the pay there is as high as that of the officers in England, which does not appear to be just. Your Majesty may diminish at least a quarter.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Lord Delamer and other colonels in England, their neglect of their regiments.

Le 4^{me} Janvier, 1689.

VOYANT le regiment de la Mer en si mauvais ordre, j'ay été obligé d'en donner le commandement au colonel Roussel. Peutêtre Mylord de la Mer le trouvera-t-il mauvais de moy, si Votre Majesté ne luy dit qu'elle me la commandé. Celuy qui en estoit major s'étant retiré, (acause du lieutenant colonel Brodnax qui s'en est allé,) je luy ay fait escrire de venir. Si V. Mté l'agrée, on le fera lieutenant colonel. Mylord de la Mer aussi bien que d'autres colonels en Angleterre, envoient icy des memoires avec des gens d'Angleterre pour les faire officiers, parmi lesquels il y en a peu qui meritent de l'être.

Translation.

SEEING Lord de la Mer's regiment in so bad order, I was obliged to give the command of it to colonel Russell. Perhaps lord de la Mer may take this amis of me, if your Majesty does not tell him I have your orders for it. The major of it having retired (on account of lieutenant colonel Brodnax who is gone away) I have caused write to him to come here. If Your Majesty pleases he may be appointed lieutenant colonel. Lord de la Mer, as well as the other colonels in England, send memorials here with people from England to be made officers, among whom there are few who deserve to be so.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—Things continue in a bad state.

Lisborne, le 9^e Janvier, 1689.

J'AY pressé de partir le capitaine St. Saveur afin que Votre Majesté fut informé de l'ambaras ou je me trouve, de ce que M. Herbort nous a laissé sans argent. Il m'a fait deux ou trois tours de meme à Dondalk.

Quand les affaires vont mal, il s'échape. La frayeur le prit de tomber malade. Il prit le pretexte d'aller à Belfast, pour y prendre soin que les malades n'y manquaissent de rien. Huit jours apres j'appris qu'il étoit allez à une assez belle maison pour y respirer un bon air, sans avoir envoyé seulement un de ses gens à Belfast pour s'informer de l'état de l'hôpital. Je ne suis icy aidé de personne. Je ne sçay si Votre Majesté en fera bien servy; c'est un homme qui pense trop à ses interests particuliers.

Je suis bien aise que la cavalerie Danoise ne vient pas si tôt, car je crains que nous n'ayons pas assez de paille et de foin icy pour la cavallerie que nous y avons. Pour de l'avoyne, il ne tiendra qu'à Van Humery de nous en faire venir, mais c'est un petit genye pour un telle affaire. Son associé ne vient pas d'Angleterre, et Van Humery n'a pas un sol que quelque peu d'argent que je luy ay fait prester. Je luy ay dit de mander à son associé d'acheter une grand quantité d'avoyne, dont on en peut aussy faire vendre aux officiers d'infanterie. S'ils ne font pas un meilleur equipage que l'année passée, ils ne seront pas capable de servir la campagne prochaine.

Si les regiments d'infanterie Francoise avoient pu obtenir de l'argent de Herbort, ils auroient déjà fait partir pour des recreües en Suisse. De ces trois regiments et de celuy de cavallerie, Votre Majesté en tire plus de service que du double des autres.

VOTRE Majesté aura vû par mon precedent memoire, les raisons que j'ay fait comprendre à ces troupes d'Iniskilling et Derry, qu'il n'étoit pas juste qu'ils eussent leur paye aussy haute que les Anglois qui ont été envoyez par Votre Majesté en ce royaume. Ils ne s'en eloignent pas. Mais ayant bien examiné le paye des officiers Irlandois, elle est presque aussy haute que celle des officiers Anglois. Ce qui me semble est trop pour des officiers, dont les plupart sont des payfans.

Il est deux ou trois regiments d'infanterie Francoise en subsistance seulement, sans parler du déconte des officiers environ mille livres Sterlings chacun. Comme le soldat ne peut rien acheter au marché, cela le met dans une grande disette, et en fait tomber beaucoup malade. Les colonels n'ont pas laissé de faire partir des officiers pour faire des recreües en Suisse; mais il faudroit qu'on leur donna quelque argent sur bon compte de ce qui leur est deu. Ils ont écrit à M. Lestang, afin

qu'il reçoive les ordres de Votre Majesté sur cet article : car pour Mr. Herbort, il ne finit jamais quand il est question de payer les troupes, comme je l'ay mandé à Votre Majesté ; à quoy je suis obligé d'ajouter, que ce qui nous a fait manquer de medicine la campagne passé, c'est que Herbort n'a pas voulu donner de l'argent à l'apoticaire Augibaut, à Londres, quoyque je luy en ay parlé souvent, et envoyé chez luy. Il y a d'autres plaintes icy de luy, cela seroit trop long. Son avarice n'a que trop paru, particulièrement en ce point, qu'il n'a pas fait de deconte de pas un regiment, ce qui nous cause icy une grande confusion.

Votre Majesté auroit bien besoin icy de quelque personnes de justice : ceux qui j'ay voulu employer icy ne songent qu'à leur interests, et on fait plus de confusion que de bien.

M. DUGLASS, lieutenant-general, m'a montré une lettre de M. le comte de Solms, par laquelle il luy mande qu'il a obtenu de Votre Majesté son congé pour aller à Londres. J'ay mandé dans un de mes memoires à Votre Majesté, qu'il ne s'etoit pas fait aimer dans cette armée, on l'a trouvée fort fier. C'est de quoy on ne se mettroit pas tant en peine, si cela etoit réparé par une grande capacité. Je ne voy pas icy d'officiers generaux capable de commander une aile d'une armée le jour d'une bataille.

M. DUGLASS pourra dire à Votre Majesté, que les regiments qui sont sur la frontier d'Armagh, Teinan, Clannish, et Newry, souffrent un peu de n'être pas bien logez, et de coucher sur la paille. Mais si nous abandonnions ces places, cela estreffiroit nos quartiers, et donneroit lieu aux ennemys de s'en prevaloir, qui ne sont pas plus à leur aise que nous, et dont il en meurt tous les jours beaucoup et de leur payfans. La nation Angloise est si delicatement élevée, que d'abord qu'ils sont hors de leur pays, ils déperissent partout où je les ay vû servir, dans les pays etrangers, les premiers campagnes.

Je croy, Sire, être de mon devoir dire encore un mot sur le sujet de M. Herbort, dont j'ay déjà parlé à Votre Majesté dans un des mes memoires. C'est à l'égard des guinées et des cabs. Ceux qui savent mieux calculer ces choses la que moy, m'ont fait entendre, que le profit qui se retire la dessus, sur toute la depense que l'on fait pour l'armée, il y a un gain de plus de quarante mille livres sterlings par an. Pourveu que cela aille au

proffit de Votre Majesté, je suis satisfait. Il seroit bien necessaire qu'il y eut en ce pays cy comme un intendant qui eut une inspection generale, cela empecheroit bien des gens à voler.

M. DE SCRAVEMOUR a été voir la cavallerye du costé de la comté de Doune, comme il en informera sans doute Votre Majesté. Je n'ay rien à ajouter, sinon que les regiments de la Mere, Devonshire, et Hewett sont tous composez d'officiers qui n'ont jamais veu de campagne, que la dernier. M. Beyerlay, qui est lieutenant-colonel du regiment d'Hewett, me paroist un honneste homme, et de plus appliquez, mais je ne croy pas qu'il ayt jamais veu tirer un coup de pistolet. Il seroit à desirer, que si Votre Majesté luy donne le regiment, qu'elle y met un bon lieutenant-colonel. On en trouveroit bien icy qui feroient propre à cela parmy les officiers François, mais de moy meme, je n'en met pas parmy les Anglois, à moins qu'ils ne le demandent.

J'AY parlé à Votre Majesté peutêtre trop souvent des moyens pour porter des vivres avec l'armée. Van Humery, comme je luy a dit aussi, est peu capable pour la campagne. Cependant, je voy que M. de Scravemour le prend fort à sa protection; il en faisoit de meme de Shales. Je ne pretend pas entrer dans ce secret pour quoi il le fait; mais je croy aussi qu'il est de mon devoir d'en avertir Votre Majesté, comme j'ay fait aussytôt que j'ay débarqué icy avec les troupes. Depuis que Shales est en prison, et qu'il a été examiné par sir John Tapom, qui a visité ses papiers, il y a trouvé cette lettre, que je n'ay pas jugé à propos qu'il laissâ parmy d'autres papiers, pour envoyer en Angleterre; mais qu'il falloit mieux que je l'envoyasse dans mon paquet à Votre Majesté, laquelle elle peut bruler apres l'avoir lue si elle juge à propos. J'aurois fait partir le dit Shales, n'etoit qu'il est malade aussi.

Translation.

Lisborne, 9th January, 1689.

I PRESSED Captain St. Sauveur to leave this, that Your Majesty may be informed of the embarrassment I am under, by Mr. Harbord's leaving us without money. He played me two or three of the same tricks at Dundalk. When affairs go ill, he makes his escape. He took fright that he should fall ill. He used as a pretence for going to Belfast,

that he was to take care the sick should want nothing. Eight days after, I learnt that he was gone to a fine house to breathe a good air, without having sent even one of his people to Belfast, to get a state of the hospital. I am not assisted here by any body. I do not know if he will serve Your Majesty well: he is a man who looks too much to his own interest.

I AM glad that the Danish cavalry does not come so soon, for I fear that we have not enough of straw and oats here for the cavalry which we have. As for hay, it will stand at Van Humery to make it come; but he has a small genius for such an affair: his partner does not come from England, and Van Humery has not a penny but what I have lent him. I have told him to write to his partner to buy a great quantity of hay, of which he may sell a part to the officers of the infantry. If they do not provide better equipages than they did last year, they will not be capable of serving next campaign. If the regiments of French infantry could have got money from Harbord, they might already have sent into Switzerland for recruits. Your Majesty gets more service from these three regiments, and from that of their cavalry, than from twice the number of any others.

YOUR Majesty will see by my last memorial, the reasons which I gave to the troops of Iniskilling and Derry, to show them it was not just they should have as high pay as English troops sent into this kingdom. They seem to yield to them; but the pay of the Irish officers being well examined, it is almost as high as the English. This appears to be too much for officers, most part of whom are peasants.

THERE are two or three regiments of French infantry, who have only subsistence money, not to mention 1000*l.* due to each of them, for the arrears of the officers. As the soldier cannot buy any thing in the market, this reduces him to famine, and makes many of them fall ill. The colonels have not neglected to send the officers to Switzerland for recruits: but they ought to have had some of the money that is due to them. They have written to Mr. Le Stang to receive Your Majesty's orders upon this article; for as to Mr. Harbord, he never brings things to an end, when the question is to pay the troops, as I told Your Majesty; to which I am obliged to add, that what made us want medicines last campaign was,

that Mr. Harbord would not give money to the apothecary, Augebaut, though I spoke often to him of it, and sent to him. There are other complaints of him here, which would be too long. His avarice has appeared too much, particularly in his not having paid the officers' arrears, which causes a great confusion here.

YOUR Majesty will need here some officers of justice. Those whom I employed here think of nothing but their interest, and create more confusion than good.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL DOUGLAS shewed me a letter from count Solmes, in which he tells him that he has got Your Majesty's leave of absence. I told Your Majesty, in a former memorial, that he was not beloved in this army, he being thought too haughty. This might be overlooked if he made up for it by great capacity. I do not see any general officers here capable of commanding the wing of an army in the day of battle.

MR. DOUGLAS will tell Your Majesty that the regiments on the frontiers of Ardmagh, Tunan, Clannish, and Newry, suffer a little from not being well lodged, and lying on straw. But if we abandon those places, it would straiten our quarters, and enable the enemy to make use of them, who are not more at their ease than us. Many of them and of their peasants die every day. The English nation is so delicately bred, that, as soon as they are out of their own country, they die the first campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have seen them serve.

I THINK it, Sir, my duty to say a word of Mr. Harbord, of whom I have spoke in a former letter: it is with regard to the guineas and cabs. Those who understand the calculation of these things better than me, tell me, that the profit upon these, on the expence of the whole army, amounts to above 40,000*l.* a year. If that is saved for Your Majesty, I am satisfied. It will be necessary, that there was in this country an intendant, who had a general inspection. This would prevent many from stealing.

MR. SCRAVEMORE has been to see the cavalry in the county of Down, as he will doubtless have informed Your Majesty. I have nothing to

add, but that the regiments of de la Mer, Devonshire, and Hewet, are all composed of officers who never saw a campaign but the last. Mr. Beverly, the lieutenant-colonel of Hewet's regiment, appears to be an honourable man, and to have application: but I do not believe that he ever saw a pistol fired. It were to be wished, if Your Majesty gives him the regiment, that you would put into it a good lieutenant-colonel: several proper for it might be found among the French officers. But I never of my own accord put any French amongst the English, unless the English themselves desire it.

I HAVE spoke to Your Majesty, perhaps too often, upon the methods of carrying provisions to the army. Van Humery, as I mentioned also, has little capacity for a campaign; however I see Mr. Scravemore takes him much under his protection. He did the same to Shales. I do not pretend to enter into the secret why he does it; but I think it my duty to let Your Majesty know it, as I did as soon as I landed here with the troops. Since Shales was in prison, and examined by sir John Topham, who inspected his papers, this letter was found, which I did not think right should be left to be sent among the other papers to England, but thought it better to send by my packet to Your Majesty, who may burn it after having read it, if you think proper. I would have sent off Shales if he had not been ill.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Detail of service.—Complaints.

De Lisborne, le 10 Fevrier, 1690.

IL y a un article dans cette dépeche du committé d'Irlande, qui est de payer les regiments de Londonderry et Iniskilling sur le même pied que les regiments Anglois. Puisque c'est la l'intention de Votre Majesté, il faudra qu'ils se mettent sur un meilleur pied; car jusques icy ces troupes la étoient sur un pied de libertinage, et de voler, et piller. C'est ce qui a été cause que le colonel Rouffel ne put mener avec lui toutes les troupes d'Iniskilling, que j'avois fait partir pour se saisir du poste de Slego, et de le maintenir.

LE lieutenant-colonel Ross, du regiment de dragon de Wynn, s'en va en Angleterre pour y acheter quelques selles et brides, pour raccom-

moder ce regiment; lequel, aussy bien que toute cette cavalerie et dragons d'Iniskilling, sont fort mal montez, beaucoup d'officiers et des soldats mal faits; mais puisque Votre Majesté leur fait une grace si particuliere de les vouloir payer comme des troupes levées en Angleterre, on obligera les officiers des dits regiments à avoir des officiers et soldats mieux faits. Votre Majesté ordonnera, s'il luy plaist, que M. Herbort donne quelque argent au lieutenant-colonel Ross, pour acheter les choses necessaires, et pour revenir promptement.

Je me suis deffendu de donner congé à tous ceux qu'il a été possible de s'en dispenser, car tous les officiers de cette armée ont une grande envie d'aller en Angleterre.

My lord Lisburn part presentment, aussy sur la permission qu'il a obtenu par une lettre de my lord Shrewsbury. Je luy ay dit suivant ce que Votre Majesté m'a mandé, qu'il pouvoit garder les bons hommes, qu'il avoit levez depuis peu en ce pays icy, mais qu'on ne vouloit plus de ses miserables garçons Anglois et Irlandois, dont ils sont farçy leur regiments quand ils sont passé icy.

Il est arrivé icy un ministre, qui dit avoir obtenu une commission en Angleterre, pour être le chapelain du regiment du colonel Roussel. J'avois déjà remply cette place d'un autre chapelain il y a deux mois: Votre Majesté me mandera ce qu'elle veut que je fasse en cela: les ecclesiastiques de ce pays sont des gens peu attachez à leur paroisses.

VOTRE Majesté me permettra que je luy fasse souvenir de ce qui regarde la train de l'artillerye icy, afin de mettre un bon officier a la place de Glaum, qui est mort. Celui qui presentement gouverne tout ce train s'appelle Aileway, qui est controlleur, et je croy le seul bon officier que nous y ayons. Il fera aussy necessaire que Votre Majesté mande quel nombre de canon elle veut qu'on mene à l'armée, puisque je voy par quelques lettres que Votre Majesté pourroit venir se mettre à la tête de son armée. Il me semble qu'il seroit necessaire qu'on mena plus de canon en campagne. Glaum m'avoit parlé d'un equipage d'artillerye que Votre Majesté a en Hollande, qu'elle a fait faire pour elle, où il y a meme quelques hawitzers, lequel seroit fort util icy. Cela est contenu dans le memoire que j'ay fait avec Glaum avant qu'il partit d'icy.

J'AURAY soin de ne point laisser manquer de poudre. Mais comme ce canon peut être d'un calibre qui n'a pas tout-à-fait rapport à celui de la Tour, il sera nécessaire que Votre Majesté donne ordre aux dits officiers de la Tour de s'en pourvoir. Il est vrai que ceux qui y font entendent fort peu ces choses là, pas même à examiner les fusils que les ouvriers leur delivre tous les jours, qui sont fort mal faits, mal montez, et ont de mechants ressorts.

Le colonel Cambon m'a montré une lettre de Londres, par laquelle l'on voit que M. Herbort n'est pas content de luy. Cela est venu d'une lettre de change que Cambon avoit tirée de M. Herbort à Dundalk de huit cent guinées, qu'il lui donna la pour faire rendre à Londres à son agent, pour payer les habits de son regiment. Les marchands qui avoient porté le lettre de change chez les gens de M. Herbort ne l'ayant pas voulu acquitter firent leur protest. Cela a tellement offensé M. Herbort qu'il en a voulu mal à toutes les troupes Françoises icy, et qu'il a dit que le regiment de Cambon n'étoit pas de 150 hommes. Je puis asseurer Votre Majesté, que quoy qu'il en soit mort beaucoup depuis qu'ils sont entrez dans leur quartier d'hyver, qu'il en restoit encore plus de 460 en santé, et depuis huit jours il luy est arrivé un fort bonne recreüe de Londres de 70 hommes qui ont été levez du costé de la Suisse.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire sur le sujet de M. Herbort. Je croy qu'il est connu en Angleterre comme il est icy presentement sur le sujet de l'intérest, et je ne puis assez exagerer le prejudice que cela a apporté au service de Votre Majesté, de ce qu'il n'a jamais voulu faire le deconte aux colonels et capitaines des regiments. Je croy qu'il seroit nécessaire pour le service de Votre Majesté, qu'elle envoya icy un ordre aux commis de la tresorerye qu'il a laissez de faire ce déconte; car quand on parle aux officiers d'avancer quelque chose à leur compagnie lorsque l'argent manque, ils disent que comme on ne leur a point fait de déconte depuis qu'ils sont dans ce royaume, ils n'ont pas un fol pour subsister eux mêmes. On étoit dans une grande disette d'argent, quand depuis dix jours les trente mille livres sterlings sont arrivez, lesquels j'ay fait distribuer à toutes les troupes de l'armée sur bon compte. Je supplie Votre Majesté que cette article de M. Herbort ne soit leu que par elle.

Je suis fort aise d'apprendre que Votre Majesté a fait faire un traité avec Pereyra, pour les vivres, et pour les chariots pour les porter avec l'armée, qui est la chose le plus essentielle. C'est à Pereyra à voir que ces chariots et charettes ne soient pas si pezantes comme on les fait à Londres, et d'avoir de bons chartiers qui sachent fourager.

J'AY écrit souvent aux officiers de la Tour, et à M. Bertie le tresorier, de nous envoyer de l'argent ; car il en est deu beaucoup. Et j'ay entretenu icy le train par des emprunts que j'ay faits, en tirant des lettres de change sur la Tour, qui n'ont point pu être acquittées. Je supplie tres humblement Votre Majesté d'ordonner qu'on donne de l'argent à M. Bertie afin qu'on les puisse acquitter, et que nous ne dependions point de M. Herbort, puisque la charge de tresorier de l'artillerye n'a jamais dépendu ny en Angleterre ny icy du tresorier de l'armée.

Translation.

Lisburne, 10th Feb. 1690.

THERE is an article on the dispatch of the Irish committee, ordering the Iniskilling and Londonderry regiments to be paid in the same way with the English regiments. Since this is Your Majesty's intention, it will be necessary that they put themselves upon a better footing ; for hitherto these troops have been upon the footing of a licence both to rob and steal ; which was the reason why colonel Russel could not carry with him all the Iniskilling troops whom I had ordered away to seize and maintain the post of Sligo.

LIEUTENANT colonel Ross, of Wynn's dragoons, is going to England for saddles and bridles to put the regiment in order. That regiment, as well as all that cavalry, and the Iniskilling dragoons, are very ill mounted, and many of the officers and soldiers ill made. But since Your Majesty does them so particular a favour, as to pay them like troops raised in England, they should be obliged to have officers and soldiers better made. Your Majesty, if you please, will order Mr. Harbord to give money to colonel Ross, that he may be enabled to buy the things that are necessary, and come soon back.

I HAVE restrained myself as far as was possible from giving leave of absence. For all the officers of this army have a great desire to go to England.

My lord Lisburne goes away immediately, upon the leave he has obtained by my lord Shrewsbury's letter. I told him, as Your Majesty ordered, that he might keep the good men whom he had lately raised in this country, but that we did not want these miserable English or Irish boys with which they larded their regiments when they came here.

THERE is a clergyman come here who says he has got a commission in England to be chaplain to colonel Ruffel's regiment. I had filled the vacancy two months ago with another chaplain. Your Majesty will order me what to do in this matter. The clergy of this country are people that are little attached to their parishes.

YOUR Majesty will give me leave to remind you with regard to the train of artillery, to send a good officer in the place of Glaum who is dead. The person who governs all that train at present is Halloway the comptroller of it, and I believe the only good officer we have. It will be also necessary that Your Majesty send me word what number of cannon you want to be brought to the army, since I see by some letters, that Your Majesty may come to put yourself at the head of your army. It appears necessary to bring more cannon into the field. Glaum spoke to me of an equipage of artillery which Your Majesty had in Holland, made for yourself, in which are some field pieces which would be very useful here. This is contained in a memorial which I made up with Glaum before he left this.

I SHALL take care there shall be no want of powder. But as this cannon may be of a bore which does not agree with that of the Tower, it will be necessary that Your Majesty give orders to the officers of the Tower, to make provision accordingly. It is true the people who are there understand these things very little, even the examination of the muskets which the workmen deliver them every day, which are ill made, ill mounted, and have bad locks.

COLONEL Cambon showed me a letter from London, by which it appears that Mr. Harbord is ill pleased with him. The cause of this is a bill of exchange for 800 guineas which Cambon had got from Mr. Harbord for money payable at London, to Cambon's agent, for paying the cloaths of his regiment. The merchants who carried the bill to Mr.

Harbord's people, upon their not paying it, took a protest. This has so much offended Mr. Harbord, that he has taken an ill-will at all the French troops here, and has said that the regiment of Cambon had not 150 men. I can assure Your Majesty, that though many of them have died since they came into winter quarters, there still remained 460 of them in health, and within these eight days there came from London a good recruit of 70 men who had been levied in Switzerland.

THERE would be much to say upon the subject of Mr. Harbord. I believe he is known in England as well as here to be interested. And I cannot exaggerate how much prejudice Your Majesty's service has received from his not paying the arrears to the colonels and captains. I believe it would be necessary for Your Majesty's service that you give an order to the commissaries of the treasury whom he left here, to pay these arrears. For when the officers are spoke to, to advance any thing to their companies when there is a want of money, they say, that as no arrears have been payed them since they came into this kingdom, they have not a penny to subsist themselves. There was a great want of money when, ten days ago, 30,000*l.* came, which I fairly distributed among all the troops in the army. I beg Your Majesty that no one but yourself may read this article about Mr. Harbord.

I am glad to learn that Your Majesty has made a contract with Pereira for the provisions and waggons to carry them with the army, which is the most essential thing. It lyes at Pereira to take care that they be not as heavy as those made at London, and to get good carters who understand foraging.

I HAVE written often to the officers of the Tower, and to Mr. Bertie the treasurer, to send us money; for there is much due. And I have supported the train by money I have borrowed upon bills of exchange upon the Tower, which have not been paid. I humbly entreat Your Majesty to order money to be given to Mr. Bertie, in order that he may be able to discharge them, and that we may not depend upon Mr. Harbord, since the office of treasurer of artillery has never depended either in England, or here, upon that of the army.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of arms.

De Dromore, le 14^e Février, 1690.

J'AY écrit souvent à la Tour pour faire de meilleurs armes, et de nous en envoyer incessamment. Car on n'a jamais vu une armée avoir eu si peu de soin de conserver leurs armes. Mais il sera nécessaire que Votre Majesté donne des ordres exprez pour que l'on delivre de l'argent à M. Bertie. Car j'ay emprunté icy tout ce que j'ay pu trouver d'argent pour faire subsister l'artillerye.

Dromore, 14th February, 1690.

IHAVE written often to the Tower to make better arms, and to send them immediately. For no body ever saw an army take so little care of preserving their arms. But it will be necessary for Your Majesty to give expres orders for the delivery of money to Mr. Bertie. For I have borrowed all the money that I could for the subsistence of the artillery.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of money.

De Lisburne, le 3^{me} Mars, 1690.

PAR mes derniers memoires Votre Majesté voit ce que je luy ay mandé sur le manquement d'argent. La nécessité m'oblige encore d'avantage à luy representer, que je voys avec regret que ses troupes au lieu de se racommoder se ruinent manque d'argent, et que Votre Majesté venant icy n'aura pas la satisfaction de les voir rétablis comme je le souhaiterois. Les lettres de Londre etant venues hier par Ecoffe, je ne voy rien dans les miennes qui me fasse esperer que nous en ayons si-tôt; et ayant demandé à un des treforiers de M. Herbord, si il ne luy avoit pas écrit qu'on eut envoyé de l'argent à Chester, il m'a dit que non. Si M. Herbord n'en donne pas aussy pour les recreües à la cavalerie, et à l'infanterye, il est à craindre que les troupes ne se mettront pas en bon état. Car les petites sommes d'argent que nous tirons des doüannes de temps en temps n'est pas suffisant pour en donner aux soldats. Les capitaines et les officiers subalternes en prennent pour eux memes, étant obligez d'en vivre aussy, puisque depuis sept mois ils n'ont point receü de paye; et si on ne leur paye pas leur déconte de bonne heure, ils n'auront pas le temps de s'acheter quelques chevaux de charette ou de bas pour faire la campagne.

Mon devoir m'oblige d'en dire autant à Votre Majesté sur le sujet de l'artillerie. L'argent que j'ay emprunté icy pour la faire subsister n'a point été acquitté sur mes lettres de change que j'ay envoyé à la Tour. J'écris à sieur Henry Goodrick d'en parler à Votre Majesté de luy proposer ce qui s'est pratique souvent, que l'on donne quelque assignation sur un fond, quoy que les payements ne se font que de quelque mois après, les ouvriers ne laissent pas pour cela de trouver du credit pour subsister. J'ay mandé à mon homme d'affaires d'offrir mille ou 1200 *l.* sterling pour être avancez aux arquebusiers. Et s'il arrivoit qu'ils n'eussent point d'armes faites, comme je l'apprehende ainſy que je voy par la lettre de Votre Majesté, ne pourroit elle pas ordonner qu'on tira trois ou 4000 fusils d'Amsterdam et d'Utrecht ? car Votre Majesté ne peut pas faire grand fond sur les piques. Elles estoient fort vieilles, et se sont achevées de pourrir pendant les pluyes de la campagne passée. Pour les troupes d'Iniskilling, ils ne s'en peuvent pas servir. Ils en disent de meme des mousquetts.

Lisburne, 3d March, 1690.

BY my last memorials Your Majesty sees what I told you of the want of money. Necessity obliges me to represent to you again, that I see with regret that the troops, in place of recovering, are ruined for want of money, and that when Your Majesty comes here you will not have the satisfaction of seeing them re-established as I would wish. The letters from London being come yesterday through Scotland, I see nothing in mine which can make me hope for money soon ; and having asked one of Mr. Harbord's treasurers, if Mr. Harbord had not wrote him that there was money sent to Chester, he told me he had not. If Mr. Harbord does not give money to recruit the cavalry and the infantry, it is to be feared that the troops will not be in a good condition. For the small sums which we draw from the customhouses from time to time are not sufficient to give the soldiers. The captains and the subaltern officers take it to themselves, being obliged to live upon it, since they have received no pay for seven months. And if their arrears are not payed them soon, they will not have time to buy cart or bas horses for the campaign.

PART II.

K

My duty obliges me to say as much to Your Majesty upon the subject of the artillery. The money which I borrowed here to subsist it, has not been paid upon my bills of exchange which I sent to the Tower. I wrote to sir Henry Goodrick to speak of it to Your Majesty and to propose, what is often practised, to give some assignation upon a fund, although the payments are not made for some months after, notwithstanding which the workmen find credit upon that account for their subsistence. I wrote to my men of business, to offer 1000*l.* or 1200*l.* of advance to the gunsmiths. And if it happens that they have no arms ready made, which I am apprehensive of by your letters, could not Your Majesty order 3000 or 4000 fuses to be drawn from Amsterdam and Utrecht? for Your Majesty cannot trust to the pikes. They were very old, and became more rotten during the rains of last campaign. As for the Iniskilling troops, they cannot use theirs at all, and they say as much of their muskets.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—All things out of order.—Schomberg's generous offer.

De Lisburne, le 7e Mars, 1690.

COMME la saison avance, et que Votre Majesté pourroit arriver icy et ne pas trouver toutes choses en état, j'aurois un extreme regret, si quelque chose pouvoit retarder ses desseins; et je croy devoir luy dire ce que j'ay trouvé par experience depuis que je suis party de Londres, que l'on ne peut point compter juste sur les officiers de l'armée qu'on employe, soit dans les troupes, dans les vivres, ou dans l'artillerie. Et comme je suis responsable encore plus particulièrement de la dernière, je trouve qu'en ce qui s'y est fait depuis quelques années on y a beaucoup trompé. Je ne mets point dans ce rang la les vieux mousquets, n'y les vieilles piques, qui estoient pourries; mais même ce qui a été fait depuis peu d'années en ça. Le canon a été mal fondu comme cela se voit par les pieces qui ont crevé au siege de Carrickfergus, ou l'on voit la mechante composition du métal. Il ne nous en reste qu'un. J'ay écrit a la Tour qu'on nous envoie des pieces de 18 et de 24. Les officiers de la Tour sont si longs à preparer les choses, je crains qu'ils n'arriveront pas devant Votre Majesté. Si j'avois seulement quatre demy canons presentement, j'assiégerois Charlemont, ou on ne peut pas

laisser les ennemys derriere, quand Votre Majesté s'avancera avec son armée sans en être beaucoup incommodé. Avant que de finir l'article de l'artillerie, il faut redire un mot à Votre Majesté sur le manque d'argent qu'il y a à la Tour, afin qu'elle ordonné aux tresoriers qu'ils en delivre au sieur Bertie, tresorier de la Tour. Lequel etant pourveu de quelque argent il puisse payer les choses necessaires que Votre Majesté a ordonné, et pour celles que j'ay escrit et les faire partir incessamment, parmy lesquels sont les tentes de la cavallerie et de l'infanterie, dont on a precisement besoin. Et comme les vaisseaux ont un grand tour à faire, leur arrivé est incertain, et leur manquement retarderoit la marche de Votre Majesté. C'est pourquoy je la supplie très humblement d'ordonner qu'on donne un convoy aux vaisseaux de la Tour qui seront chargez, afin qu'ils puissent partir incessamment.

LE Sr. Robisson est arrivée icy hier au soir, je l'ai fort entretenu sur les moyens de fournir dez a present le pain de munition à toutes les troupes, et d'autant plus qu'il n'y a point d'argent pour les payer. En leur faisant fournir du pain et de fromage il faut qu'ils ayent patience. Mais à l'égard des officiers j'en suis fort en peine. S'il y avoit de l'argent pour faire leur déconte, Votre Majesté leur donnera moyens de se preparer pour la campagne; car ils manque de tout.

JE ne devrois pas une meler de si loin d'ou provient le manquement de l'argent, et je m'ettone que parmy de gens qui en on tant a Londres, il ne s'en trouvent point qui offrent d'en preter à Votre Majesté. Je n'oserois me vanter de rien; mais si j'avois entre mes mains les cent mille livres sterling que Votre Majesté m'a fait la grace de me donner, je les ferois delivrer à celui qu'elle voudroit pour le payement de son armée.

Lisburn, 7th March, 1690.

AS the season advances, and Your Majesty may arrive here without finding every thing in order, I should be extremely sorry if any thing retarded your designs. And I think I ought to tell you that I have found by experience since I left London, that there is no counting with certainty upon the officers employed, either in the troops, the provisions or the artillery. And as I am responsible more particularly for the last, I find that for some years past there has been much roguery in it. I do

not put in this rank the old muskets and old pikes, which were rotten ; but even what has been made within these few years. The cannon was ill cast, as may be observed by the pieces which burst at the siege of Carrickfergus, in which one may see the bad composition of the metal. There is only one of them left. I wrote to the Tower to send us pieces of eighteen and twenty-four pounds weight. The officers of the Tower are so long in preparing things, that I am afraid they will not arrive before Your Majesty. If I had only four demi-cannons at present, I would besiege Charlemont, where we cannot leave the enemy behind, when Your Majesty advances with your army, without being put to much inconveniency. Without leaving the article of the artillery, I must repeat a word to Your Majesty upon the want of money in the Tower, with a view that Your Majesty may order the treasurers to deliver it to Mr. Bertie, the treasurer of the Tower. When he has got money, he may pay the necessary things which Your Majesty has ordered, and those which I wrote of, and make them set off instantly ; among which are the tents of the cavalry and infantry, of which there is immediate need. As the vessels have a great tour to make, their arrival is uncertain, and their failure would retard Your Majesty's march. On this account, I humbly beg you to give orders for a convoy to the vessels of the Tower loaded with these things, that they may sail immediately.

MR. ROBISON came here yesterday in the evening. I have talked with him much upon the means of furnishing from henceforth ammunition bread for all the troops ; and the more so, because there is no money to pay them. When they get bread and cheese they must have patience. But with regard to the officers, I am much in pain. If there was money to pay their arrears, Your Majesty would give them the means of preparing for the campaign ; for they want every thing.

I OUGHT not at this distance to enter into the question, whence arises this want of money, and I am astonished, that amongst those who have so much at London, there should be found none who offer to lend it to Your Majesty. I dare not boast of any thing ; but if I had in my hands the 100,000*l.* which Your Majesty did me the favour to give me, I would deliver it to whoever you please for the payment of your army.

De Lisburn, le 22 Mars, 1689.

Wane of money and cannon.

CETTE dépeche va par le sieur Hamilton, lequel M. Herbort employe dans la tresorerye. Il dit que c'est pour presser M. Herbort de songer à envoyer promptement de l'argent. Je croy qu'il a quelque affaire particuliere, mais le pretexte qu'il prend ne laisse pas d'être fort necessaire; car apres tout ce que j'ay mandé a V. M. de la grande necessité ou les troupes sont faute d'argent. Je n'ay plus rien à ajouter seulement que j'ay un extreme regret de voir le prejudice que cela fera au service de V. M. et les accidents qui nous peuvent arriver icy, de laisser des troupes si longtemps sans argent, si proches d'un ennemy qui est si plein d'intrigue, et dans un pays ruiné, où le soldat ne trouve rien à subsister chez son hôte, dont la plupart n'a rien pour faire subsister sa famille. Ce manquement d'argent est cause que je remets à assieger Charlemont; quoyque nous n'ayons que deux pieces de canon de 18, le reste étant crevé, etant de fort méchant métal, au siege de Carrickfergus. J'en ay écrit souvent aux officiers de la Tour, afin qu'ils suppliasent Votre Majesté, d'or donner, qu'il y eut un convoy pour nous mener d'autre canon et des bombes icy, mais ils s'excusent par toutes les lettres, qu'ils n'ont point d'argent, pas memes seulement pour en avancer aux arquebusiers, pour continuer à faire travailler aux fuzils que je leur ay ordonné.

En écrivant cecy, j'ay receu une lettre de Carrickfergus, par laquelle on me mande qu'il est arrive trois vaisseaux chargez de vivres, et un où il y a quelque poudre et bombes. Il y a six mois qu'ils sont chargez, et arrivent presentement.

Le Duc de Wirtemberg est venu de son quartier icy. Il est aussi en peine de ce qu'il arrive tous les jours des vaisseaux de Highlake, et que l'argent qui est destiné pour les troupes qu'il commande ne vient point. Il me paroist un esprit fort doux, patient, et qui a envie de bien faire.

Translation.

Lisburn, 22d March, 1689.

THIS dispatch goes by Mr. Hamilton, whom Mr. Harbord employs in the treasury. He says he goes to press Mr. Harbord to think of sending money immediately. I believe he has business of his own, but

the pretence which he uses is not for that the less necessary; for after all that, I have told Your Majesty of the great necessity of the troops for want of money. I have nothing to add, but that I have an extreme regret to see the prejudice which that will do to Your Majesty's service, and the accidents which may happen here from leaving the troops so long time without money, so near an enemy who is full of intrigue, and in a ruined country, where the soldiers find nothing to subsist upon in the houses of their landlords, of whom the greatest part have no subsistence for their families. This want of money is the reason why I put off the siege of Charlemont. We have only two pieces of cannon of eighteen pounds, the rest having burst, because they were of very bad metal, at the siege of Carrickfergus. I have written often to the officers of the Tower, that they might entreat Your Majesty to order a convoy to bring other cannon and bombs here; but they excuse themselves in all their letters, that they have no money, not even to advance to the gunsmiths for their continuing to work at the fuses which I ordered.

WHILST I am writing this, I have received a letter from Carrickfergus, by which I have information of the arrival of three vessels loaded with provisions, and in one of which there is some powder and bombs. It is six months since they were loaded, and they arrive only now.

THE Duke of Wirtemberg is come here from his quarters. He is also in pain, because every day vessels arrive from Highlake, and no money for the troops which he commands. He appears to me of a spirit gentle, patient, and desirous of doing well.

The following letter was given me by my ingenious friend Doctor Percy.

Letter written soon after the Revolution by Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. The Spanish Friar mentioned below was acted in June, 1689. Court scandal.

I AM loth to send blank paper by a carrier, but am rather willing to send some of the tattle of the town than nothing at all, which will at least serve for an hour's chat, and then convert the scrawl to its proper use.

The only day Her Majesty gave herself the diversion of a play, and that on which she designed to see another, has furnished the town with discourse for near a month. The choice of the play was the Spanish Fryar, the only play forbid by the late k—. Some unhappy expressions, among which these that follow, put her in some disorder, and forced her to hold up her fan, and often look behind her and call for her palatine, and hood, and any thing she could next think of, while those who were in the pit before her turned their heads over their shoulders, and all in general directed their looks towards her, whenever their fancy led them to make any application of what was said. In one place, where the queen of Arragon is going to church in procession, 'tis said by a spectator, Very good, she usurps the throne, keeps the old king in prison, and at the same time is praying for a blessing on her army.—And when said, That 'tis observed at court who weeps, and who wear black for good king Sancho's death; 'tis said, Who is that, that can flatter a court like this? Can I sooth tyranny, seem pleas'd to see my royal master murdered; his crown usurped; a distaff in the throne: and what title has this queen but lawless force; and force must pull her down.—Twenty more things are said, which may be wrested to what they were never designed; but however the observations then made, furnished the town with talk, till something else happened which gave as much occasion of discourse; for another play being ordered to be acted, the q — came not, being taken up with other diversion. She dined at Mrs. Graden's, the famous woman in the Hall, that sells fine ribbands and head-dresses; from thence she went to the Jew's that sells Indian things, to Mrs. Ferguson's, De Vetts, Mrs. Harrison's, and other Indian houses; but not to Mrs. Potter's, though in her way, which caused Mrs. Potter to say, that she might as well have hoped for that honour as others, considering that the whole design of bringing the queen and king was managed at her house, and the consultations held there; so that she might as well have thrown away a little money in raffling there, as well as at the other houses; but it seems that my lord Devonshire has got Mrs. Potter to be laundress; she has not much countenance of the queen, her daughter still keeping the Indian house her mother had. The same day the queen went to one Mrs. Wife's, a famous woman for telling fortunes, but could not prevail with her to tell any thing, though

to others she has been very true, and has foretold that king James shall come in again, and the duke of Norfolk shall lose his head: the last I suppose will naturally be the consequence of the first. These things, however innocent in themselves, have passed the censure of the town. And besides a private reprimand given, the king gave one in public, saying to the queen that he heard she dined at a bawdy-house, and desired the next time she went he might go too. She said she had done nothing but what the late queen had done. He asked her, if she meant to make her her example. More was said on this occasion than ever was known before, but it was borne with all the submission of a good wife, who leaves all to the direction of the k—, and diverts herself with walking six or seven miles a day, and looking after her buildings, making of fringes, and such like innocent things; and does not meddle in government, though she has better title to do it than the late queen had.

In king William's box there are two letters to the king concerning the dissolution of the first parliament; one on the tory and the other on the whig side. The first is in the hand writing of sir John Trevor; there is reason to believe the other was written by Mr. Wharton, afterwards duke of Wharton.

THE matter wherein Your Majesty hath been pleased to command my weak opinion, doth in my apprehension consist of two points. First, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament; and if so, to what purposes? Secondly; If Your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think it necessary to dissolve this parliament, then what ways and methods are to be taken to get a good parliament, and to make it useful to your establishment? &c.

As to the first part of the first question, whether it be most for Your Majesty's interest to hold on this parliament? I am with all humble submission of opinion, that Your Majesty's best course is to hold on this parliament for a time, and to try them for a speedy and certain supply, that may answer and defray the charge of the government, during such time as will be necessary to call and prepare for a new parliament, which will take up seven weeks at least.

The continuance of this parliament can be of no other use to Your Majesty but to gain such a supply, for all other benefits and expectations from this parliament are lost and gone: the authority of the chair, the awe and reverence to order, and the due method of debates being irrecoverably lost by the disorder and tumultuousness of the House; the managers having small credit, the rancour and rage between the opposite factions being irreconcilable, the nation in general grown weary of them, and expecting a new parliament. The Dissenters being now under some apprehensions of Your Majesty, and Your Majesty having undeniable reasons and proofs to suspect and distrust them, the confidence on both sides is grown less: the Church party discouraged and almost in despair: they will never agree to unite your subjects by an Act of Indemnity; but they may agree to tear away your ministers, which is a safe method (under colour of redressing grievances) to arraign and expose your government to your people and the world, which methods have heretofore produced very dangerous consequences, especially in the beginning of a new reign, all which mischiefs a new parliament will disappoint, heal and mend; and lay a surer foundation for Your Majesty's happiness than can be expected from this present parliament; therefore I do humbly conclude, that the sitting on of this parliament can be of no other good use to Your Majesty (but quite contrary) unless to grant to Your Majesty a speedy and certain supply.

To gain such a supply will be the next consideration. The supply demanded must be tenderly handled: it must be reasonable and proportionable to such present use and occasion as Your Majesty shall declare you have for such supply, otherwise it will give the Dissenters a jealousy; and Your Majesty to amuse them had better ask less than too much, and thereby leave them some confidence, that you still depend upon them.

Such supply must be also certain, and be made a fund for credit, and not uncertain or unusual; for such projects will take up much time in debates, more time in drawing and framing a bill (wherein your council are not very skilful) and may meet with captious obstructions in passing both Houses, which waste of time is (as I humbly conceive)

inconsistent with Your Majesty's pressing occasions; for by such loss of time Your Majesty will become more necessitous, and the Dissenters will probably take advantage thereof, and will grow into such power (wherein they are indefatigable, and never to be satisfied) that I fear it will be very difficult for Your Majesty to extricate yourself out of their hands, &c.

THE supply follows next to be considered of. I humbly propose for the quantity and quality of such a supply, a concurrent assessment for six months, after the rate of seventy thousand pounds a month, which with Your Majesty's growing revenue, may (I hope) be sufficient to answer the charge of the government during the interval of parliament.

THE way to effect this supply, is to order your managers to consider the absolute necessity Your Majesty lies under to support the government and them; and to press them hard in it; wherein great care must be taken, not to give them any new suspicion of imagining Your Majesty to part with this parliament, which they know is to part with themselves; and to that purpose Your Majesty may intimate to them, that at the highest computation, the Two Shillings bill will not exceed twelve hundred thousand pounds. That very near two thirds thereof is already appropriated. That Your Majesty cannot have credit upon the remainder thereof till the last quarter, which will not be till nine months hence. That there remains due to Your Majesty, (according to this computation) eight hundred thousand pounds, to make up the two millions promised to Your Majesty, whereof this six months assessment will answer four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and Your Majesty may bid them take their own time, and let them employ themselves to find out new methods and ways for the raising the other remaining four hundred thousand pounds, which Your Majesty must also earnestly insist to be carried on and dispatcht, the better to cover your intentions. I conceive that such an assessment may go easily in the house, if the managers will espouse it heartily, this calculation having already been opened to the house, and the six months assessment having been likewise moved for by Mr. Foley and sir Lewson Gore, and there are very cogent reasons to be given for this present supply, more proper for the managers to give, as having more of Your Majesty's urgent necessities in their

knowledge than any other, and indeed this must be wholly managed by them to avoid jealousy; and the church party to make a faint opposition. This supply may be begun on Wednesday next, or if the call of the house should be insisted on, then the Wednesday after, and may be finished in a week. But if Your Majesty cannot prevail for such a speedy and certain supply, Your Majesty, in my poor judgment, will hazard much by the continuance of the parliament, and lose that time in this, (without any sufficient supply) which would be better bestowed on calling a new parliament, which, under God, I conceive to be the only means to answer all your ends, and to support and secure your throne and royal authority, and to reconcile and unite your divided and distracted subjects. If Your Majesty should be unsuccessful in this assessment, which I hope you will not, I could wish Your Majesty had a clause of credit by a short bill upon the excise, which was very strangely neglected, when the revenue bill was passing, for I took it for granted that such a clause was to be; for both Mr. Garraway and sir Robert Howard declared it: but I am afraid that the opinion remains still with some people, that they are not safe in their power and greatness, unless Your Majesty depend upon them. But had a bill of assessment passed instead of the Two Shilling bill, Your Majesty had been above all these difficulties, and out of the hands of these men; and it is plain that this opinion has obstructed Your Majesty's establishment, &c. But suppose (which God forbid) that the house should neglect or delay this so reasonable and necessary a supply, and spend their time in specious and frivolous enquiries into projects and methods to raise money, under pretence of saving their land, and fall into heats, and run upon your ministers for mismanagement, (the lords having provided some materials for them) and leave Your Majesty's English army unpaid, (which occasions great clamours and heart-burning) and the Irish affairs in a languishing condition, which must cause great confusion in Your Majesty's affairs at home, and discredit abroad, and will encourage your enemies: What is then to be done? I do with all humble submission to Your Majesty's great wisdom and experience, and with the deepest sincerity of my soul conceive, that Your Majesty has no other course nor remedy under heaven, unless you will absolutely throw yourself and your crown upon the dissenters, but immediately as

If Your Majesty succeeds, the clause for credit on the excise may easily and properly be inserted in the supply bill.

foon as Your Majesty has made this last tryal in all gentle manner; without farther loss of time to dissolve this and call a new parliament; and in order thereunto, to take the first measures to maintain and keep the peace of the kingdom, and to provide for the subsistence of the government during the interval of parliament, and to make such other preparations for that meeting, by proclamations, removals, and other wise methods, whereby the church party may be so encouraged, and yet the dissenters be assured of their indulgence and your favour. But such a scheme must first attend Your Majesty's resolution in that point, and then my humble thoughts how such an alteration may be best brought about and effected, shall be ready in two or three days time for Your Majesty's perusal. Humbly craving Your Majesty's gracious and favourable construction of my great weakness, but good intentions, herein disclosed.

Anonymous letter to King William, believed to be written by Mr. afterwards duke of Wharton.—Reproaches of the King's ingratitude to the Whigs.

SIR,

25 December, 1689.

BEING a protestant, a true Englishman, and one that wishes to see Your Majesty happy and glorious, as a reward for the protection you gave to our religion and laws, in driving out a tyrant who endeavoured to destroy both, I think it my duty to lay before you the desperate condition you are brought into, by the flatterers, knaves, and villains, you have the misfortune to employ.

You will forgive my speaking plainly, since both your own state, and the nation's require it; for if you do not, without delay, wholly change your conduct, you are inevitably lost and undone.

MANY thousands of your ablest seamen, are either dead, or taken prisoners, and the rest so enraged by their ill usage, that it will be difficult to persuade them to serve you next yeare.

YOUR army, your very guards, last raised, are much disaffected, and will help to ruin you on the first occasion.

THAT parliament, which sett the crowne uppon your head, is grown cold, and alienated in their affections from you.

SCOTLAND is so farr discontented, that you must expect a warr thence next yeare.

You have lost the hearts of great part of your people.

You have an expensive and dangerous warr upon your hands, and no revenue settled nor money to carry it on.

AND what is yet worse, your court and your councils, are filled and guided by such men as most of all seek your ruin.

THESE sad truths need no further demonstration, they are visible to the whole world, and I wish it were as easy to propose a remedy, as to know the disease.

It would be an endless worke to lay before you all the particular miscarriages and misfortunes, yet will I mark out some of the principall, which seeme to have caused such a change in your affaires.

FIRST, gathering together king James's army, which was dispersed, and refusing the service of those honest men, who came to you, merely out of principles and affection. These would have been true to you, and might by this time, have made as good, if not better troupes than the others, who knew nothing but living dissolutely, and were hated over the nation; your good fortune, not their love, made those old troops come in to you, and whenever that sinks they will be as ready to forsake you. Those were not your friends for your cause, but their own interest, seeing they had not a head would lead them against you, and that the whole people were for you. If any of them were discontented before, it happened from private reasons, either that their ambition was not answered, or that they were like to be layd aside; in short they are corrupted in their principles, nothing can make them faithfull to you, and those that remain of the old gang, will infect what new men may be added to them.

IN the next place, that many of king James's friends, and others, knowne enemies to the laws and government of England, were receaved into your councils, and promoted to places of greatest trust.

THIS was thought a fatallity upon Your Majesty, that you should pick out the most obnoxious men of all England for your Ministers, when the

declaration you published at your coming over, was principally against evill ministers, and that you made maleadministration the chief ground to justify your taking arms; there is scarce one word against king James in your declarations, the evill ministers are alone complained of, yet king James alone is punished, and the same evil ministers, or worse, are employed, when you might have found honest men to have served you in all places.

THIS hath been of unspeakable prejudice to you, for it is visible to all men, and the meanest people reason upon it, that we must expect the same counsells, and the same government, from the same men. If you did not come over to support our religion, and repaire the breaches that were made in our lawes and constitution, what can you urge but force, to justify what you have done; which would destroy the glory of your enterprize? Wee have made you king, as the greatest returne we could make for so great a blessing, taking this to be your designe, and if you intend to governe like an honest man, what occasion can you have for knaves to serve you? Can the same men who contrived and wrought our ruin, be fitt instruments for our salvations? or with what honor can you employ those, against whom you drew your sword.

THE pretence of their being experienced, is very weak, their experience was only in doing ill, and our lawes having sufficiently chalked out the functions of all civil ministers at home, plain honest men of good understandings and principles, suitable to the ends you declared you came hither for, might have performed these duties, especially since Your Majesty's great wisdom can well supply their defects in foreign affaires.

WE have the charity to believe that this one false step hath occasioned all the rest, and that (mistaking your men) you have been misled in your measures. We are willing to lay all faults at their doores, if Your Majesty will not protect them, and take all upon yourself: This is a rock we hope you will avoid, for it hath been fatal to several kings of England.

WHAT or who but such men, could have made Your Majesty suspected to Your people? Those who would twelve months since have poured out their hearts blood to serve you, have sacrificed their fortunes and all the hopes of their families, for your sake, do now grudge every penny that

is given for the necessary defence of your government, and repent their too forward zeal for a man, who despises his best and only true friends, and mistakes the right way to advance both his own and his people's interest and glory.

THEY stand amazed to see that Your Majesty, who came in upon one principle, should, for the most part, employ men who have ever professed another; that the glorious prince of Orange, who had rendered himself so renowned in the world, for his steadiness to truth, justice, the laws and liberty of his country, and the Protestant religion, should, when he became a king, think himself less obliged to pursue those great and noble ends. The world was filled with your fame, when you landed in England; your friends adored you, and your enemies melted before you; there was nothing wanting to declare you, in the opinion of all mankind, to be the greatest and most glorious prince that had appeared for many ages, but your own resolution to give a finishing stroke to that deserved character; IN THIS YOU FAILED, AND FELL FROM A HEIGHT WHICH VERY FEW MEN EVER REACHED BEFORE YOU.

I WILL say no more on this sad subject, nor accuse or name particular persons, whose villainous councils have almost ruined you and us; least I may be thought an enemy to their persons, rather than their councils: but, sir, I beseech you call to mind what advice every man hath given you; and what paths those you have been guided by, chalked out for you to walk in; the success of their councils will tell you what opinion to have of them, whether they love you, and have served you faithfully.

COULD they intend your service or safety, that advised Your Majesty to entertain king James's army, thereby making you liable to their great arrears, and putting your person and cause into the hands of the enemy. You have not much reason to think better of them by their behaviour since that time. And then, sir, you may well remember, there did not five hundred men of all king James's troops come over to your side till he left them and ran away; and many of those too forsook him, as rats do a falling house, seeing the souls of the nation against him, and that his own heart failed him.

CAN you think, fir, that any of those men who were raised by him out of the dirt, and have served him in all interests, with all their hearts and might, could be such villains as to leave him, but that they saw it absolutely necessary, for their own safety, not love for you? and doubtless they have so much honour, and gratitude, as to betray you to him whenever they can: no man of reason can think otherwise of them.

CAN they be your friends, who have recommended persons to most employments that hate you and your government, and can never be faithful to you; and where they could not put in all such, as in some of the great commissions, yet have they prevailed for at least one or two of their friends, who delay and entangle your business, and make it impossible for the rest to serve you as they ought, let them design it ever so sincerely? by the means of these men your enemies never want intelligence how all your business goes every where.

IF Your Majesty will please to look into the charters of your commissioners of the treasury, admiralty, customs, navy, and excise, you will find in every place some whom all England are amazed to see employed, and trusted by you; and believe you strangely imposed upon in having recommended to you men who are marked to the world for infamous and corrupt knaves on every change or turn of government.

BUT what surprizes yet more is, that many of them were confidents of king James's, and acted as much to carry on his interests and designs as it was possible for them; I wish they did not so still, or that they were not in a condition to render him greater service, where they are, than they were capable of in all their life-time before.

THESE men poison and trouble your business in its first motion, and it can never go well while they have the direction.

ALMOST all their imps are as bad as they, and many in your own family, of the same stamp. Some of those who daily serve, with every bit you eat, and drop you drink, may poison you. Though it seems very strange, that any man should have the impudence to recommend such persons to Your Majesty, yet we cease to wonder, when we see the corruption of your court and ministers. The whole town is filled with infamous stories, how they sell all employments, more publicly and with

less shame, than in either of the two last reigns. Good God, Sir, what a dishonour is this to Your Majesty! at this rate, in a little time, the basest and vilest of men, and the most inveterate of your enemies, will buy themselves into all places about you; your ministers will be detested and abhorred, your court deserted by all honest men, and your government grow cheap and despised.

CAN they be your friends, who laboured to replace king James upon the throne, and bring Your Majesty to terms with him, when he had no power to support himself? Being not able to prevail for this in the Convention, they desired a regency; that being rejected, they set up the pretended prince of Wales his title, and demanded evidence of his being supposititious; that being not thought necessary,

THEY would have vested the royal power in the queen alone, without Your Majesty, thereby making the husband subject to the wife, contrary to the law of God; but that being carried against them,

THEY would have made you both queen and king, giving the queen still the preference; and that being refused,

THEY would have made Your Majesty king, and her queen, settling the royal power equal in both.

So that, Sir, they struggled for every thing that could be devised against you, before they would agree to make you king alone; and it is remarkable, they never yielded any one point, until your friends did, as well by threats as arguments, oblige them to comply.

You see by this, Sir, how they set themselves against you. In that great affair, there could not happen a greater occasion to try who were your friends and enemies, and it was hoped you would make your judgment of men by it; for those who would not have you king, were it in their power would have made you nothing.

I CANNOT forbear acquainting Your Majesty with what was said at that time in the House of Lords, by the earl of Nottingham, though perhaps you may have heard it already.

HE confessed that England was much obliged to the prince of Orange, and that he was confident his highness proposed nothing to himself but the glory of freeing us; and that he had too much honour, justice and

religion, to aim at the crown. If that were expected, it was not in our power to give: the reward was too great in itself, and we should pay too dearly for our liberty. For supposing the worst, king James was an old man, and could not live long; and the prince of Wales was a child: so that the administration must fall into the hands of the nation, and they might easily restore the government to themselves.

I SHALL observe upon these questions, that it will be found upon inquiry, that the persons who espoused them, in both Houses, (though some have been preferred, and trusted by Your Majesty) have since opposed Your Majesty's service and interest in every debate.

AND that I think it next to an impossibility for any of them to be sincerely in your interest, or that you ought in prudence to trust them.

IT was the best service that could be done at that time for king James, for while they delayed Your Majesty's being declared king, they both obstructed your possessing yourself of Ireland, and making the necessary preparations for the war in due time.

WHILE the rebels strengthened themselves there, and the French king sent them the late king to head them against you, and supplies of all sorts; had it not been for these traitors to Your Majesty and the Protestant religion, Ireland would have been mastered with little expence; and they ought to have answered for the treasure that shall be spent in reducing it.

CAN you believe, Sir, that they who would have made terms for king James against you, will not be ready, if any change happens, to make terms with him, for themselves, though it were by delivering Your Majesty up to him.

You see, Sir, how king James is supported by the French king; and with what insolence the Papists, and many others, have carried themselves against you and your government; many thousands talk against you in all public places, who not only declare their hopes of seeing king James here very suddenly, but seem assured that the nation will rise to restore him as unanimously as they did to bring you in.

THIS confidence cannot be without some grounds, either from the assurances given by his friends in your councils, or that they see

your business so ill managed, that it is impossible for the government to subsist.

AT this conjuncture you ought certainly to trust none, but such as you can entirely confide in; such alone whose integrity is known to the world, whose principles have brought them to your service and interest, and whose safety and welfare is bound up with yours; not such who would be in the same posts, or better, should king James be re-established, and have betrayed you to him ever since you employed them.

THIS spirit that has risen up against you is spread over England, as well as about the town; and though you may not think the militia of much use against disciplined troops, yet if Your Majesty will put it into such hands as you can trust, they will be able to prevent any risings or tumults that can be in the country, and secure your peace at home: therefore, Sir, it cannot be ill advice to settle it all over England as soon as possibly you can: they are paid by the country, and do not cost you one penny.

THERE is another part of your conduct, which hath been of great prejudice to you; that you have carried yourself with such coldness, slowness, and indifference in all business, and between all parties; the hands and hearts of your friends have been thereby weakened, and your enemies strengthened against you.

IT was expected by all men, when you took the government upon you, that you would have settled it both with wisdom and vigor, that you would have made yourself safe from your foes, and put all power into the hands of your friends. Your enemies gave over all hopes, but those of your mercy, and would never have thought of disturbing your peace, had they not been invited to it by the ill conduct of your affairs.

IT is no wonder that so many of them are crept in about you, and that some have gained such credit with you, since you began very early to forget your friends who had best served you, and showed more kindness to those who had most opposed you. Certainly, Sir, you are the first king set up by power, that ever sought to be supported by his enemies.

WERE they not fit to be entrusted and employed by you, who had hazarded their all for you? or could you think those who had placed

the crown upon your head not able to keep it there? those are doubtless two very good arguments for their fidelity and power to serve you.

YOUR coldness and slowness in business hath made your enemies think you are afraid of them; and your trimming between parties is beneath you and your cause. Had you made use of those men alone who always appeared true to the interest of England, your enemies would not have had the confidence to have opposed you in any thing; your business would have gone on smooth and undisturbed, and your reign would have been glorious: but employing a medley of men, who can never act heartily together, your friends could not serve you, and your enemies were encouraged to intrigue against you.

THE wisest and best thinking men do not comprehend what Your Majesty can propose to yourself from that scheme of measures which seems to be laid before you.

CAN it be for Your Majesty's service to trust or employ any of King James's creatures?

OR any who are notoriously known to be dishonest men?

OR such whose mal-administration heretofore made them hated by the people?

OR any of those who had a hand, in the two last reigns, in bringing us into the misery Your Majesty hazarded your all to deliver us out of?

You see, Sir, into what an ill condition they brought your affairs in one year. Is it not manifest that some of them have betrayed you, that others have cheated you, and that altogether they put your business into such confusion, that you know not which way to turn yourself? Your friends are hereby much discouraged, and rendered incapable of serving you; for they neither can, nor will, act in the company, or under the direction of such villains.

YOUR whole people complain, and your parliament is discontented at it. If the parliament had not seen these men employed, I dare affirm they would have settled upon Your Majesty and the Queen the revenue for life. In the last sessions they complained of these people, yet were then willing to give the revenue for five or seven years; but now they see so much treachery, and the miscarriages grown to such a bulk, that they

can no longer bear them. Your Majesty suffers by it, for they will not trust while these men are about you.

Who would have thought it possible, that the people of England should so soon grow jealous of you, their great deliverer, as not to trust you with the revenue for more than one year? These men are the only cause of it; and, first or last, you will find it absolutely necessary to part with them.

If they loved Your Majesty, they would withdraw themselves for your sake; and if they were wise men, they would retire for their own: for if they bring us to confusion again, they will be certain sacrifices to the publick.

DOUBTLESS they endeavour to misrepresent the parliament to Your Majesty, as if they designed to lessen your power when they question those about you, or are dissatisfied with any you employ; thereby hoping to shelter themselves under your prerogative, and prevail with Your Majesty to protect them upon these specious pretences.

THIS hath ever been the trick of wicked ministers, and as often their ruin.

BUT, Sir, we hope it will not be in the power of any to fix thoughts in Your Majesty in prejudice of your parliament. No king of England can be great or happy without a perfect good understanding between him and his people: their interest is the same; and they are enemies to both who endeavour to divide them.

WE cannot doubt Your Majesty's affection for the protestant religion and the people of England, since you have so much exposed yourself to succour them: and we hope, that neither the disappointments you may have met with on the one hand, nor the insinuation of ill men on the other, will divert you from finishing the good you intended us.

IT is true you have an aftergame to play, yet we hope it may be retrieved, if Your Majesty please to take measures accordingly.

OPEN your heart to your people, let them see that you sincerely desire their good, and that it is your misfortune, not choice, that you have employed persons you find them dissatisfied with; tell them that you are

ready to quit whoever they dislike, and that you will never keep any about you who are suspected to them.

THE putting away all those who are complained of, cannot have any dangerous consequence; for their interest is so small, that altogether they cannot bring a hundred men either for or against you.

THIS will regain you all the hearts you have lost; this will fill the island with acclamations in your praise; this will make the parliament give you all the money you can want or desire, and your name renowned to all ages.

WE are fully persuaded that Your Majesty does really intend the good of England; and since you do, why should you not take the most ready course to make yourself and us easy and happy?

SINCE it hath not pleased God to bless you with children, you will by this means raise yourself a name more glorious to posterity, than if you had children to make princes over many nations.

AND if you had children to succeed you here, yet this would be the way to establish your throne; for no king can be so great in England as he that reigns in the hearts of his people; and he that sincerely desires their good, may command the last penny they have to give, and every drop of their blood to serve him.

THE proposal of settling a revenue, by act of parliament, upon the Princess Ann of Denmark, was fortunate for Your Majesty, for thereby you saw the number of your friends; and that if you take right measures, you may carry any thing in this house of commons. Your enemies could not have a more plausible question to draw in as many to their side as can be brought against you on any occasion; yet you heard how weak they were; the design was plain to give the princess a great revenue, and make her independent upon Your Majesty, that she might be the head of a party against you.

THIS was laboured by the Torrys and high church men, and carried for you by the honest old Whig interest: so that, Sir, you have clear demonstration, which is the stronger; and we hope you will no longer delay espousing the honest part of the nation.

THOSE who made you king, and those who keep your power from being eclipsed, desire you to lay aside the obnoxious men about you; and, Sir, we hope you will gratify us in a request that is both for your honour and interest.

YOUR circumstances are such, by reason of enemies at home, and your wars abroad, that you will always want to be supported by parliaments, therefore it is necessary that you do what you can to satisfy your people, and do nothing to disoblige them to bring yourself into disputes with them, for it may be of most dangerous consequence.

It is observable, in the reigns of King James the First, King Charles the First and Second, and the late king, that when they once came to have differences with their parliaments, they could never after call any new parliament that would do any thing for them; and, on the contrary, that Queen Elizabeth's compliance and affability made her wonderfully beloved, and her parliaments grant whatever she desired.

If Your Majesty likes this advice, there be some honest men about you whom you may consult with to improve it; tho' I protest that none of them know of this paper's coming to you, and am confident they will think these the only means to recover your almost lost game; and it is what was done by King Henry the Fourth, a great prince, before you.

I ENTREAT Your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, and remain

Your most dutiful and loyal

December 25th, 1689.

Subject and servant.

IN King William's box there is, in his own hand writing, a speech he intended to make to his first parliament, when he prorogued it, with a resolution to dissolve it. It may be curious to an English reader to compare this intended speech with that which his ministers formed for him. The two copies follow.

The speech which King William intended to have spoke when he dissolved his first parliament, in his own hand.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE all the reasons in the world to give you my hearty thanks for your readiness in supplying me to carry on the wars I am engaged in: you may be assured that the money you have given me has and will

be employed towards it, *as far as it will go*; and 'tis my greatest grief to see my good people so much charged, and therefore would do all what lays in my power to see them eased: and the speedy reducing of Ireland being of that great importance for the good of this kingdom, I am resolved to go there in person, to endeavour, under the blessing of God Almighty, to reduce that kingdom, that it may be no longer a burthen to this; and as I have ventured my life for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation, so I am ready to do it again for the settlement of the same. And the time of the year being already so far spent, that there is but a very little left to make all preparations necessary to take early the field, which can't be done during the session of a parliament, so that I am obliged to make an end of this, and do prorogue you till the 1st of April.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM so sensible of the readiness you have shown to supply me with money for the carrying on the wars I am engaged in, that I am glad of this occasion to give you thanks for your chearfull dispatch, which was absolutely necessary for the common safety. The best return I can make to your kindness is, to assure you that, *as far as it will go*, it shall all be employed to the purposes it was given.

IT is a very sensible affliction to me, to see my good people burthened with heavy taxes; but since the *speedy* recovering of *Ireland* is, in my opinion, the only means to ease them, and to preserve the peace and honour of the nation, I am resolved to go thither in person, and, with the blessing of God Almighty, endeavour to reduce that kingdom, that it may no longer be a charge to them.

AND as I have already *ventured my life* for the preservation of the religion, laws, and liberties of this nation; so I am now willing again to expose it, to secure you the quiet enjoyment of them.

THE spring draws on, and it being requisite I should be *early* in the field, I must *immediately* apply my thoughts to the giving orders for the necessary preparations, which, that I may have the *more leisure* to do, I have thought convenient now to put an end to this session.

In King William's box there is the following letter to him, in the year 1689, which seems written by Mr. Hampden, dissuading him from going to Ireland.

YOUR Majestie having been pleased, as I am inform'd, to communicate to several persons your resolutions of going into Ireland, the great objections that occur to me are such, that the infinite zeal I have for Your Majesty's service, makes me presume, in all humility, to lay them before you.

FIRST, Sir, It is greatlie to be feared, that since almost no bodie hath escaped sickness that hath gone thither, Your Majesty will hardly escape it; and how fatal that may be, not only to England, but to Europe, every body knows, Ireland bearing no proportion to the concern and interest the world hath in the prolongation of Your Majestie's life, the reasons whereof are plain, but too long for this paper.

2dly, THE great numbers of men which it will be necessary for Your Majesty to carry over, and the many volunteers who will be desirous to follow Your Majestie, and will be composed of such as are most affectionate to your royal person, will expose these two kingdoms too much to the designs of turbulent and disaffected persons, too many whereof appear to be in England, as well as Scotland, who no doubt have an understanding together; and 'tis to be feared they do but wait for such an opportunity to execute their designe.

3dly, It appearing manifestlie already, that all things almost for the support of the armys, must be supplied from hence, and how difficult it is to doe it, even when we have had the royal authority to command it to be done: Your Majestie will easily believe, that it will be next to impossible, when that is wanting, to furnish in time, and sufficiently, for an army near three times as big as this was this last year.

4thly, THE difficultys will be infinite in settling the administration of the government during Your Majesty's absence. If your Majesty intrusts your counsells to a few, there exception will be taken, and jealousies will increase, though perhaps as unreasonably as hitherto they have done. If Your Majesty make a full counsell, then factions and misunderstandings will arise amongst them, which will obstruct business, besides that it can-

A P P E N D I X.

not easily be resolved whether there ought to be any parliament or not, even upon the greatest occasions.

LASTLY, The expence of treasure will be so great that it seems to put the whole fate of Europe upon the success of the expedition, which can never be certain, from the situation of the country, the unhealthy weather, the want of provision, and many other difficultys.

THAT I may explain the reason last offered, give me leave humbly to lay before Your Majestie the state of the treasure, and your charge for the next year.

The land forces will cost	-	-	-	-	-	2,500,000
Your navy,	-	-	-	-	-	1,400,000
The civil list,	-	-	-	-	-	0,600,000
The debt already contracted,	-	-	-	-	-	1,400,000
The contingent charges of transports, clothing, magazines, hay, artillery, and carriages, &c.	-	-	-	-	-	300,000
					Total	6,200,000
Towards this there appears a prospect only of two millions, granted by parliament and the revenue in all,						3,000,000
So there will be a debt,						3,200,000

This debt amounts to so formidable a sum, that the effects of it appear terrible; for first, the want of money will be so great, that your army will be in a great measure unpaid: 2dly, it is almost certain that it will create obstructions in all necessary supplies to the army from time to time, on which the success of the whole business will depend; and Your Majestie's honor, and the glory of your name, and the welfare of these kingdoms, are things of too great moment to be hazarded against such apparent difficulties: but 3dly, it is to be feared that the merchants who are to furnish powder and stores, and the navy and victuals, will have so lost their credit, that it is to be doubted, whether it will be possible to sett out a fleet another year, which added to the danger of a mutinie, which may justly be feared in an army so much unpaid, as this must be, seems to reduce Your Majestie's affairs in these kingdoms to the last distress.

AND should the best thing that can, happen, notwithstanding these apparent dangers, which is the totall reduction of Ireland, this debt would be so great, that the parliament will certainly quarrel with the ill husbandry, and say it might have been done for less, and the factious will certainlie make use of that argument, and the distresses Your Majestie's affairs will be in for want of money, to offer things more ungratefull to Your Majestie than hitherto they have done. To cure all this in my poor opinion there is but one way, which is to reduce the charge, whatever the consequences be, to such a proportion, that the warr may be carried on, and the government subsist, and the armies and fleet well paid, and thereby depend and be affectionate to Your Majestie's service, though less numerous by this means. So Ireland will infallibly fall into Your Majestie's hands the next year, if it doe not this. Your Majestie will be free from clamours for money, and all the uneasie consequences of it; your mind will be at ease, and your affairs, though not so raised in their victories, will be more safe, and if a disappointment happen, it will be less afflicting, and easier repaired; and whatever happen of objection from the parliament, there is this answer obvious, that Your Majestie hath done all that the supplies they furnished you with, could enable you to do. But, Sir, if with this lesser armie and fleet, you should happen to be so victorious, but to a degree of getting Dublin, then, Sir, as the glorie would be the greater, so every body that had money, would be readie to lay it out upon adventures of lands there, to a degree of supplying your treasure, whatever the parliament doe. To explain all the happy effects of such an accident, would be too long here. There is one thing more, which seems absolutely necessary, which is, that after the raising of the parliament, Your Majesty go into Scotland, to settle that kingdom; at which journey Your Majestie will doubtless take such care as that Your Majestie will be safe for many years from having disturbance from thence, and so defeate those that depend upon them here. I ought here to have offered Your Majestie a scheme for reducing the charge of the next year to the proportion I mentioned, but not knowing how far Your Majestie will approve this humble opinion, and besides there being so many abler men to make it, I do not here offer it, but if Your Majestie pleases to encourage my zeal, so as

to command my thoughts, I will lay them before Your Majestie, with that integrity and true loyalty, which I must always have to Your Majestie's service.

In King William's box there is a letter from lord Delamer to the marquis of Caermathen, in the year 1689, on the same subject with Mr. Hampden's. Part of it is as follows:

THE small regard which the King has given to my advice and opinion, as well in relation to things as persons, is an unanswerable argument to me, that I ought rather to be silent than unaskt to offer him my sentiments upon his going into Ireland; but whether such neglect of me has proceeded from a mean opinion of my understanding, or a distrust of my sincere inclinations to his service, or else from a greater reliance his Majesty may have in your abilities, and the integrity of others, I know not, yet I cannot but declare that it grates the harder upon me to see a preference given to those who have justly rendered themselves suspected, by opposing his having the crown, and obstructing every thing that tends to the settling of it since it was upon his head.

THEY are not many who will not allow me to have a competent measure of sense, and the number is not greater that think I act against my judgment; and must it not then be a most sensible trouble to be regarded as if I were a knave or a fool, and by him, with whom voluntarily and unaskt I ventured all I had in the world, and wasted a great part of it, and have exerted the utmost of my understanding and interest to make him easy, safe, and great; but I have this to support me, that I have not done any thing to give him the least cause to distrust me, nor ever offered him any advice which the issue of it did not prove I was in the right.

B O O K V.

In King William's box is lord Annandale's confession of the Scotch part of the first conspiracy against King William.

A full and faithful account of the conspiracy William earl of Annandale was with others engaged in against the government, written from the earl's own mouth by Sir William Lockhart, and delivered by the earl to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, the 14th day of August, 1690.

AFTER the first adjournment of the Scotch parliament in the year 1689, the earl of Annandale, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery of Scallmorlie, came to London, contrary to the king's express command, and presented an address to his Majesty, which (with a paper called the vindication of it, written by Mr. Robert Ferguson, as sir James Montgomery told the earl, who furnished him the materials) gave such offence to the king, as made us quickly see we had totally lost the king's favour. Thus the earl continued in London without entering into any design till the beginning of December, about which time sir James Montgomery, who is perhaps the worst and most restless man alive, came to the earl, and proposed to him, that, seeing there was no hopes of doing any thing with the king, we ought to apply ourselves to King James, who was our lawfull prince, and who would no doubt give us what preferments and employments we pleased. To this purpose several days we discoursed, and the earl having agreed to the proposition, it was thereafter proposed by sir James to the lord Rofs, who after much difficulty engaged therein. Then did we meet, and consider the most proper ways of making our application to the late king; but sir James Montgomery had already so ordered that matter, that the lord Rofs and the earl had little more to do but to say Amen. For at this time he produced three papers, all writt with his own hand. First, A commission for one to represent the late king in parliament. Second, Instructions to his commissioner, consisting, to the best of the earl's memory, of 32 articles. The third, A declaration

calculated for Scotland; all which were to be sent to, and signed by the late king. The person who was to carry this extraordinary message, and which seemed of greatest difficulty, was as ready as the rest, who was one Simpson, whose acquaintance the lord Rofs and the earl owed to sir James. Some days after, the earl was conducted by sir James to the Fleet prison, where they again discoursed the whole affair with Simpson and Nevil Payne, and declares he was, in all, three times there with the same company, only the lord Rofs was once with them. Thereafter the earl had two other meetings on this subject, the one in his own lodgings, and the other at the Globe tavern near Northumberland house, where were present sir James, Mr. Simpson, capt. Williamson, sir Robert Clerk, and the lord Rofs, who was only at one of them, but does not remember which. Williamson and Clerk did at this time resolve to go to France with Simpson. The next and last meeting the earl had in England on this affair, was at capt. Williamson's house near Hyde Park, where all the above named persons, except Nevil Payne, were present. We looked over all the papers were to go with Simpson, and the credentials he was to have from us was signed there, which was produced under sir James Montgomery's hand in black ink, and writ over in white ink either by Clerk or Williamson, and signed with white ink by the earl, lord Rofs, and sir James. The substance of it was, that they were sorry they had departed from that duty and allegiance they owed to King James, great assurances to be faithful for the future, telling the necessity of satisfying the people of Scotland in the method prescribed, and that there might be full credit given to the bearer, which with the forementioned papers were at this time delivered to Simpson, who carried them to Ireland by the way of France. This is all the earl remembers to have been transacted in England in this matter. And the earl does declare that the whole of the project was bottomed on this ground, that we were able to bring home King James in a parliamentary way, being, as we believed, the majority of the parliament; for though we durst not make any insinuation to the dissenters of bringing home King James, they really abhorring that thought, yet many of them we knew would concur to force the king to yield to those demands which he had shewed his dislike of, or so to oppose the king's measures, that (though they desired not the parliament dissolved) yet would certainly oblige the king

to do it, which would so have served the design that the earl can with great assurance declare, that not only the country would have been in confusion, but that when the king should have been necessitated to call another parliament, the plurality would have called back King James. That this project might be managed to the best advantage, the earl and sir James Montgomery, about the end of December, went to Scotland, the lord Rofs having gone two days before; and it was at this time that sir James did settle a correspondence with Nevil Payne, under the direction of Archibald Moor, Patrick Johnson, and James Hamilton. The earl declares, that so soon as they arrived at Edinburgh, sir James and he waited on the earl of Arran, and told him all they had transacted at London, in sending the message to the late king, which he then approved of, and was willing to do any thing would bring home his old master. Thus matters went on in Scotland, the Jacobites and we joyning cordially in the design of obstructing the king's affairs, so as should oblige him to dissolve this parliament. To this end all endeavours were used to oblige those who were for King James to come in, and take the oaths, so that from the number of Jacobites that were to come in on the one hand, and the appearance we made for the liberty of the subject on the other, by which we had many dissenters, and the advantage we received from the frequent adjournments, gave us good hopes of success; but quickly we were disappointed, for when the parliament had sitt some days, we plainly saw that the dissenters had got such a confidence in the earl of Melvill's sincerity, both for the interest of the king, and liberty of the people, and seeing us openly appear with those they concluded Jacobites, they left us almost in every vote. So that the Jacobites finding there might great inconveniences arise to them from so publick an appearance against the interest of the king and settlement of the nation, they told us plainly, they would leave us, and concurr in the money bill, which was the chief thing which from the beginning we all resolved to oppose. Thus the measures of getting the parliament dissolved being broke, we broke among ourselves, and every one looked to his own safety. Whilst these things were transacting in parliament, Mr. Simpson comes to Edinburgh with the return of his message from King James, and to the best of the earl's remembrance it was upon the being her Majesty's birth day; he brought

with him a great bundle of papers sealed up in a large leather bag with the late king's own seal. It was delivered to sir James Montgomery and opened by him in his own chamber, without calling either Rofs or the earl, who were equally concerned in the message; so that sir James might have taken out what papers he pleased without controul. The earl, according to the best of his memory, gives in the following list of what papers he saw under the late king's hand.

1. A commission to himself to represent King James in parliament.
2. Instructions to him in a large parchment, and many particular instructions apart.
3. A commission for a council of five, very ample, to the earls of Arran and Annandale, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery; and whether Argyle's name was in for the fifth, or a blank, he does not remember.
4. A commission of council, wherein duke Hamilton and most of the old privy counsellors were named, with a blank, for the council of five to insert whom they pleased.
5. A commission for the session, wherein sir William Hamilton and sir James Ogilvie were named, and several others which the earl does not remember.
6. A commission of justiciary.
7. A commission to James Stuart to be lord advocate.
8. A general indemnity, six persons only excepted; the earl of Melville, lord Leven, lieutenant-general Douglass, major-general Mackay, sir John Dalrymple lord advocate, and the bishop of Salisbury.
9. A great many letters, writ with King James's own hand, to most of the considerable men in Scotland, and above 40 more superscribed by him to be directed and delivered as the council of five should think fitt.
10. A letter to the three that sent the message.
11. A particular letter to Annandale, and a commission to command the castle of Edinburgh; and a patent for a marquiss.
12. The earl has heard that sir James had a particular letter; but he saw a commission to be secretary, and a patent to be an earl.

13. THE lord Rofs had a commission to be colonel of the horse guards, and an earl's patent.

The earl declares that many of these papers are burnt, some yet extant, and that what are in his own custody, he shall deliver to whom Her Majesty shall appoint. The earl of Annandale does further declare, that although he had talked with the earls of Linlithgow, Balcarras, Breadalbine, lord Duffus, lord Preston, lord Boyne, and sir James Oglebie, sir William Scott, about the bringing home King James, and assuring them he was in his interest, yet the particular message from London he only communicated to the marquiss of Athole and the earl of Arran, and declares that the message having come upon the Thursday, it remained with sir James Montgomery untill the Saturday morning, that he and the earl carried all the papers abovementioned to the earl of Arran's lodging in Holyrood-house, where Arran and Rofs were, and there did consult what papers were proper to show to the rest of the cabal who were that afternoon to meet at the earl of Breadalbin's lodgings. It was here resolved, that nothing should be communicated to them but King James's commission to his commissioner, the 32 articles of instructions, and the particular letters, because we apprehended the rest would have taken umbrage at the extraordinary trust given to us by the commission of the council of 5, and commissions for the greatest trusts and first offices of the kingdom, which some of themselves had in the late king's reign enjoyed. So in the afternoon, according to appointment, we met at the earl of Breadalbin's lodging, where were present the marquiss of Athole, the earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, Balcarras, Breadalbin, lord Rofs, sir James Montgomery, who after having considered the papers, were not satisfied with them, and were ill pleased that the declaration sent to France was not returned, and all of them did extremely blame us who had sent the message, for thinking it was possible to do King James's business in this parliament, and that in place of these papers, we ought to have writ for ammunition and arms and forces if they could be obtained. So we parted, and the papers continued in Breadalbin's hands, untill the Monday, at which time sir James Montgomery and the earl returned to Breadalbin's lodgings, who sent for one Cambell a writer, who had the keeping of the papers; and we being satisfied that they could be of no import

for king James's service, and might prove destructive to us if they should come into the hands of the government, we in Breadalbin's bed-chamber burned them.

In king William's box are the three following letters from the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Nottingham, about the first plot against king William.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.

S I R,

London, 13th June, 1690.

YESTERDAY I received the honour of Your Majesty's letter of the 10th, and this day we had the news of Your Majesty's being embarked on the 11th, with so good a wind that I doubt not but Your Majesty arrived in Ireland on the 12th, where I hope you will find your victories as easy as your passage.

THE wind has stood so well ever since the 10th, that I hope it will have remedied the mistake of those ships which are gone to Kircudbright, and it may have carried the fleet wherever they would go; only they will be retarded awhile by staying to take up lord Pembroke's regiment on board at Portsmouth. I imparted Your Majesty's commands to the queen concerning the parliament, about which I found you had given her some intimation; but it will be necessary, before the time of its meeting, to let her have your express directions on that matter; to the end her Majesty may deliver it as such to the great council.

It hath been expected that before this time some informations would have come from Scotland, by which sir John Cohrain and Mr. Ferguson might have been detained in custody. There hath little appeared by their papers, saving a constant correspondence betwixt them and some of the club, and sir John's having been ordered to buy some serviceable horses for my lord Ross in April last; in which month it appears by several letters, which have been taken in other hands, that something was expected to have been then done which failed.

ALL things here seem to be in a very peaceable posture; and the dean of Paul's and I do intend to attempt the making some reconciliations in

the city, amongst such as are best able to contribute to your service there, if they can be brought to agree with one another.

I ACKNOWLEDGE Your Majesty's great goodness and condescension in having been pleased to afford me expressions so far beyond what is possible for me to deserve; and I am sure that if I had not been already devoted to Your Majesty's service with such an entire resignation as is not possible to be greater, I must necessarily have been so, from the date of that letter which comes from an hand so sacred both for truth and greatness of mind.

I AM sorry that my son's interest seeming to interfere with major Wildman's, makes it less fit for me to reflect upon his actions: but there are divers passages which make it highly probable that Mr. Wildman is privy to whatever has been acting against the government in Scotland, and particularly his burning very many of his papers, as he did certainly the same night after Ferguson and his papers were seized; with whom I find he used to be constantly in private twice or thrice every week. His proceedings also with sir Samuel Moreland, which are too tedious to trouble Your Majesty withal, and about which he gave sir Samuel a particular strict charge that I should know nothing. Upon that whole matter, I do truly believe him to be a very dangerous man to the government; and that neither Your Majesty's nor the Queen's letters do escape his search, if he can get to them: insomuch that I am in my conscience of opinion, that of all the hands in England the post-office ought the least to be trusted in his; especially at this time.

I BEG leave to conclude with this assurance to Your Majesty, that I am, both by obligation, inclination, and duty, SIR,

Yours, &c.

CAERMARTHEN P.

Lord Nottingham to king William.—Lady Dorchester and Mr. Graham spies to government.—Weak state of the kingdom.—Presses the king to return.

SIR,

I THINK it my duty to acquaint Your Majesty with some informations I have lately had from persons that are privy to all matters relating to the interests of the late king, as Your Majesty will easily

believe, when I tell you they are my lady Dorchester and Mr. James Grahme: the latter will now take the oaths of fidelity, and gives me this reason for it: that though he has done all he could to serve king James, yet, since there is now no further possibility of doing him any good, but the quarrel is now more immediately between England and France, he will behave himself as becomes a true lover of his country, and a faithful subject of Your Majesty's; concluding, that if the French king should succeed in any attempt here, it would be no advantage to his old master, who, by his behaviour in Ireland, must needs have lost all that respect which ever the court of France pretended to shew him. This is what he says; but I guess, that the taking the oaths being necessary to entitle him to Your Majesty's general pardon, this is at least one motive to induce him to his present resolution.

He says he will never be an evidence, nor would willingly name any persons; but promises me he will discover every thing that he hears of the French designs; and if any letters should be intercepted, he will explain the meaning of them.

He tells me, that almost all the persons of any quality in Scotland are in a conspiracy against the government; and though all are not for the late king, yet they are contented to join with his friends to overthrow the present constitution; my lady Dorchester added, that my lord marquis of Athol had received 1200*l.* to carry on this design, but did not distribute it as he should have done. She named also my lord Belcarris, who was to have gone lately into France, but wanted money.

As to the French designs, they, in prospect of the success of their fleet, intended to have invaded England with 40,000 men, part from France, and part from Ireland, where they expected the war would have been prolonged by avoiding a battle; but whether the defeat there will alter their measures as to the time of this invasion, he knows not: for they have ready great numbers of transport ships, and particularly for 2000 horse; and there are some persons gone into France to give an account of Your Majesty's great success in Ireland, and of the posture of affairs here. And Mr. Grahme has promised to inform me of the resolutions taken thereupon in France, whether to delay or hasten their attempt upon England: and I beg leave humbly to offer my thoughts

to Your Majesty, that it will be in a few days or not at all; for though the design was at first laid to be executed towards the end of the campaign, yet it was upon a supposition that their fleet would have wholly destroyed that of Your Majesty by surprizing them before they were joined, and that the war of Ireland would have lasted much longer; and that their frigates would have destroyed your transport ships: but being disappointed in the two first, (and I hope in the last too) and knowing that it is possible for Your Majesty's fleet to be at sea in three weeks time, and that Your Majesty is at liberty of returning yourself, and bringing a great number of troops, they must conclude they shall not be able to make the attempt of landing here, and much less of succeeding in it, unless they immediately undertake it, while there is nothing by sea, and little by land, to oppose them; and besides these reasons, I have a positive oath of a French fisherman taken lately by the Crown frigate, that great numbers of troops were drawing together to St. Malo's from several parts of France, and it was publicly talked of that they were designed to invade England: and my lord Marlborough tells me, that colonel Talmaſh writes the Marshal Humieres is drawing a great army to join the duke of Luxemburgh, but more probably to be embarked at Dunkirk, towards which coast some French men of war were seen to be detached after the battle; and my lord further tells me, that it is discoursed here among the disaffected, that Humieres is coming hither with 18,000 foot and 2000 horse.

How ill a condition we are in to resist them Your Majesty can judge; the fleet cannot be expected at sea these three weeks at the least, and, I fear, not near so soon; and though vice admiral Killigrew be arrived at Plymouth, yet his ships are so foul, that he can't avoid the enemy if he should attempt to come up the channel; and the difficulty therefore of joining the fleet is almost insuperable: the troops that can be drawn together, will not be above five thousand foot and a thousand horse and dragoons; and the rest of our strength is in the militia, on which Your Majesty will not much rely, and the most considerable part of that, which is in London, makes difficulty of marching out of London. Their auxiliaries cannot presently be raised, and expect to be armed as usual,

by the crown, and their offers of one thousand dragoons and four hundred horse most certainly cannot be effected in so short a time as is necessary, much less can they be so disciplined as to be usefull; so that, if the French should suddenly land, they might in a few days be masters of London, and from thence of all your ships in harbour, and with the help of their fleet, of the others also that are at the Buoy in the Nore.

I SHOULD not have said thus much, had it been my own opinion singly, but I think all the rest of my lords of the committee concur with me in it.

YOUR Majesty knows the officers you have left here, and how few there are that have any experience; but I am bound to tell you, that I hear there will be some difficulty made of submitting to the chief; I cannot say with any reason; but such an humour only is sufficient to discompose a greater strength than we can make.

AND I humbly hope Your Majesty will pardon me, that I tell you, there are not wanting disaffected persons, who, although they will not rise in arms against you, yet give occasion of discontents and murmurings, by saying, that England is at the yearly charge of five millions, and has near 80,000 men in pay in the defence of Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, and is itself naked and destitute of the means of its preservation.

ALL which makes Your Majesty's return so necessary, that nothing should delay it, but the impossibility of it with safety to your person; but however, I presume Your Majesty will send a very considerable body of your troops, and think it much better to hazard them than a whole kingdom.

THE messenger is returned from Bath, where my lord Anandale was at his arrival there, and through folly or knavery has suffered him to escape.

Whitehall,

I am

July 15th, 90.

Your Majesty's most obedient subject,

NOTTINGHAM.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to K. William, 12 August, 1690.—Suspensions of many in England.

I SUPPOSE Your Majesty is informed by others what scruples some of the admiralty raise upon all occasions, and that as some of them have refused to sign the commission for the present admirals (though

contrary to the exprefs orders to have it done) fo they now raife numbers of doubts about forming a commiffion for trial of my lord Torrington, and are defigning to bring that matter into parliament, and to be tried there by a faction, if they can encompaffe their defigns in that, as they hope to do in other things.

I KNOW not whether the Queen does give Your Majesty any account of my lord Anandale's confeffion to her this day, concerning the tranfactions which have been fince December laft, betwixt the late king and fir James Montgomery, my lord Rofs, and himfelf. He fays he fhall recollect more than he has yet faid; but he does acknowledge their having treated with the late king, and received commiffions from him, and that one fir Robert Clark, captain Williamson, Neale Paine, and one Sympfon have been their chief agents and meffengers. That Fergufon was privy to it, and others in England whom he does not know. That they did firft defign to have carried it on in Scotland by a parliament, but finding that to fail, their bufinefs was then to interrupt the progrefs of all affairs in parliament. He fays fir James Montgomery is now in town, notwithstanding his having newly promifed the commiffioner in Scotland, that he would come directly to the Queen, infomuch that the committee writ but ten days ago to the Queen, that he had promifed fir James he fhould be fafe from any restraint, and befought the Queen that his promife might be kept with him: but it now appears that he hath only cheated the commiffioner, thereby to fecure himfelf from being taken, whilft he negociates with his confederates here, who have made fome of themfelves appear, by refufing to fign my lord Rofs his commitment.

I FEAR Your Majesty will find a great many fuch friends amongft us, and I believe you have not found the difficulties fo great in the conquest of your adverfaries abroad, as you will do how to deale with a people at home, who are as fearful of your being too prosperous as any of your enemies can be; and who have laid as many ftratagems in your way as they can to prevent it; and if by your prudent conduct Your Majesty can furmount their defigns, I fhall not doubt of your being as great a king, and we as happy fubjects, as I wifh both, and will contribute towards, as far as can be in my fmall power.

Remark.] The expression in this letter that those who refused to sign, lord Ross's commitment were his associates, is very singular; considering, that from the queen's letter to king William, afterwards to be printed, of date July 2^o, 1690; it appears that those who refused to sign, were the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Winchester, lord Devonshire, and lord Montague.

In king William's box is the following letter from lord Torrington to lord Caermarthen.

Account of the battle off Beachy Head.

MY LORD,

I THIS day received your lordship's, at an unfortunate place and at an unfortunate time; for yesterday morning, according to her Majesty's order received Sunday in the afternoon, we engaged the enemy's fleet with the wind easterly, a fresh gale; we bore down upon them. The Dutch had the van. By that time we had fought two hours it fell calm, which was a great misfortune to us all, but most to the Dutch; who being most disabled, it gave the French an opportunity of destroying all their lame ships, which I hitherto have prevented, by ordering them to anchor, falling with the red squadron, by the help of the tide, between all but one of their lame ships and the enemy: that single ship, for want of anchoring, is, without a mast, fallen into the power of the French: we rid within three miles one of another, till the fleet came, and then weighed. The French rid fast, which has given us the opportunity of getting about five leagues from the body of their fleet. We have the Dutch lame ships in tow, and will endeavour to get them into the river, or Portsmouth: several of the English ships are very much disabled, and have lost many men, of which I cannot yet give your lordship the particulars: others have had better fortune, myself for one; for I have not lost many more than twenty men, that I can yet hear of, and eight cannon dismounted by the enemy's shot, and a pretty many severe shot under water. Most of the officers behaved themselves very well; but the Dutch, in point of courage, to admiration. I send your lordship, inclosed, a copy of their defects, as I received it from admiral Evertzen, as he delivered it me this morning. Many of them,

I believe, have lost many men. Captain Noordley, rear admiral Jan Dick and Brackell killed. We have lost captain Botham; and I doubt captain Pomroy will die; two marine captains in my regiment, and several sea and land lieutenants, and other officers.

WE have taken up a French guard marine, that tells me he was shot overboard with the tafferell of the ship he belonged to. He assures me (and if I may believe my eyes he says true) that the French fleet consists of eighty-two men of war, of which the least carries fifty guns, and not above six of them less; they have thirty fireships: that several of their ships have received damage is certain, for they have bore away from us; it is that makes me hope we shall be able to make our retreat good with our lame ships, which is utterly impossible if they press us; pray God fend us well off. It has been said they are ill mann'd; but I do assure you the oldest seaman that lives never saw quicker firing: it will be reasonable to take some quick resolution about the Dutch, whether they shall go home to refit, or be refitted in the river. What the consequence of this unfortunate battle may be, God Almighty only knows: but this I dare be positive in; had I been left to my liberty, I had prevented any attempt upon the land, and secured the western ships Killegrew and the merchantmen. I have sent the Mary galley to order Shovell and all merchants shippes he meets, to secure themselves in the first port of strength they can fetch. My intentions are, if possible, to retire into the river, and there make what defence I can, if they come so far: many of our ships want shot for their upper guns, and the Dutch have very little left. Had I undertaken this of my own head, I should not well know what to say; but its being done by command, will, I hope, free me from blame.

Off of Beachy, July the 1st, I am, &c.

One in the afternoon.

TORRINGTON.

PART II.

P

In king William's box are the following letters from queen Mary to king William in Ireland; all of which I print, because they shew the distracted state of England at the time; and perhaps may enable the reader to form some idea of the character of a princess, who was in one of the most singular situations known in history.

Queen Mary to king William—Her vexation at his leaving her.

Whitehall, June $\frac{22}{18}$, 1690.

YOU will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me, it may be; yet being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And indeed it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent, though I trust every post to hear some good news or other from you; therefore I shall make this very short, and only tell you I have got a swell'd face, though not quite so bad yet, as it was in Holland five years ago. I believe it came by standing too much at the window, when I took the waters. I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea; I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do, and shall till death.

Queen Mary to King William.—Complaints of the Queen dowager.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July } 1,}{\text{June } 21,}$ 1690.

I RECEIVED yesterday, with great joy, your dear letter of the $\frac{26}{18}$ th, from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better; I hope he will of his mercy give you all the success we can desire. I must now tell you a thing myself at large, which I suppose you may have heard of last post; for after I had writ my letter and sent it away, lord Nott. lord chamberlain, and lord Marlborough came to me. The lords of the cabinet council had recommended some persons to be reprieved in order to transportation; and lord Ch. press'd extremely that

M^cGuire might be pardoned. I told him, that having spoke to you about him, the last answer you gave was, that he must be hanged, having deserved it; but he assured me that you had received other information since, and would certainly pardon him were you here; so that at last I said I would consent he should be transported with the rest; which I thought was all I could do upon his importunity after what you had said. In any other case than that of a man's life, you may be sure I would not have been persuaded so far after what you had said, but I thought there was too much cruelty in refusing that for the first time: but lord Nott. told me, you had taken a resolution never to pardon burglary, and he desired that he might tell every body so, that I might be no more importuned. I shall not trouble you with every thing these lords said to me at this time, but the chief thing was that they had had the parson in examination, upon a report that lord Feversham had forbid him saying the prayer for your success at Somerset-house: Upon which he went to him, and asked him if it were his order? Lord Feversham told him, Yes: for it may be, said he, if the Q. hears this prayer is used, she may take it for a pretence to forbid any prayers at all in that place, since she is not obliged to have any thing but mass there: but this she connives at; and lord Feversham and the rest of the Protestant servants contribute to the paying the minister, who they say is an honest man, and does not omit any thing in his parish: but he believing he must obey lord Feversham, did leave it out some days; upon which many of the Q. D. servants would not go to prayers there, but told it; yet lord Feversham, upon Wednesday last, ordered the whole office for the fast to be used. This is so unaccountable a way of proceeding, that I think there is as much folly as any thing else in it; but I was extreme angry, which those lords saw, but I shall not trouble you with it. I told them I thought there was no more measures to be kept with the queen herself after this; that is, if it were her order, as no doubt it is; but first lord Nott. was to send for lord Fev. to him; I desired him to speak as angrily as it was possible, which he promised; but lord Fev. was with him as soon as he got home, having heard the parson had been examined. He was it seems in pain; when lord Nott. told him all I had said, he seem'd much concerned, and desired to come, throw himself at my feet, and own all the matter as a

very great fault in him, but done out of no ill design: to be short, he came yesterday in my bed-chamber, at the hour there was a great deal of company, (I mean then just before dinner) he seemed extremely concerned, lookt as pale as death, and spoke in great disorder; he said, he must own it a very great fault, since I took it so: but he begged me to believe 'twas not done out of any ill intention, nor by agreement with any body: he assured me the Queen herself knew nothing of it; he said 'twas a fault, and a folly, an indiscretion, or any thing I would call it: I told him, after doing a thing of that nature, the best way was not to go about excusing it; that 'twas impossible, since to call it by the most gentle name I could give it, 'twas an unpardonable folly, and which I did not expect, after the protestations he had made; upon which he said abundance of words. I doubt whether himself knew what he meant by them, but I am sure I could make nothing of them; till at last he spoke plain enough, that I understood: he said, God pardoned sinners when they repented, so he hoped I would; I told him, God saw the hearts, whether the repentance was sincere, which since I could not do, he must not find it strange if I would trust only to actions, and so I left him: this is all I think to a syllable what I said to him, and as much as I could make sense of that he said to me: but though I pity the poor man for being obliged thus to take the queen dowager's faults upon him, yet I could not bring myself to forgive him. This I remember I did say more, that if it had been to myself, I could have pardoned him, but when it immediately concerned your person, I would, nor could not. The Q. D. sent me a compliment yesterday, upon my swelled face, (which I do not know if I have writ you word of, but yesterday I had leeches set behind my ears for it, which has done but little good, so that it mends but slowly, and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times, that I fear you will make but ill sense of it) and will come to day to see me, but desired an hour when there was least company; so that I imagine she will speak something of herself; and that which inclines me the more to this opinion is, that she has sent for lord Halifax, and was shut up in her chamber about business with him, and others, the whole morning: I shall give you an account of this before I seal up my letter: in the mean while I shall tell you, that having had a letter from M. Schulemburgh, about his money, without which, he and M. des Marefts

Both write me word, his credit is lost. I spoke of it this morning, at the cabinet council, and lord Nott. had also a letter from Mr. Eccart, about the same. Lord Marlborough took great care to shew that honour was engaged, and a great many more consequences of it. I suppose an exact account is given you of all this, so that I need say no more, but that I hope I have done well to press it as much as may be: 'tis resolved to give an answer next Tuesday. Lord Fitzharding having at present no estate in Somersetshire, and not living there, fears he may not be so able to serve you as he ought, therefore, if you please, will be content with the custos rotulorum, without the lieutenancy: upon this occasion I shall only name one who desired it; though I told him I was engaged to speak for another, that is the D. of Bolton, who I think will lose nothing for want of asking: but upon my answer, he told me it was not for himself, but his son Winchester, he would have it. The Q. Dow. has been here, but did not stay a moment, nor spake two words; since she went I have been in the garden, and find my face pretty well; but it is now candle-light, therefore I dare say no more. I have still the same complaint to make, that I have not time to cry, which would a little ease my heart; but I hope in God I shall have such news from you as will give me no reason; yet your absence is enough, but since it pleases God I must have patience; do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else with ease.

I SEND you the letter of M. D. Ablancourt, because I don't know who he means, and 'tis so short 'twill take you up no time to read.

LORD MARLBOROUGH tells me 'tis almost time to think of the proroguing the parliament; I wish you would give yourself the trouble to write your mind very particularly upon the subject.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the arrival of the French fleet on the coast.

Whitehall, the $\frac{2 \text{ July,}}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, half 11 at night.

THE news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast, makes it thought necessary to write to you both ways; and I, that you may see how matters stand in my heart, prepare a letter for each.

I think lord Torrington has made no haste: and I cannot tell whether his being sick, and staying for lord Pembroke's regiment, will be a sufficient excuse: but I will not take up your time with my reasonings, I shall only tell you, that I am so little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland, or this place, to me 'tis much at one, as to the fear; for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my poor carcass. I know who is most necessary in the world. What I fear most at present is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be assured I am ever intirely yours till death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall, the $\frac{2 \text{ July,}}{22 \text{ June,}}$ 1690, at half 10 at night.

AS I was ready to go into my bed, lord Nott. came and brought me a letter, of which he is going to give you an account; for my own part, I shall say nothing to it, but that I trust God will preserve us, you where you are, and poor I here. Methinks lord Torrington has made no haste; they say he stays for lord Pembroke's regiment: he also has not been very quick, for he received it at 8 this evening, and kept it till now, that he has sent it open to lord Nott. I thank God I am not much afraid; I think too little; which makes me fear 'tis want of apprehending the danger. That which troubles me most in all things is your absence and the fear I am in, something may be done to hinder us from hearing from you; in that case I don't know what will become of us. I still trust in God, who is our only help. Farewell, I will trouble you with no more, but only desire you, whatsoever happens, to love me as I shall you to death.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the same subject.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 4,}}{\text{June 24,}}$ 1690.

SINCE I writ to you about the coming of the French fleet upon the coast, the lords have been very busy; I shall not go about to give you an account of things, but shall tell you some particular passages: One happened to day, at the great council, where I was by their advice,

and when they had resolved to seize upon suspected persons, in naming them, sir H. Capel would have said something for lord Clarendon (whose first wife you know was his sister); every body stared at him, but nobody preparing to answer, which I thought they would not do may be in my regard, I ventured to speak, and tell sir H. Cap. that I believed every body knew as I did, that there was too much against him to leave him out of the list that was making: I can't tell if I ought to have said this, but when I knew your mind upon it, and had seen his letter, I believed it as necessary he should be clapt up as any, and therefore thought myself obliged to say so; but as I do not know when I ought to speak and when not, I am as silent as can be, and if I have done it now mal a propos, I am sorry, but I could not help it, though at the same time I must own, I am soryer, than it may be will be believed, for him, finding the Dutch proverb true which you know, but I should spoil in writing. Lord Monmouth and his officers were with me yesterday, with their declaration as they call it, about which I writ to you before. I hope the easterly wind is the only cause I do not hear from you which I am very impatient for now, and when I consider that you may be got a great way if you began to march last Thursday, I am in a million of fears, not knowing when you may be in danger: That alone is enough to make me the greatest pain imaginable, and in comparison of which all things else are not to be named, yet by a letter from lord Torrington, dated at 3 yesterday in the afternoon, I see he thought this day was like to decide a great deal there. I cannot but be in pain, it may be I do not reason just upon the matter, but I fear besides the disheartening many people, the loss of a battle would be such an encouragement to disaffected ones, that might put things here in disorder, which in your absence, would be a terrible thing, but I thank God I trust in him and that is really the only consolation I have. I was last night at Highpark for the first time since you went: it swarmed with those who are now ordered to be clapt up. Yesterday lord Fev. came to lord Nott. to tell him he had put Q. D. off of the Hamburgh voyage; but she would go to the Bath; after which he came again, and said that seeing it might now be inconvenient to have guards there, she desired to go to Islington, but lord Marl. desired the answer might not be given a day or two till we heard something of the success of the fleet. Since I

have writ this, I was called out to lord Nott. who brought me your dear letter of the 2^dth, which is so welcome that I cannot exprefs it, especially because you pity me, which I like and desire from you, and you only. As for the building, I fear there will be many obstacles; for I spoke to sir J. Lowther this very day, and hear so much use for money, and find so little, that I cannot tell whether that of Hampton court will not be a little the worse for it, especially since the French are in the channel, and at present between Portland and us, from whence the stone must come; but in a day or two, I hope to give you a more certain account, this being only my own conjecture. God be praised that you are so well, I hope in his mercy he will continue it. I have been obliged to write this evening to M. Schulemberg to desire him to advance money for the 6 regiments to march, which they say is absolutely necessary for your service as well as honour. The lords of the treasury have made me pawn my word for it, and that tomorrow 20,000 pounds will be paid him. It is now candle light, and I dare say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to king William.—Fears about lord Torrington.—Complaints of being neglected by the ministers.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July } 6,}{\text{June } 20,}$ 1690.

BY this exprefs I shall write freely and tell you what great suspicions encrease continually of major Wildman. Lord Nottingham I believe will by the same write to sir R. Southwell, that upon any extraordinary thing which might be necessary to be kept a secret, he should send him an exprefs directed immediately to him. It would be too long to tell you all the reasons of suspicion, but this one instance I will give, that since your going from hence there is not one word come from Scotland, neither from lord Melvin, nor colonel Mackay, to lord Marlborough, which methinks seems unaccountable, though it is this day 3 weeks since lord Nottingham writ pressingly for a speedy answer: Yet lord Monmouth has letters, and gives intelligence which does not always prove true. I told lord Nottingham that I thought the only way was to send an exprefs, that he write to lord Melvin, and lord Marlborough to Mackay, and let them know they have not once heard from them. Upon this lord Pre-

fidest and lord Nottingham desired I would also sign letters to the governors of Berwick and Carlisle, not to let any persons go by who had not a pass, that they should stop the mails, and send word how many were come from thence in this time. This I have done, and the express is to be immediately sent away. I ever fear not doing well, and trust to what nobody says but you, therefore hope it will have your approbation. It is a strange thing, that last night sir R. Holmes writ to lord Nott. and Mr. Blaithwait both, that the fleets were briskly engaged, which he could see from the hills, which letter was writ at 6 yesterday morning, since which we have not a word from him; but another to sir H. Goodricke from Portsmouth, dated at 3 in the afternoon, assures then there had been no engagement, but some shooting between the Scouts. What to think of this nobody knows, but it seems to me every one is afraid of themselves, for sir R. H. desires mightily some succours, or else the Isle of Wight is lost. Lord Bath is very backward in going down, but with much ado he sends his son, who only says he stays for a letter of mine, which is signed this morning, to empower him to command at Plymouth in his father's absence, which he tells me you promised before you went, and it is upon your leave lord Bath pretends to stay here till the term is over; but I told him I supposed you had not foreseen the French being so near. D. of Bolton also tells me last night, you had given him leave to raise some horse volunteers for which he should have had a commission, but that you went away, therefore he would have me give it; but I put it off, and lord Marlborough advises me not to give it. Lord President some time since told me the same thing, but I will not give any positive answer till you send me your directions. I must also give you an account of what lord Nott. told me yesterday; he said lord Stuard was very angry at lord Torrington's deferring the fight, and proposed somebody should be joined in commission with him. But that the other lords said could not be done, so lord Monmouth offered to take one whose name I have forgot; he is newly made I think commissioner of the navy, and as lord Nottingham tells me, you had thoughts of having him command the fleet if lord Torrington had not: This man lord Monmouth proposed to take and go together on board lord Torrington's ship as volunteers, but with a commission about them to command in case he

should be killed. I told lord Nott. I was not willing to grant any commission of that nature, not knowing whether you had ever had any thoughts of that kind, so that I thought he was only to be thankd for his offer; I added that I could not think it proper, that he being one of the 9 you had named should be sent away, upon which he laughed and said, that was the greatest compliment I could make him, to say I could not use his arms, having need of his counsell. I suppose they are not very good friends, but I said it really as I meant, and besides to hinder propositions of this kind for Mr. Russell; for I see lord Carmarthen has upon several occasions to me alone, mentioned the sending Mr. Russell, and I believe it was only to be rid of him; for my part after what you told me of all the 9, I should be very sorry to have him from hence. Lord M. indeed I think might as well be spared, but I do not think it was your intention any of those 9 should be out of the way; I desire you would say something to this that I may know your mind in case of necessity; and indeed it would be well it was known also in lord Torrington's regard, for he may dy as well as another man: And now I have named Mr. Russell, I must tell you that at your first going, he did not come to me, nor I believe to this hour, would not have asked to have spoke with me, had not I told lady Russell one day, I desired it. When he came I told him freely that I desired to see him sometimes, for being a stranger to business I was afraid of being too much led or persuaded by one party. He said he was very glad to find me of that mind, and assured me since I gave him that liberty, he would come when he saw occasion, though he would not be troublesome. I hope I did not do amiss in this, and indeed I saw at that time nobody but lord President, and was afraid of myself. Lord Carmarthen is upon all occasions afraid of giving me too much trouble, and thinks by little and little to do all; every one see how little I know of business, and therefore I believe, will be apt to do as much as they can. Lord Marlborough advised me to resolve to be present as often as was possible, out of what intention I cannot judge, but I find they meet often at the secretarys office, and do not take much pains to give me an account. This I thought fitt to tell you, pray be so kind to answer me as particular as you can. Queen D. has been to take her leave, in order to going to Hammer-smith, where she will stay till she can go for Windsor. I have tired you with this long letter, and it is now stayed for; I shall say no more, but

beg you to believe it is impossible to love more than I do, dont love me lesse.

Queen Mary to King William, on lord Torrington's declining to fight.—Lord Monmouth offers to go to the fleet.—Suspensions of him.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{July 8,}}{\text{June 28,}}$ 1690, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

SEEING I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday; as for lord Torrington's letter you will have an account of that and the answer from lord Nott. I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when lord Nott. brought the letter; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends, and believing lord Torrington being in the post he is in, and of his humour, ought not to be provoked; besides, I do believe lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that; so I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Russel drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign; but it was softened, and the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight: at last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed, but lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms, (this was his expression) and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him; to which Mr. Russell answered, you must send for him prisoner then; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the sight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him our other accounts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. I was no sooner a bed but lord Nott. came to me from the lords, who were most of them still at his office, and where lord Monmouth was come very late, but time enough to know all. He offered his service immediately to go down post to Portsmouth, so the admiralty would give him the commission of a captain, and fit out the

best ship there, which he believes he can do with more speed than another, with which he will join lord Torrington; and being in a great passion, swears he will never come back more if they do not fight: upon his earnest desire, and the approbation of the lords that were present, lord Nott. came up to ask my consent. I askt who was there, and finding four besides lord Monmouth and lord Nott. of which I remember but three, which were lord President, lord Steward, and sir John Lowther, the fourth was either lord Pemb. or lord Marl. I thought in myself they were two thirds of the committee, so would carry it if it were put to the vote; therefore, seeing they were as earnest as he for it, I thought I might consent; besides, I own to you I had a thought immediately upon it, which I would not own, tho' I find some of them have the same, that the lemon letters, which I suppose you have heard of, which comes so constantly and are so very exact, the last of which told even the debates of the committee as well as if one of the lords themselves had writ them; this I think looks somewhat odd, and I believe makes many forward for this expedition; and for my own part, I believe he may be the best spared of the company; tho' I think it a little irregularity, yet I hope you will excuse it, and nobody else can find fault.

10. at night. SINCE my writing this, there has come a great deal of news. As I was going to the cabinet council in the morning, sir Wm. Lockhart came with a letter from the committee there: when we rose, lord Steward told me, that he had been speaking to Mr. Seseuk upon the affairs of the times, who had made great complaint of his usage, and said so much, that he fancies he may turn informer; I doubted, but advised him to continue his discourse, as though by chance, while I should write you word to know how far you would have him engage, which I have now done, and desire your answer. Lord Monmouth was there, after having been in the city, where he has found one major Born, I think his name is, who has the commission of captain, and not himself, he desiring his intentions may be kept as secret as may be, least he should come too late; in the mean while, his regiment's being at Portsmouth is the pretence. He made great professions at parting, and desired me to believe there are some great designs. We had another lemon letter, with things so particular, that none but some of the lords could know them,

especially things that were done at the office late last night; upon which all sides are of the same mind. Before I went out of the room, I received your dear letter from Lough-bricklin, but I cannot express what I then felt, and still feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almost asleep, and almost puts me out of any possibility of saying any more, yet I must strive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter from the prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he sent you, so that I can say nothing, but that God, in whose hands all events only are, knows best why he has ordered it so, and to him we must submit. This evening there has been a person with me, from whom you heard at Chester, (probably earl of Broadalbin) and whom you there ordered to come to me, as he says; he believes you will know him by this, and will by no means be named, and, what is worse, will name nobody, so that I fear there is not much good to be done, yet I won't give over so. I must end my letter, for my eyes are at present in somewhat a worse condition than before I received your letter: my impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present; but I trust in God, who alone can preserve you and comfort me.

Queen Mary to King William—upon the defeat at Beachy-head.

Whitehall, July the $1^{\frac{1}{2}}$, 1690, 7 in the morning.

I AM sorry there is not as pleasing news to send you from hence, as what I had last from you; I would not write last night by the post, being assured the messenger this morning should overtake him, before they came to Hylake. Here has been great things done, but that so unanimously, that I hope when you have an exact account from lord Nott, you will approve of it. I must confess I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I should have submitted my judgment where I saw all of a mind. What lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and since the engagement, shew sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to

orders from hence: those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I will not stop the messenger with staying for my letter, and 'tis unnecessary for me to say much, only as to the part of sending Mr. Russell away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was sorry to miss him here, after what you had told me, and the fear I am in of being imposed upon, but all were for it, and I could say nothing against it: I confess I was as sorry lord Monmouth came so soon back, for all agree in the same opinion of him. Mr. Russell was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, so the nine are again together. As for the ill success at sea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh: I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment; that same God who has done so much, can still do what is best, and I trust he will do more than we deserve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retired before; but God can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cause: he of his mercy send us a happy meeting again, that will be a happiness to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life.

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in these letters were, the lords Pembroke, Devonshire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, admiral Russel, and sir John Lowther.

Queen Mary to king William on the same occasion. Disputes in council who should go down to the fleet.—Suspensions of lord Monmouth.

Whitehall, July ³/₃, 1690.

IF you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have miss'd an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a

Tuesday night, I would have writ had not lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name; upon which lord president offered his service. Lord Monmouth said he believed he might be excused, upon his relation to lord Torrington, especially since they were not to command the fleet: Mr. Russel said he had served long under him, and it would seem something indecent in him to be forward in offering his service in this particular, though there was nothing which could be thought fit but he would do, yet he supposed others might as well. The rest offered except lord Nott. and lord Marl. who said afterwards they thought it would be ridiculous in them to do it. Upon this I ventur'd to give my own judgment, for the first time, and chose lord Devonshire and lord Pemb. I thought I could not fail in this, for there was not much choice, and these seemed the most proper to me upon what I had heard them say, and the manner they said it. I told lord president, when I named them, that he could not be spared, but I saw he looked ill satisfied; so that when the council was up I spoke to him, and bid him remember how necessary he was; he said he did not look on himself as so tied, but he might go away upon occasions. I told him if he were not by place, yet being the person you had told me whose advice I should follow and rely the most on, I could not spare him. There is another thing I must acquaint you with by the bye that I believe will anger him, which is that neither Mr. Hambden nor Mr. Pelham will sign the docket for lady Plymouth's eight thousand pounds: he complained to me; I promised to ask them about it, which I have done, and both of them asunder have told me the

sum was too great to be spared at present, when money is so much wanted, and indeed I think they are in the right. I hope you will let me know your mind upon it; but they say sir Stephen Fox owns to have signed it by surprize, and is of their mind: the only thing I could say to this was, that you had signed the warrant before you went, which I thought was enough; but they say they had not time to represent it to you, and would only take time to do so: but to return to this morning. I spoke also to lord Monmouth, who I saw was dissatisfied; and told him I knew it was not fit for him to go to sea, who was a seaman, without having the command; and that, he heard, was by all agreed for the present, sir John Ashby should have, for an encouragement to the rest to behave well, as he had done in this occasion: he told me he thought he had reason to expect it, because you once had thoughts of sending him to command, but he was content with any thing as he said; as for that I never heard you say it, and if you knew what I shall tell you, if I ever live to see you, you will wonder. I make many compliments to lord Steward, and some fewer to lord Pembroke. By advice I writ a letter to admiral Evertzen; I forgot to tell you I did so by Mr. Russell, and then not knowing he spoke English, with much ado I writ it in Dutch, so as I believe he could have understood me, but 'tis come back to be burnt. Lord Shrewsbury was at my dinner; I told him I was glad to see him so well again; he said he had been at Epsom for the air, or else he would have been here sooner; he stayed not long but went away with Mr. Wharton, who I have not seen once at council, and but seldom any where. Lord Shrewsbury was again here at my supper, and as I thought took pains to talk, which I did to him as formerly by your directions. Though by my letter it may be you would not think me so much in pain as I am, yet I must tell you I am very much so, but not for what lord Monmouth would have me; he daily tells me of the great dangers we are in, and now has a mind to be sent to Holland (of which you will hear either this or the next post). I see every one is inclined to it for a reason I have mentioned before; but to let that pass I must tell you again how he endeavours to fright me, and indeed things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be, when human means fail, he will shew his power: this makes me, that I cannot

be so much afraid as it may be I have reason for; but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit, and I think they all desire as much as may be to act according to your mind. I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do in any thing what you don't like, 'tis my misfortune and not my fault; for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you.

Queen Mary to king William—her fondness for him.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{5}{3}$, 1690.

THIS is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th, Old Stile, which puts me in many troubles that I shall not trouble you with at present; to-morrow night an express shall go to you that cannot possibly be dispatch'd to-night, and I am not sorry; for at this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers, and was feign to run away to Kensington, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had together since I saw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now — I will say no more, for I shall hurt my own eyes, which I want more now than ever. Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I shall you, who I love more than my life. I should have sent this last post; but not seeing Madame Nienhuys, hindered me then, and makes me send it you now, which I hope you excuse.

Queen Mary to King William on his being wounded.—Disputes about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, July $\frac{6}{8}$, 1690.

ICAN never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preservation; I hope in his mercy that this is a sign he preserves you to finish the work he has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you, to let you see you are exposed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleased God to keep you once in so visible a manner, yet you must forgive me if I tell you that I should think it a tempting God to

venture again without a great necessity : I know what I say of this kind will be attributed to fear ; I own I have a great deal for your dear person, yet I hope I am not unreasonable upon the subject, for I do trust in God, and he is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in him; yet my fears are not less, since I cannot tell, if it should be his will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen : for though God is able, yet many times he punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in his sight. Your writing me word how soon you hoped to send me good news, shews me how soon you thought there might be some action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning when I heard the express was come, before lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet, and I really dont know what I do. Your letter came just before I went to chapell; and though the first thing lord Notting. told me was, that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expose yourself thus to danger, fright me out of my wits, and make me not able to keep my trouble to myself : but for God's sake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come ; consider what depends upon your safety ; there are so many more important things than myself, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worst will be over before this time, so that I will say no more. I did not answer your letter by the post last night, because the express could not be dispatched ; and I believe more hindrances are come, for lord Steward and Lord Pembroke write word they will be here to-night ; but I can say very little upon the subject at present, for really I had my head and heart so full of you, I could mind nothing else.

It is now past 10 o' clock ; I dont tell it you for an excuse, for I am not sleepy ; my impatience is too great to hear from you again, that I am not master of it, nor indeed of myself ; so that you must excuse me from saying more than is just necessary. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all that has been done. Lord Carmarthen will write to you about a thing he has put in my head, and since I thought of it, I only fear that, and nothing else : I desired he would write it himself, believing what he said would have more weight with you than if it came from me, for you would believe I spoke most out of self-interest. I wish to God he could

prevail. The lords are come back from the fleet, of that I leave also lord Nott. to write; but I have undertook to say another thing to you, which is about who shall command it, for I find every body is so animated against lord Torrington that 'tis not to be imagined; whether you will think fitt to confine him after his behaviour, I dont know, but all the lords believe you will not. Lord Monmouth tells me himself that he has reason to expect the command of it, upon which I told him that I should not undertake to pitch upon any body; it was a thing would allow us time enough to know your pleasure, and I thought it of too great consequence to be resolved of by any here, but that I should write to you to know your will. After this I believed that if it was mentioned in the committee, it might anger him too much if any else should be named; therefore I forbid it, and told lord Nott. he should write to you in general, and I would name those who should be named to me. I have not had time nor opportunity to speak myself to Mr. Russell about it; but I am told he declines it; now whether that may be only modesty, I cannot tell. The others which they name, are sir Richard Haddick and sir John Ashby; the first of these, says he, wishes it might be put in commission of three persons, whereof two might be seamen, and the 3d some person of quality. Somebody named lord Pembroke for the figure he might make, and sir R. Haddick and sir J. Ashby to be joined with him; others would have the duke of Grafton put in instead of lord Pembroke, that he might be encouraged for his behaviour, which they say was very brave in this last business, and also learn, believing he will give his whole mind to it, and so in time be good for something: Others are for having Mr. Russell put with the two before-mentioned; but it may be he would not like it. They tell me Shovell is the best officer of his age, but he is behind these other two; and so is Killigrew, who it is much wondered is not come yet, which some think a fault to be punished, believing he has staid for merchant ships. These are all the names I remember, and when I have told them you I think I might as well have let it alone; it was only that they thought it better I should put you in mind of any body else; you will please to resolve what shall be done as soon as possible; I hope you will forgive me if I forget half what I have to say, for really my concern for you has got the mastery, and I am not able to think of any thing else, but that I love you in more abundance than my own life.

Queen Mary to King William, on the battle of the Boyne.—Singular picture of the Queen's mind.—Lord Monmouth's intrigues.

Whitehall, July 17, 1690.

HOW to begin this letter I don't know, or how ever to render God thanks enough for his mercys; indeed they are too great, if we look on our deserts; but, as you say, 'tis his own cause: and since 'tis for the glory of his great name, we have no reason to fear but he will perfect what he has begun: for myself in particular, my heart is so full of joy and acknowledgement to that great God, who has preserved you, and given you such a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beseech him to give me grace to be ever sensible, as I ought, and that I and all may live suitable to such a mercy as this is. I am sorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we must not murmur, but wait with patience to see the event. I was yesterday out of my senses with trouble, I am now almost so with joy, so that I can't really as yet tell what I have to say to you, by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God, by the afternoon, to be in a condition of sense enough to say much more, but for the present I am not. When I writ the foregoing part of this, it was in the morning, soon after I had received yours, and now 'tis 4 in the afternoon; but I am not yet come to myself, and fear I shall lose this opportunity of writing all my mind, for I am still in such a confusion of thoughts, that I scarce know what to say, but I hope in God you will now readily consent to what lord President wrote last night, for methinks there is nothing more for you to do. I will hasten Kensington as much as it's possible, and I will also get ready for you here, for I will hope you may come before that is done. I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it now the season, which is, that you wou'd take care of the church in Ireland. Every body agrees that it is the worst in Christendom: there are now bishopricks vacant, and other things, I beg you would take time to consider who you will fill them with. You will forgive me that I trouble you with this now, but I hope you will take care of those things which are of so great consequence as to religion, which I am sure will be more your care every day, now that it has pleased God still to bless you with success. I think I have told you before, how impatient I am to hear how you approve what has been done

here ; I have but little part in it myself, but I long to hear how others have pleased you. I am very uneasie in one thing, which is want of somebody to speake my mind freely to, for it's a great constraint to think and be silent, and there is so much matter that I am one of Solomon's fools, who am ready to burst. I believe lord President and lord Nott. agree very well, tho' I believe the first pretends to govern all ; and I see the other is always ready to yield to him, and seems to me to have a great deal of deference for him ; whether they always agreed or not I can't tell. Lord Marleborough is much with them, and loses no opportunity of coming upon all occasions with the others. As yet I have not found them differ, or at least so little, that I was surprized to find it so, I mean the whole nine ; for it has never come to put any thing to the vote, but I attribute that to the great danger, I believe all have apprehended, which has made them of a mind. The three I named have all the same opinion of lord Monmouth, that he tells all to Major Wildman, and think several letters we have had, which I believe I mentioned before, were writt by the last. I was unwilling to believe this, and thought there might be something of a party in it, till I asked Mr. Russel what he thought of those letters, who told me, that certainly they were writt by Wildman. I ask'd what could be the meaning ; he said, to amuse us, or to give suspicion that some of the company betrayed us ; for he said Wildman was of the commonwealth party, and his whole design was to make stirs, in hopes by that means to bring it about ; and he knew lord Monmouth had no reserve for him, which made him glad with all his heart he was gone (that was when he was sent to Portsmouth). This is their opinion, and indeed is now mine ; for I see plainly that while he was away, there came none of these letters. Wildman said the people were gone, but now they begin to come again ; and I had a conversation with lord Monmouth t'other morning, in which he said what a misfortune it was that things went thus ill, which was certainly by the faults of those who were in trust ; that it was a melancholy thing to the nation to see themselves so thrown away ; and to speake plain, said he, do you not see how all you do is known, that what is said one day in the cabinet council is wrote next day to France ; for my part, said he, I must speake plainly, I have a great deal of reason to esteem lord Nott. I don't believe

'tis he, but 'tis some in his office; then he fell upon Mr. Blaithwic. I owned I wondered why you wou'd let him serve here, since he wou'd not go with you, but I said I supposed you knew why you did it; and when he began to talk high of ill administration, I told him in the same freedom he seemed to speak to me, that I found it very strange you were not thought fitt to choose your own ministers; that they had already removed lord Halifax, the same endeavours were used for lord Carmarthen, and wou'd they now begin to have a bout at lord Nott. too; it wou'd show they wou'd pretend ever to controll the King in his choice, which, if I were he, I wou'd not suffer, but wou'd make use of whom I pleased. I can't tell if I did well or no in this, but in the free way we were of speaking, I cou'd not help it: upon this he said, he had indeed been an enemy to lord Halifax, but he had done what he could to save lord Carmarthen, out of personal friendship, as well as because he believed him firm to our interest: upon which I took occasion to remember my obligations to him upon the account of our marriage, from which he still went on, that he thought it necessary the nation shou'd be satisfied: I askt him if he thought it possible; he said he cou'd tell me much about that subject, but we were called to the councill, so our discourse ended for that time. As for lord Pem. I never see him but there: lord Cham. comes as little as he can with decency, and seldom speaks; but he never visits the cabinet councill. Lord Stuard, you know, will be a courtier among ladys: speaking of him puts me in mind that M. Sefak, before we went to cards, came and made me a very handsome compliment upon your victory and wound, and assured me, no man living wisht us a longer and happier reign. But to return to that lord, who, (I think I have named all,) I must say once my opinion, that lord Nott. seems to be very hearty in all affairs; and, to my thinking, appears to be sincere, tho' he does not take much pains to perswade me of it, upon all occasions, as others do; for he never spoke but once of himself, yet I confess I incline to have a good opinion of him; it may be his formal, grave look deceives me; he brought me your letter yesterday, and I could not hold, so he saw me cry, which I have hindered myself from before every body till then, that it was impossible; and this morning, when I heard the joyfull news from Mr. Butler, I was in pain to know what was become

of the late king, and durst not ask him; but when lord Nott. came, I did venture to do it, and I had the satisfaction to know he was safe. I know I need not beg you to lett him be taken care of, for I am confident you will for your own sake; yet add that to all your kindness, and, for my sake, let people know you would have no hurt come to his person. Forgive me this. The lords of the treasury have desired me, that if there is any thing to be done, I would hear them all. You gave me no directions in this, but to the contrary, so that I have declined it hitherto; but if I must sign any warrant, it must come to it.

I HAVE writ this at so many times that I fear you will hardly make sense of it. I long to hear what you will say to the proposition that will be sent you this night by the lords, and do flatter myself mightily with the hopes to see you, for which I am more impatient than can be expressed; loving you with a passion which cannot end but with my life.

Remark.] The proposition from the lords to the King, and concerning which the marquis of Caermarthen afterwards wrote to him, was, that he should return.

Queen Mary to king William—has been teased by lord Lincoln.

Whitehall, July the $1^{\frac{8}{8}}$, 1690.

BEING resolved never to miss a post, I write now to let you know I have received yours by Mr. Grey, who came at nine in the morning, and was dressing till one before he brought it; to-morrow I think to write again by him. Now, I shall only tell you I have been satisfied with the sight of lord Lincoln, which I have so often wish'd for in vain: I met him as I came from prayers, with a hundred people at least after him. I can't represent to you my surprize at so unexpected an object, and so strange a one; but what he said, was as much so if it were possible. He called lord president by name, and all in general who are in trust, rogues; told me I must go back with him to the council to hear his complaint, which I think was against lord Torrington: he talked so like a mad-man, that I answered him as calmly as I could, looking on him as such; and so with much ado got from him. I shall say no more now, but that I am so sleepy I can scarce see; but I shall live and die entirely yours.

Queen Mary to king William—Factions and suspicions in council.

Whitehall, July the 20, 1690.

I WROTE to you a Tuesday night by the post, only to show that I would miss no opportunity of doing it, and have kept Mr. Gray ever since, having nothing worth writing or troubling you with. I shall now begin with answering your letter by him, and thank God with all my soul for the continuance of your good success, and hope that you will have no more to do but come back here, where you are wish'd for by all that love you or themselves: I need not say most by me, it would be a wrong to me to suppose you doubt it. If the first part of your letter was extreme welcome, the next was not less so; for next to knowing your health and success, that of your being satisfied with what has been done here is the best news, and till then I was very much in pain. You will see also that we have had the good fortune here to have done just as you would have had it yourself, in sending Mr. Russel down to the fleet; but that was prevented, as you will know before this. I told Mr. Russel what your design was then, and asked what I might write upon it now; he told me, he should be always ready to serve you any way, and seemed mightily pleased with what I told him. I did not say it openly at the committee, because I know how much lord Monmouth would have been troubled. But I told it lord president as you writ him word, and lord Nott. and lord Marl. It seems he still wishes for a commission to other people, and not to be alone. The day that I received yours by Mr. Gray, which was Tuesday noon, the great council was called extraordinarily, being thought fit to acquaint them with the good news: but seeing you had left me to the advice of the committee when to go, I ask'd them in the morning if they thought it necessary, that for my own part I did not? lord president said, No: and none else said a word. But in the afternoon when the council was met, all began, it seems, to ask if I came. Lord President said, No; upon which there were some who grumbled. Sir R. Howard made a formal speech, wherein he hinted many things as if he thought it not reasonable I should not come, and was seconded by the D. of Bolton. In the mean while lord Stuart and lord Monmouth came to me to desire me to come. I was surpris'd at it, for they sent for me out of my closet. I will not trouble you with all they said, but they

were very pressing; and lord Stuard told me, there were many there who absolutely told him they would not speak but before me; that they were privy counsellors, established by law; and did not know why they should be refused my presence. I answered them at first as civilly as I could; and as calmly, but being much pressed, I grew a little peevish, and told them, that between us I must own I thought it a humour in some there, which I did not think myself bound to please: for should I come now for this, I should at last be sent for, when any body had a mind to it; and that I wondered they who had heard me in the morning say I would not come, should now be so importunate: but all I could say would not satisfy them; and had not lord Nott. come in, I believe they would not have left me so soon. I cannot tell if I did well or no, but I think I did: this was the same day lord Lincoln was here, as I wrote you word before, and he sat in the gallery, crying aloud, that five or six lords shut me up, and would let nobody else come near me, yet never ask'd it all the while. Lord Nott. will give you an account of lord mayor's being called next day to the great council where I was, but I must needs observe that he came with his answer ready wrote, and pulled out his paper and read it, upon which many of those who came with him look'd upon one another as amazed; and the more, because lord president did not desire it till Friday. Another thing happened that I must tell: lord Nott. had secured lord Rosse, and now desired the council, he might be sent to the Tower as well as so many others. All consented. Duke of Bolton ask'd why? lord Nott. said, there was informations against him; and more, his own letters to sir John Cochran: upon which all said, a warrant should be drawn; but when it came to be signed, duke of Bolton would not, and hindered lord Devon by a whisper, and his son by a nod. Lord Montague would not sign it neither. If this be usual I can't tell, but methinks it ought not to be so. Upon this I must tell you that lord Monmouth came to Sir W. Lockhart, who told it me himself, and was very earnest for lord Rosse's being secured, as well as further discoveries about Fergusson; that he wondered how lord Melvill, who all the world knew had been in the Dissenters interest, would now go, and do any thing against them; that he ought in honour and conscience to hide their faults, and not discover

them; and more to this purpose. He told me that he believed if sir James Montgomery came up, he would certainly endeavour to confound us by some lies, for he was very cunning and very malicious, and delighted in mischief (these were his words); and therefore he was confident, that instead of making useful discoveries, he would accuse persons whom he thought might do his party a mischief, though there was no likelihood of their joining. Last night lord Marlborough came to me, and made me an offer from lord Shrewsbury, lord Montague, lord Godolphin, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Jepson, to raise 1200 men immediately at their own charges, so I would but give my word they should be reimbursed when it was convenient. He desired me I would propose it this morning at the committee, without naming the persons; but after I had had time to think upon it, I told him that I did not think it proper to tell things to the committee so by halves; they would ask how they could advise without knowing the persons; that many had offered, while all were unwilling to accept. He told me he had considered it himself since, and found they could not be ready under six weeks, in which time either you would come yourself, or send some troops, and the danger would be over; so we resolved he should give them many thanks for their offer, and give that for a reason, and the only one of not accepting it. But I told him plainly that I did not doubt but you would approve of trusting any such thing in lord Shrewsbury's hands, yet I did not know if all else might be employed. I confess I did not like lord Montague, so he said indeed there were persons he believed you would mistrust, and named him. I said I could not tell particular persons, for I did not know them myself. He said they did not desire to have this known, and therefore he did not know if I would take notice of it to them; but he believed I would do well to do so to lord Shrewsbury. I was of his mind, and resolve when I have an opportunity for it to do so. I hope you will not disapprove of this, being my own act; I am most concerned; I need say nothing to you of the particulars of what was done this morning. Lord Nott. will tell you all, only I must say that I hope there is no harm done in stopping 25 of the 70,000 which was going to you, since it is so very necessary here; and I hope to have it made up before it can be wanted there. I

was extreme loath to consent, but I must submit to others judgment; and in this I believe I was in the right to do so, though my inclination to do just what you would have me, is ever stronger. I have no more at present, and believe this letter is not so long as it is, though I have shortened it all I can, by saying as little as I possibly could upon each subject. You don't know how I please myself with the thoughts of seeing you here very soon, but I must tell you that it is impossible to be yet awhile at Kensington. Your closets here are also not in order, but there is no smoke in summer, and the air is much better than in another season. Pray let me have your orders, if not by yourself, then tell lord Portland, and let him write. I see I can hardly end, but I must force myself without saying a word more but that I am ever yours, more than ever, if that be possible, and shall be so till death.

Queen Mary to King William.—Want of money.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{22}{23}$, 1690. at 11. at night.

YOU will excuse me from answering your letter I received yesterday morning, which was writ on Sunday last, when you know that I have been this morning at Hampton court, and back again by noon, and ever since have had one or other to speak to me, of which I will give you an account when I have more time; now I shall only tell you, that things go on there very slowly; want of money and Portland stone, are the hindrances, and indeed in a time when there are such pressing necessities I am almost ashamed to speak about it, and yet it is become so just a debt that it ought to be paid. I mean the privy seal which you passed long ago. Sir Ch. Littleton has sent to me to offer to give up his commission which I expect now, and am glad of, for reasons too long to tell now: Pray send word who shall have the government, for it is judged necessary to be filled up as soon as may be. I fancy the joy at St Patrick's church was greater then can be expressed, and wish I had been with you. But though at a distance, none ever praised God so heartily for many reasons, chiefly that of your wonderful deliverance, upon which event the Q. Dowager sent lady Arlington to compliment me. I am now in my bed having bathed; and am so sleepy I can say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

Queen Mary to King William.—Expects him to over.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

I AM in so much hopes of your coming hither that I must flatter myself by the time this comes to you, you will be ready to leave Ireland; all my fear is the French ships which are going to St. George's channel, and are already at Kinsale; if those should hinder you what will become of me? I think the fright would take away my reason; but I hope the express which goes this evening to sir Cl. Shovel will come time enough to prevent any surprize, and I hope may do good; and that I may soon see you here, which is what I long extreamly for. This morning I received yours of the $\frac{12}{9}$ by which I am extream glad you still approved of what had been done. I have said nothing to Mr. Russell (indeed I have not seen him) nor don't intend to speak till I have your answer to my letter upon the subject, though I don't think what I write will make you change your mind, yet then you will be determined in your choice and I shall not lose my labour. I have writ to day to Ad. Evertzen to desire him to come up, for I hear he makes difficulties to send his ships up to be repaired. I fear Mr. Harbord will have but ill success in his negotiation by what you write. I told lord President what you bid me, and read part of your letter to him; but he is still of the same mind that the French have a design upon Portsmouth. I am the most impatient creature in the world for an answer about your coming, which I do hope will be a good one, and that I shall see you, and endeavour myself to let you see, if it be possible, that my heart is more yours than my own.

Queen Mary to King William.—Scotch affairs.—Her concern for religion.—offered 200,000 l. if she would dissolve parliament.

Whitehall, July the $\frac{25}{13}$, 1690.

I HOPE I shall not be disappointed in my hopes of seeing you quickly, and indeed I do so flatter myself with it that I can hardly resolve to write any thing, believing it labour lost; yet now I must do it for fear, and it is better I should venture the writing to no purpose, than that I hazard your not knowing what I have promised to acquaint you with; first, from sir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to consider the want there is of horse upon the borders of Scotland. He says M. G. Mackay is in

the highlands, and will have work enough to do there, so that he can spare none to keep them in some order, who want it very much. I have the most lamentable letters in the world from lord Melvill; I suppose you have so too; but I fancy he takes more care to hide his fear to you than me. I have been also desired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools, to instruct the poor Irish; for my part, I must needs say that I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there; and indeed, if you give me leave, I must tell you, I think the wonderfull deliverance and success you have had should oblige you to think upon doing what you can, for the advancement of true religion, and promoting the Gospel.

I HAD yesterday an offer made me of two hundred thousand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand, that it should be paid as soon as the parliament gave money, but it was only on this condition, that the parliament should be dissolved; I told lord Monmouth, who made me the proposition, that was a thing I could not promise, it being of that consequence, that though all the lords of the great council should unanimously agree to, yet I would not venture upon it without knowing your pleasure; therefore, unless they would lend some money (which is really most extreamly wanted) upon other terms, I must go without it; for I would not by any means engage for what I could not perform: we had besides this, much discourse, all which would be too long to trouble you with, only that he began to speak of lord Shrewsbury (who by the way is gone to Tunbridge); he said he saw he was concerned as well as his friends at what he had done, and he believed would be very glad to serve you again; that he himself had observed you were unwilling to part with lord Shrewsbury; and now desired to know if there was no way of restoring him. I asked if he had any to propose, but he said he had no commission to speak this: he said many extraordinary things in this discourse, which I reserve to tell you. I never write but what I think, others do not; so I shall do now, and must tell you I had writ to admiral Evertzen (by advice, as you may believe) to come up; he has been with me this very night, and though he will say nothing positive, nor blame lord Torrington, yet he says so much, that as unequal as the fleets

were, had the English fought like the Dutch, they should at least have so shattered many of their ships, that they must have left the sea for their own safety. Lord Nott. I suppose will let you know the good answer we have had from Holland. They have engaged me to go to Hyde-park, to see the militia drawn out next Monday. You may believe I go against my will. I still must come back to my first saying, which is, that I do hope and flatter myself that you will be come back, if it can be with safety; I'm sure if that can't be, I shall wish you may rather stay where you are, tho' I long never so much to see you, than that you should venture your dear person, which is a thousand times more so to me than my own self, and ever will be so while I breath.

Queen Mary to King William—expecting him over.

Whitehall, July $\frac{26}{1690}$.

LORD BELOMONT torments me to write by his brother, which I do, though I have nothing to say more than what I wrote last night. I am allways glad of an opportunity of putting you in mind of me, tho' I hope 'tis not absolutely necessary. All the news of the town yesterday, was, that you were landed at Chester, pray God it were true, tho' I think there is no likelyhood of it, yet I thought it pleasing, and the more, because they have really said several things which have come to pass. I hope it may be so in this. I will not say more now, but that the bishop of Salisbury has made a long thundering sermon this morning, which he has been with me to desire to print, which I could not refuse, tho' I should not have ordered it, for reasons which I told him. I am extreme impatient of hearing from you, which I hope in God will be before I sleep this night; if not, I think I shall not rest; but if I shou'd meet with a disappointment of your not coming, I don't know what I shall do, for my desire of seeing you is equal to my love, which can not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to King William—his and her opinion of discords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{27}{1690}$.

EVERY hour makes me more impatient to hear from you, and every thing I hear stir, I think brings me a letter. I shall not go about to excuse myself; I know 'tis a folly to a great degree, to be so uneasy as I

am at present, when I have no reason to apprehend any ill cause, but only might attribute your silence to your marching farther from Dublin, which makes the way longer. I have stay'd till I am almost asleep in hopes; but they are vaine, and I must once more go to bed, and wish to be waked with a letter from you, which I shall at last get, I hope. Till I know whether you come or no, I can not resolve to write you all that has past this day, till which time I thought you had given me wrong characters of men, but now I see they answer my expectation of being as little of a mind as of a body. Adieu, do but love me, and I can bear any thing.

Queen Mary to king William.—Discords in council.

Whitehall, July $\frac{21}{11}$, 1690.

COULD you but guess at my impatience for a letter, you would be able to judge of my joy at the receiving yours from Timolin. I hope by to-morrow to have such an answer as we all desire to those by Mr. Buttler. At present I shall say nothing to you, but that I have at last seen the council in great heat, but shall stay till I see you to tell you my mind upon it. Lord Nott. will send you the account the commissioners have brought from Sea, of the assurance of the fleet being ready Wednesday next. Lord Lincoln was with me this afternoon no less than an hour and half, reforming the fleet, correcting abuses, and not shy of naming persons; he talk'd so perfectly like a madman as I never heard any thing more in my life; he made me the extravaganteft compliments in the world, but was by no means satisfied that I would do nothing he desired me. He had an expression that I have heard often within these few days since it is wanted, which is, that I have the power in my hand, and they wonder I will not make use of it: and why should I stay either for your return, and whether I should lose so much time as to write you word or no, is doubted; that is, when they must stay till an answer can come. I shall tell you more of this when I shall be so happy as once more to see you, or when I can write a longer letter, for I have taken the vapours, and dare not to-night; but you know whatever my letters are, my heart is more yours than my own.

Queen Mary to king William.—The council split about the command of the fleet.

Whitehall, $\frac{1 \text{ Aug.}}{22 \text{ July}}$ 1690.

LAST night I receiv'd your letter from Wels with so much joy, that it was seen in my face by those who knew the secret of it that you were coming. I will not take up more of your time with endeavouring to tell you what is impossible to be express'd; but you know how much I love you, and therefore will not doubt of my delight to think I shall soon see you. I will not this time tell you any thing that can be writ you by others, but I must let you know that when I spoke to Mr. Russel, he answered me at first almost the same thing as this morning, till which time he took to consider. He assured me there was nothing he would not do to serve you; but he does not think himself proper for to command the fleet in such a time as this. He says your meaning of saying sir R. Haddock should be under him, can be no other than in commission, wherein himself should be the first; no other way sir R. H. can possibly go. He tells me, not only the eye and expectation of all England, but all Europe, especially Holland, is upon this choice: that he does not think there is a man in England capable at this time to do it alone; that his opinion is, it ought to be in a commission of no less than three. I told him that was your intention if he would not go with sir R. H. He excused himself from all, as believing it might be for your service; and told me he thought it should be put in the hands of two seamen and a man of quality: the man of quality he thought should be lord Pembroke, if he desired it; but himself rather wished for lord Shrewsbury, of whom lord Marl. writ you word some time since; he begg'd of all things it might not be the duke of Grafton, saying he knew only enough to make him ungovernable, and is of so rough a temper, it could never suit with the seamen at all: there was another he feared yet more, which is lord Monmouth, and indeed I believe nobody would speak for him: some thought lord Steward would offer himself, and that was to be fear'd. Upon the whole I consulted lord president, but had first desired lord Nottingham to talk with lord Pemb. and hear whether he would desire it. Lord president told me lord Monmouth had asked his advice, who as a friend had counsel'd him not to ask it alone, not judging any one man fit for it: t'other pretended to thank him, but

in a passion begg'd not to be named as one who would go in commission; so that was over. While we were talking, came lord Nott. who told me lord Pemb. would not ask it or desire it, nor would not be willing to go. 'Tis too tedious to tell you their discourse (which was only as from lord Nott. himself) but lord Pembroke disapproved having a man of quality to go, saying it was only to send him to be knock'd of the head, without the hopes of having any credit of what was well done. Upon which lord president offered to go himself: I put that off with compliments, and said, I thought the best would be to name the two seamen, which could be no other but sir R. Hadock and sir J. Ashby, being now the first in the fleet, and leave the third person to your naming, who certainly will be here before it can go out, which I said was a reason to be given the committee, who knew of your coming. The rest of the world should only know the third was not yet named, and need not be informed if it should be a man of quality or a seaman. This I said I thought would serve the end for which it was thought pressing as to time, since these two could as well order all things necessary as if the third were with them. This lord president approved, and thought it best to tell the committee at once, that they might only speak their minds upon the two; and I desired it might be so, to prevent lord Steward's offering himself: and indeed though I did not tell them nothing of lord Shrewsbury, yet I had told Mr. R. and lord Marl. who approved it upon that account, because they hoped when you came you would name lord Sh. which they thought would find opposition now from lord president and lord Nott. I confess remembering what I have heard you say; and your wishing so earnestly he had not been out, makes me apt to think you will employ him; and Mr. Russel assuring me it would be of so general a satisfaction, makes me wish it. This was done this afternoon in the committee, all generally approving the two men, and that the third should stay your coming, only lord Monmouth, who was silent and uneasy. Lord Nott. and Mr. Russel had severally wish'd to me alone that Killigrew might be one, but durst not propose it, because of what happened yesterday in the great council, as you will hear. I thought this business had been over, but was surprized at my return from Kensington to find lord Pemb. with the whole admiralty,

except Mr. Russel and captain Priftman; they told me, they came to let me know the inconveniency they believed it would be to put this business in commission, and therefore to desire that Mr. Russel might have the sole command. Sir T. Lee was very earnest in it, and indeed almost the only speaker, though for form sake lord Pemb. began; lord Carbury spoke once and no more. I told them it was according to your directions in a letter to me myself, seeing Mr. Russel had excused himself, and that I did not know what more could be done; writing to you again, after you had writ your mind so plainly, was loss of time, which I thought might be prejudicial to your affairs at present; but they would not be satisfied. I desired time to consider; 'twas late when they went from me. Lord president was gone home; so I sent to lord Nottingham to have the committee appointed to-morrow morning extraordinary upon this, and have sent to Mr. Russel to come to me first. Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. who was here, told me it was sir T. Lee's hatred to Haddock. I think it will be to no purpose to refer the thing by letter to you: you will be here yourself before an answer, and I don't know if this long letter will come to you; at least I hope 'twill meet you upon the way. After this long letter I must tell you, that 'tis impossible for Kensington to be ready for your first coming, though I will do my best you shall not stay long for it. When you are come, I will make my apology for the matter when I see you. I shall now only tell you I am in great pain till I know if I have done well in this business or no. I am almost fast asleep, for 'tis very late. Pardon all my faults, and believe I will commit none willingly; and that I love you more than my life.

Queen Mary to King William.—Heats about the command of the fleet.—The admiralty disobey her.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 3,}}{\text{July 24,}}$ 1690.

THOUGH I hope in God you will come quickly, and that I flatter myself you may be come away yesterday or this day, yet I cannot rest without sending this express, in case any accident might happen, or some retardment, as many are apt to believe by lord Portland's letters, which may make you longer a coming; so that it is fit you should know what happened yesterday. I writ you word how those of the ad. had been

with me the night before to recommend Mr. Ruffel, and the answer I gave them, as also that I had spoken to lord Nott. to call the lords together next morning which was yesterday; they came accordingly, but I first spoke to Mr. Ruffel, who was still of the same mind, and assured me he could not go any way, even though he had those with him who could help him with their advice. He said the blame must still fall upon him, if any thing happened, though merely accidental, yet he said the minds of all men were so exasperated now, that it would be his ruin; you may believe I could not press him after that, nor indeed at all, as the comm. of the ad. would have it, since in both your letters, by which you may be sure I should only go, you said Mr. Ruffel and sir R. Hadock under him: so Mr. Ruffel and I parted, he very well satisfied as I thought with the two before named, I still in hopes you would chuse lord Shrewsbury for the man of quality, though he owned he did not so much care for sir R. Hadock. When the committee met, I desired lord Pembroke to tell them what the ad. had said to me the night before, that I might have the advice of the lords, which he did; and I saw none that thought there could be any change made, Mr Ruffell having repeated all his reasons again to excuse himself. Lord Mon. was the only person who was silent; so the comm. of the ad. were sent for; when they came, lord President told them what the resolution was. Sir T. Lee grew as pale as death, and told me, that the custom was that they used to recommend, and they were to answer for the persons, since they were to give them the commission, and did not know but they might be called to account in parliament. I shall not repeat all that was said: Lord President argued with them; at last sir T. Lee came to say plainly, Hadock was the man they did not like. Lord Pem. spoke for him, so did sir J. Lowther. Mr. Ruffel was gone out. Pristman spoke against it, so did lord Carbury, and sir R. Anstoe; at last sir T. Lee said, it could not be, I might give them a commission if I pleased, but they could not; and when I saw he talkt long, and insisted upon their privilege, I said, that I perceived then the king had given away his own power, and could not make an admiral which the admiralty did not like; he answered, No, no more he can't. I was ready to say that then the king should give the commission to such as would not dispute with him, but I did not, though I must confess I was hear-

tily angry; it may be I am in the wrong, but as yet I cannot think so. Lord President after more discourse desired them to retire. When they were gone, I saw all generally agreed I was to persist, especially since the man they found fault with was he you had named now, and as I was assured by all, was the person you had resolved upon, when lord Torrington would not go; and every one approved of sir J. Ashby, and concluded nothing but Killigrew could hinder him, and his absence was the main thing that made him not be thought of by most, though some were against him, upon the account of suspicions they have, which don't seem to be well grounded. Upon this it was resolved, the commissioners should be called again, and told positively they might prepare the commission, and so we parted; but sir T. Lee, lord Carbury, and sir R. Anstoe sent to me to excuse their not signing: I asked lord President what answer was to be sent, for he brought me the message: I told him I was much surprized; he was very angry, and talked at a great rate; but I stopped him and told him I was angry enough, and desired he would not be too much so, for I did not believe it a proper time; he said, the best answer he could give from me was, that they would do well to consider of it. I desired he would add that I could not change my mind, if it were proper to say so much; he said it was rather too little: what passed at the great council you will hear; but as to this, I saw Mr. Russel this morning, and found him very much out of humour; excused sir T. Lee, and would not believe he had said such a thing as I told you. I said indeed that had angered me very much, but he endeavoured to talk it over, and said sir R. Hadock was not acceptable to them, because they believed lord Nott. had recommended him, and they did not like that: I saw he shifted off the signing the commission, by saying there was not a compleat board this morning: he began again to find difficulties of precedency between Hadock and Ashby, and indeed I never saw him out of humour before: there was company by, so I had no fair opportunity of saying more to him; he only pressed the naming lord Shrewsbury for a third, as the best means to allay all these things. But as I had not time nor convenience to say more to him then, I was fain to leave off the discourse at a place I would have said more upon, which I had the opportunity of doing this afternoon to lord Marl. who came to me about the same thing. I told him I was resolved to send

away this exprefs in hopes of a speedy and pofitive answer, and I told him why I fhould be unwilling to name Shrewsbury myfelf. I thought it would not be proper for me by any means to name a perfon who had quitted juft upon your going away; though I was perfuaded you would truft him, and had a good opinion of him, yet for me to take upon me alone (for we concluded none would be for it but thefe two who are only trufted with the fecret, I mean lord Marl. and Mr. Ruffel, and lord Cham.) for me I fay now fo to name him without being affured from yourfelf of your approbation, I thought not proper; therefore I defire you will be very pofitive in your answer; for I begin to fear lord Prefident may be in the right, that you cannot poffibly be here fo foon even as yourfelf thought; and if not, pray fend an answer to this third perfon, and likewise to the behaviour of the commissioners of the ad. I pray God fend you here quickly, for befides the defire I have to fee you for my own fake, (which is not now to be named) I fee all breaking out into flames. Lord Stewart was with me this afternoon from fir T. Lee to excufe himfelf to me. He faid the reason was, becaufe he faw this was a bufinefs done between two or three, a concerted thing, and that made him he could not confent. I told him he himfelf could have affured fir T. Lee it was your own orders in your letter to me, at which he fhaked his head; I afkt if he or fir T. Lee did not believe me; he faid fir T. Lee thought he was, that is fir R. Hadock, was impofed upon the K. I faid I did not believe that was fo eafy; I mean, faid lord Devonf. recommended by perfons who they don't much like. Indeed, my lord, faid I, if they only diflike fir R. Hadock, becaufe he is recommended by fuch as they don't approve, it will confirm me in the belief he is a fit man, fince they can make no other objection againft him: I confefs, faid I, my lord, I was very angry at what fir T. Lee faid yefterday; but this is to make me more fo, fince I fee 'tis not reason, but paffion, makes fir T. Lee fpeak thus: upon which we fell into difcourfe of the divifions, which both lamented, and I think we both were angry, though not at one another. He complained that people were too much believed that ought not to be fo, and we could not agree. I fhould never have done, fhould I fay all I hear upon fuch matters, but what I have faid I think abfolutely neceffary for you to know: if I have been too angry I am forry

for it: I don't believe I am easily provoked, but I think I had reason now, and if I may say so, I do not think people should be humoured to this degree. Mr. Ruffel again desired the d. of Grafton should not be in; and lord Nott, who was one of those who mentioned him before, desired me to let you know he is concerned at it, having since been informed how unfit he is. One thing more I must desire to know positively, which is about Kensington, whether you will go there, tho' my chamber is not ready. Your own apartment, lord Portland's, Mr. Overkirk's, and lady Darby's are done, but mine impossible to be used, and nobody's lodgings else ready. The air there is now free from smoke, but your closet as yet smells of paint, for which I will ask pardon when I see you. This is the true state of your two houses, but if you will go lye only at Kensington, for I suppose your business will keep you here all day, pray let me know. You may be sure I shall be very willing to suffer any inconvenience for your dear company, and wish I could suffer it all, for I deserve it, being something in fault; tho' I have excuses which are not lyes. I hope this long letter will meet you so near, that you may bring your own answer; if not, if you love me, either write me a particular answer yourself, or let lord Portland do it for you; for you see the necessity of it for the public; do a little also for my private satisfaction, who loves you much more than my own life.

Queen Mary to King William—about Hampton court.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Aug. 5,}}{\text{July 26,}}$ 1690.

LAST night I received yours from Benit-bridge, by which I find you designed to summon Waterford last Monday, I beseech God give you good success, and send you safe and quickly home; there was order taken yesterday in council for the proroguing the parliament for 3 weeks. I have been this evening at Kensington, for tho' I did believe you wou'd not be willing to stay at Whitehall, yet I confess what you write me word, makes me in a million of fears, especially since I must need confess my fault, that I have not been pressing enough till it was too late. The outside of the house is the sidling work, which takes up more time than one can imagine; and while the schafolds are up, the windows must be boarded up, but as soon as that is done, your own

apartment may be furnished; and tho' mine cannot possibly be ready yet awhile, I have found out a way, if you please, which is, that I may make use of lord Portland's, and he ly in some of the other rooms; we may ly in your chamber, and I go throw the councill room down, or els drefs me there; and as I suppose your business will bring you often to town, so I may take such times to see company here, and that part of the family which can't come there must stay here; for 'tis no matter what inconveniencys any els suffers for your dear sake; and this way I think the only one yourself will have, will be my lying in your chamber, which you know I can make as easy to you as may be: our being there will certainly foreward the work. I hope this letter will not come to your hands, but that you will be upon your way hither before this. My greatest fear is for your closets here; but if you will consider how much sooner you come back than one durst have hoped, you will forgive me, and I can't but be extreme glad to be so deceived. God in his mercy send us a happy meeting and a quick one, for which I am much more impatient than I can possibly express.

Queen Mary to King William.—The divisions continue about the command of the fleet.—Expects he is to be in London in a day or two.

Whitehall, ^{Aug. 9,}
July 30, 1690.

YOU will not wonder that I did not write last night, when you know that at noon I received yours, by Mr. Butler, whose face I shall love to see ever hereafter, since he has come twice with such good news. That he brought yesterday was so welcome to me, that I won't go about expressing it, since 'tis impossible: but for my misfortune, I have now another reason to be glad of your coming, and a very strong one, if compared to any thing but the kindness I have for your dear self, and that is the divisions which, to my thinking, encrease here daily, or at least appear more and more to me. The business of the commission is again put off by Mr. Russell; for the day before yesterday the com. of the ad. were again called upon; and, for any thing I see, can give no good account for their slowness: they were again desired to hasten all they could, and sir J. Lowther saying it was necessary Ashby should have help, gave occasion to ask why the commission was not signed, for which they could

give but ill reasons; the lords all agreed they should be again ordered to do it, and that immediately, which they went away for. Mr. Russel was not here, but when he came to the adm. board, he desired it might be put off till an answer of a letter he writ to Killigrew could come. Yesterday morning lord President told me of this, before I went to the cabinet council, and I saw then was very much out of humour, which I shall reserve till I see you. Mr. Russell himself spoke to me of it, and said he believed I would not find it reasonable to venture at this time the losing such a man as Killigrew, and so gave it a very handsome turn, tho' I think he has no mind to Hadock. I told him I was not so unreasonable as to find fault with deferring this matter upon that account; but that I could not bear with sir T. Lee's way. He went to excuse him, I said that I must own to him, that were I in your place, I would not have borne his answer; but when he had in such a manner refused to sign the commission, I should have put it into such hands as would have done it. Mr. Russell said, he hoped I would not think of doing it now: I told him no; he might be sure in your absence I would not think of any thing of the nature, especially not without your orders for it; and when I told Mr. Russell the reasons sir T. Lee had sent me, which were, that he had nothing so much against the man as against those who recommended him, he said indeed that was an ill argument: when the cabinet council did meet, this business was left thus, at Mr. Russel's desire; but he himself and all agreed, that lord Nott. should send for sir R. Hadock, and tell him he was to go, that he might prepare for it; but still there is some difficulty about the precedency between sir J. Ashby and him; for I hear that last night Mr. Killigrew's answer came, who had rather be in his own station than one of the three. Thus the matter is, and thus you will find it, for since you are so near coming, I think it will not be proper to do any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and when you do come, you will then be the best judge of the whole matter. At my coming from the council, I was told of Mr. Butler's being come, who soon brought me your letter, and tho' I was in hourly expectation, yet being sure you were coming did really transport me so, that yet I hardly have recovered it, and there is such a joy every where, that 'tis not to be exprest. I went last night to Kensington, and will go again by and by: they promise me

all shall be ready by Tuesday next, and this is Wednesday; that is the night, by Mr. Butler's reckoning, with a fair wind, you may be here, tho' I think, by your dear letter, it is possible you may come a day sooner; at most, if you lye here two nights, the third you may certainly, if it please God, be at Kensington. I will do my endeavour that it may be sooner; but one night I reckon you will be content to lye here. I writ you word in my last, how I thought you might shift at Kensington, without my chamber, but I have thought since to set up a bed (which is already ordered) in the council chamber, and that I can dress me in lord Portland's, and use his closet. M. Neinburg is gone to get ready other rooms for him: thus I think we may shift for a fortnight, in which time I hope my own will be ready; they promise it sooner. This letter will, I hope, meet you at Chester; it shall stay for you there; so that if there be any thing else you would have done, do but let me know it by one word, and you shall find it so, if it be in my power. I have one thing to beg, which is, that if it be possible, I may come and meet you upon the road, either where you dine, or any where else, for I do so long to see you, that I am sure had you as much mind to see your poor wife again, you would propose it; but do as you please: I will say no more, but that I love you so much it cannot encrease, else I am sure it would.

Queen Mary to king William.—Disappointed upon his delaying to return.

Whitehall, Aug. 1st, 1690.

UNLESS I could express the joy I had at the thoughts of your coming, it will be in vain to undertake telling you of the disappointment 'tis to me that you do not come so soon. I begin to be in great pain lest you had been in the storm a Thursday night, which I am told was great (though its being a t'other side of the house hinder'd my hearing it) but was soon delivered by your letter of the 29th from Ch. I confess I deserve such a stop to my joy, since may be it was too great, and I not thankful enough to God, and we all here apt to be too vain upon so quick a success. But I have mortification enough to think your dear person may be again exposed at the passage of the Shannon, as it was at that of the Boyne: this is what goes to my heart; but yet I see the reasons for it so good, that I will not murmur, for certainly your

glory would be the greater to terminate the war this summer, and the people here much better pleased, than if they must furnish next year for the same thing again. Upon these considerations I ought to be satisfied, and I will endeavour as much as may be to submit to the will of God and your judgment; but you must forgive a poor wife, who loves you so dearly, if I can't do it with dry eyes; yet since it has pleased God so wonderfully to preserve you all your life, and so miraculously now, I need not doubt but he will still preserve you; yet let me beg you not to expose yourself unnecessarily, that will be too much tempting that Providence which I hope will still watch over you. Mr. Russel is gone down to the fleet last Thursday to hasten as much as may be all things there, and will be back a Monday; when there is a great council appointed. I don't doubt but this commission will find many obstacles; and this naming Killigrew among such as don't like him will be called in question, as well as the other two; and I shall hear again that 'tis a thing agreed among two or three. I will not write now no more than I used to do what others can; and indeed I am fit for nothing this day; my heart is so oppressed I don't know what to do. I have been at Kensington for some hours quiet, to-morrow being the first Sunday of the month; and have made use of lord Portland's closet as I told you in my last I would. The house would have been ready by Tuesday night, and I hope will be in better order now; at least it shall not be my fault if 'tis not. I shall be very impatient to hear again from you, till when I shall be in perpetual pain and trouble, which I think you can't wonder at, knowing that you are dearer to me than my life.

Queen Mary to king William.—Joy that he has approved of her conduct with regard to the admiralty.—People discontented whatever he does.

Whitehall, Aug. the 1st, 1690.

LAST night I received yours of the 3d July, and with great satisfaction that it was so plain; your approving my anger is a great ease to me, and I hope may make things go on the better if it be possible; though there are great pains taken to hinder the persons named either from serving at all, or from agreeing, but I hope to little purpose. They now begin to engage Mr. Citters in the business, and tell him stories which will be worth your hearing when you come back; and sir

R. Hadock is now said to rail at the Dutch, of which he has, I think, cleared himself. Positive orders were given lord Pembroke this morning to have the commission immediately signed, but sir T. Lee is again at other ways to oppose it: yet Mr. Russel being come back this night from the fleet, to-morrow morning they will have a full board, and so no excuse. Lord Torrington has writ to the officers that they should make an address in his favour, and takes great pains by letters among them; but this is a secret: as for his trial, the only thing can be done is the admiralty's giving a commission for it, which they have already orders for; but that, as all things else with them, goes very slowly; and many disputes and niceties themselves find about it: for my part, I must confess I should think if he were now acquitted, it would be worse both in regard of Holland and the business here, than if the preparations are made, and the going out of the fleet hinder it being put in execution for a while. I should not write you this thought of mine, if I did not find several of my mind, which makes me apt to believe I am not quite in the wrong; but that you know better; and you may believe I shall do as much as lies in my power to follow your directions in that and all things whatever, and am never so easy as when I have them. Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour, and the kind way you express it in, is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence: what other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it: I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for: I am sure 'tis so great a mercy that I can never forget it: we have received many: God send us grace to value them as we ought; but nothing touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree; that would be too much happiness. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all things, and of some letters which by great luck are fallen into our hands. I have been at Kensington this evening, and made it now so late that I am very sleepy, and so can't say much more: I shall only assure you that I take all the pains I can. Kensington is ready; that had you come this night as I did flatter myself you would have done, you could have lain there; that is to say, in the council chamber, and there I fear you must lie

when you do come, which God grant may be soon. I must needs tell you upon the subject, that when it was first known you intended to come back, 'twas then said, What, leave Ireland unconquered, the work unfinished! now upon your not coming, 'tis wondered whose council this is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in our danger? Thus people are never satisfied; but I must not begin upon the subject which would take up volumes; and, as much as I was prepared, surprizes me to a degree that is beyond expression. I have so many several things to say to you if I live to see you, that I fear you will never have patience to hear half: but you will not wonder if I am surprized at things which though you are used to, are quite new to me. I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; that passage frights me. You must excuse me telling my fears; I love you too much to hide them, and that makes all dangers seem greater it may be than they are. I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth, first before we meet in heaven.

IF I could take more pains to preserve your kindness, that which you write would make me do it; but that has been ever so much my desire, that I can't do more for you, nor love you better.

Queen Mary to king William.—Scotch affairs.—Difficulties in England.—Complains of whig party.

Whitehall, Aug. 17, 1690.

I BEGIN to grow extreme impatient to hear from you again, and till I do shall have little rest; for the passage of the river runs perpetually in my head. God grant I may hear good news. As for what passes here, the commission is at last past, but only four have signed it; which was lord Pembroke, Mr. Ruffel, sir J. Lowther, and captain Pristman, which it seems makes a board: these have always been ready to do it, and the other three continue obstinate. The commission for the trial of lord Torrington was also press'd extremely, and ordered yesterday in council that the commission of the admiralty should make one of such officers now in service, though they were not in the fight. I was desired yesterday to let you know that though Mr. Castairs be gone to Ireland to press you that the parliament in Scotland might sit, yet that the inconvenience would be so great to have the forfeitures now look'd

into at this time, that you are begged to consider of it. I must not name the person; he desired me not by letter, but when I see you you will know all. I have likewise been desired to tell you an imperfect story of the ill condition of the treasury. I desired it might be sent you exactly from thence, which they promise to do. I find people make so many new difficulties every day in every thing, that 'tis a melancholy business to think of it. God only can cure such matters, and I trust he will, though we don't deserve it. I will not trouble you with a longer letter at present; God give you quick success, and a speedy return, are my constant prayers with due submission. I am unreasonable upon this subject, loving you too well to be at any ease till I hear again from you.

As I had finished this, lord Nott. and lord Marl. comes to tell me of a project they have, which I think lord Marl. is to write to you; for which reason an express is sent. And that gives me the liberty of telling you 'tis sir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to consider the matter concerning Scotland. He says he must ever speak what he thinks most for your service, and has spoke with lord President about it; who is to write to you of it; but sir Wm. hopes he shall never be known in the matter, because of lord Melvill. Mr. Hampden is the person who tells such sad stories of the treasury, which I fear will prove but too true. We have had to-day a great dispute about the parliament, whether you should not call a new one or no. They would have me do it, but that I think improper for me. I think I writ you word of this before, that lord Monmouth prest me much in it, and offered, as I am confident you have heard from me, a loan of 200,000 upon that condition, and 'tis certain that party have done all they could to hinder any money at all coming in; and lord President is of opinion they will leave nothing untried, but he thinks it will not have the effect they seem to desire, but that the same persons will go near to be chose again. I find I am like to hear a great deal of this matter; but I have your absence to answer it with; I wish I had not that any longer, but that you were here to do it for yourself. This is meer self-interest, longing of all things in the world to see you here again.

Queen Mary to King William.—Her anxiety about his passing the Shannon.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{1}{2}$, 1690.

I HAVE had no letter from you since that of the 31st, from Chapel-ford; what I suffer by it you cannot imagine. I don't say this by way of complaint, for I do believe you write as often as 'tis convenient or necessary, but yet I can't help being extreamly desirous of hearing again from you. This passage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night nor day; I have a million of fears, which are caused by that which you can't be angry at, and if I were less sensible I should hate myself, though I wish I were not so fear full, and yet one can hardly go without t'other; but 'tis not reasonable I should torment you with any of this. Lord Stuart desires me to let you know he has had a letter from M^{rs} et Mad. de Grammon, about her brother Mr. Hamilton; they desire earnestly he may be exchanged for lord Montjoy. I told lord Devonf. that I knew nothing of this Mr. Ham. faults (which I see he is very apprehensive the parliament will take into consideration, if he be not out of their power) but that upon his earnest desire I would let you know it. I would have had him write it you himself, but he begs me to do it. As for lord Montjoy, I hope you will consider if any thing can be done for him. I can never forget that I promised his son's wife to speak to you, and she really died of grief, which makes me pity her case; his family is in a miserable way, and I am daily solicited from his eldest daughter about him: if you would let lord Portland give me some answer to this, I should be very glad, for I can't wonder at people's desiring to know some answer, though I am tormented myself. The business of the commission for lord Torrington's tryal sticks still at the admiralty, who are appointed monday morning to meet the civilians at council. I have staid till I am ready to go to bed, and now can put off sealing my letter no longer. I pray God give me patience and submission; I want the first exceedingly, but I hope all is well, especially your dear self, who I love much better than life.

Queen Mary to King William.—Whigs want a new parliament.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{1}{4}$, 1690.

YOU cannot imagine the miserable condition I was in last night; I think had not your letter come as it did, I should have fallen sick with fear for your dear person; but all that trouble made your news of

the French having left Limmerick the more welcome, I will not say your letter, for those are ever so. I am sure this news affords new reason of praising God, since I hope it will prevent any more fighting. You speak of your coming back now in a way which makes me hope not only that it will be quickly, but that you come willingly, and that is a double joy to me, for before I confess, I was afraid to have seen you dissatisfied when you were here, and that would have been very unpleasant; but now I hope in God to see you soon, and see you as well pleased as this place will suffer you to be, for I fancy you will find people really worse and worse. Lord Stuart was with me this afternoon, with whom I had a long conversation, which will be worth your knowing when you come; but he has made me promise to write you word now some part of it, which is, that he begs you to consider if you will not have a new parliament, for this he is sure will do no good; this he says is his opinion. I see it is a thing they are mightily set upon. Lord President methinks has very good arguments to try this first, but of all this you will judge best when you come. I can't imagine how it comes to pass that you have not received my letter of the 26th of July; I am sure I writ, and that you will have had it by this time, or else there must be some carelessness in it which must be looked after. I have had this evening lord Anandale who is to tell all, and then I am to procure a pardon from you, but I think I shall not be so easily deceived by him, as I fear lord Melvill has been by sir James Montgomery; but these are things to talk of when you come back, which I pray God may be very soon. 'Tis the greatest joy in the world to hear you are so well. I pray God continue it. I hope this will meet you upon your way back, so it goes by an express that it may not miss you. I can't express my impatience to see you; there is nothing greater but that which it proceeds from, which will not end but with my life.

I HAVE seen Mr. Hop, and Mr. Olderson, but have time to say no more.

You will have an account of the business of the admiralty from lord Nott.

Queen Mary to King William.—Disputes begin in council about naval promotions.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{23}{13}$, 1690.

THOUGH I have nothing to say to you worth writing, yet I cannot let any express go without doing it; and Mr. Hop, it seems, believes this business of the Swedish ship too considerable to stay but till to-morrow. The commissioners of the admiralty have resolved to come to me to-morrow, with some names for flags: Mr. Russell recommends Churchill and Ellmor, because he says nothing has been done for them, tho' they both were trusted when you came over, and have been ever very true to your interest; but I think, if it be possible, to let them alone till you come, though Mr. Russell seems to think it cannot be delayed; I shall hear (if it must be so) what the other commissioners think, and do as well as I can. I have been this day at Kensington, which looks really very well, at least to a poor body like me, who have been so long condemned to this place, and see nothing but water or wall.

I HAVE received a letter from lord Dursley, who I suppose will write of the same thing to yourself, and therefore I shall not do it. I am very impatient for another letter, hoping that will bring me the news of your coming back; 'tis impossible to believe how impatient I am for that, nor how much I love you, which will not end but with my life.

Queen Mary to King William.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{24}{14}$, 1690.

I ONLY write for fashion sake, for I really have nothing in the world to say, yet I am resolved never to miss an opportunity of doing it while I live. To-morrow I am to go to the great council, where my lord mayor and aldermen are to come to be thanked for their two regiments, and released of them; when that is over I go, if it please God, to Hampton court, which I fear will not be much advanced. It has been such a storm of wind and rain this whole day, that I thank God with all my heart you could not be near the sea. I hope the ill weather will spend itself now, that when you do come you may have a quick passage. I have seen Mr. Zulestein to-day, who is so tanned he frights me. I was heartily glad to see him, believing you would not have sent him here, but

that you resolved soon to follow. Adieu; continue to love me and I shall be happy, and 'tis the only thing can make me so.

Queen Mary to King William.—Lord Annandale's confession.

Whitehall, Aug. $\frac{26}{18}$.

THIS time I write with a better heart than the last, because it goes by an express, which must find you out, which it may be the common post may not so well do; there was then nothing to write: this time I have a paper to send you, which lord Nott. is to copy, which is what lord Annandale has made sir Wm. Lochart write, because he was not willing it should be seen under his own hand. I think I write you word, or shou'd have done, that he sent by his wife to sir Wm. he wou'd surrender himself, if he might be sure not to be made an evidence of; upon which sir Wm. drew up conditions, that he shou'd tell all, and then he should be made no evidence, and has my word to get your pardon. I think I write you this before, but to be short, he is come in, and I have spoke twice with him; the second time was last night, when he gave me that paper, and seems to be in earnest: he told me, that after the time the papers were burnt, wherewith this ends, sir J. Montgomery proposed sending a second message by the same Simson, but he rejected it as much as he durst, but was afraid to tell him plainly he wou'd not; so having a mind to get out of this, he pretended business at his own house in the country; but his coldness made sir J. Montgomery the warmer in it, and assure him he would spend his life and fortune in that interest: thus they parted, and he knew no more till lord Breadalbine came to see lord Annandale, in his way to Chester, where he went to meet you; he told him sir James had certainly sent another message, but that he was not engaged in it, and believed nobody was besides, but lord Arran, tho' he cou'd not be positive if lord Ross were not likewise in: this he told me last night, and desires to be askit more questions, not knowing but that he might yet remember more than at present he can think of: thus he seems to deal sincerely; but to say the truth, I think one does not know what to believe, but this I am certain off, that lord Rosse did not keep his word with me, much less has sir J. Montgomery with lord Melvill, for he has been in town ever since

this day was sevenight, and I have heard nothing of him, which is a plaine breach of the conditions. I hope in God I shall soon hear from you, 'tis a long while since I have; but I am not so uneasie as I was last time, yet enough to wish extremely for a letter. D'lone is to send lord Portland, by this post, a copy of a letter from Mr. Priestman, in which you will see what need you have of that divine protection, which has hitherto so watched over you, and which only can make me easy for your dear sake. The same God who has hitherto so preserved you, will, I hope, continue, and grant us a happy meeting here, and a blessed one hereafter. Farewell; 'tis too late for me to say any more, but that I am ever and intirely yours, and shall be so till death.

Queen Mary to King William.—Contrast between the sentiments of the Dutch and English with regard to them.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{22}{7}$ th, 1690.

LAST night, when it was just a week since I had heard from you, I received yours of the $\frac{20}{7}$ th, after I was a-bed: I was extreemly glad to find by it you had past the Shanon, but cannot be without fears, since the enemys have still an army together, which, tho' it has once more run away from you, may yet grow desperate, for ought I know, and fight at last: these are things I can't help fearing, and as long as I have these fears, you may believe I can't be easy; yet I must look over them, if it be possible, and force myself to talk, or presently every body thinks all lost. This is no small part of my penance; but all must be endured as long as it pleases God, and I have still abundant cause to praise him who has given you this new advantage. I pray God continue to bless you, and make us all as thankfull as we ought; but I must own the thoughts of your staying longer is very uneasy to me. God give me patience, I hope you will be so kind to write oftener; while you are away, it is really the only comfort this world affords, and if you knew what a joy it is to receive so kind a one as your last, you wou'd by that, better than any thing else, be able to judge of mine for you, and the belief that what you say upon that subject is true, is able to make me bear any thing. When I writ last I was extream sleepy, and so full of my Scotch business, that I really forgot Mr. Harbord; he wrote to fir

R. Southwell, as he told me, but he has a great deal to say: he pleased me extremely to hear how much people love me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in being so kind to me; that they are so to you 'tis no wonder, I wish to God it was the same here; but I ask your pardon for this, if I once begin upon this subject, I can never have done to put it out of my head. I must put you once more in mind of the custos rotulorum for lord Fitzharding, he thinks his honor depends much upon it, having been so long in his family. I did once tell you, that he did not desire to be lord lieutenant, but now some gentlemen there in the country have wrote to him about it, which makes him desire to be it; if you think it for your service, I suppose you will do nothing in it till your return, 'tis only that you may remember it, and not be engaged before he speaks. Lord Marl. is also very earnest with me to write to you what has been done to-day, and the commissioners of the admiralty have been here in a body, at the cabinet council, to name 4 persons, out of which they desired me to chuse two flags. Lord Marl. desired me to name 'em to you in order, which is Churchill, Elmore, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it's but too plain in other things, how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the commissioners myself, that I hoped you wou'd be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter shou'd not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if it's possible, but cou'd not refuse my lord Marl. nor indeed myself, the writing you the matter as it is, tho' he expects I should write in his favour, which tho' I would not promise, yet I did make him a sort of compliment, after my fashion. I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to see you, you are kind enough to be perswaded of both, and I shall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cause to change your opinion of me, no more than I shall my kindness for you, which is much above imagination.

Queen Mary to King William—on the report of the loss of his artillery at Limerick.

Whitehall, Aug. the $\frac{21}{2}$ th, 1690.

THIS is only to let you know that I have received your duplicate of the 14th, which came by Waterford, and got hither last night by 9 o' clock. There was no time lost in obeying your orders, but I have several remarks to make another time. Sir R. Southwel's letter speaks of a misfortune to the artillery, which he refers to your letter, that is coming by Dublin; I cannot imagine the reason 'tis not come yet, nor can I help being very impatient for it. The messenger tells an imperfect story, which makes a great noise in the town, and does not lessen the desire of knowing the truth; besides, 'tis such a comfort to hear from you, that I can't be blamed for wishing it. This is all I will say to-night; for should I begin to tell my fears, that you will not be back so soon as I could wish, I should trouble you, and write myself asleep, it being late. You know my heart, I need say nothing of that, 'tis so entirely yours.

Queen Mary to king William—upon his raising the siege of Limerick.—Great heats about naval promotions.—Opposition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingsale.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 1,}}{\text{Aug. 22,}}$ 1690.

THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little crosses. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, tho' 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poore heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Ruffel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason; I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was

told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote: to this he answered in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew lord President and lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see lord Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour: he says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinsale. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but, among other things, he endeavours to fright me by the danger there is of being so exposed, when the fleet and 5000 men are gone, which he reckons all the force; tells how easy it will be then for the French to come only with transport ships, and do what they will, but with all this, is very desirous to forward all things. You will have an account from lord Nott. what has been done this day and yesterday. I know you will pity me, and I hope will believe that if your letter had been less kind, I don't know what would become of me, 'tis that only makes me bear all that now so torments me, and I give God thanks every day for your kindness; 'tis such a satisfaction to me to find you are satisfied with me, that I cannot express it; and I do so flatter myself with the hopes of being once more happy with you, that that thought alone, in this world, makes me bear all with patience. I pray God preserve you from the dangers I hear you expose yourself daily to, which puts me in continual pain. A battle, I fancy, is soon over; but the perpetual shooting you are now in is an intolerable thing to think on; for God's sake take care of yourself;

you owe it to your own and this country, and to all in general. I must not name myself where church and state are equally concerned, yet I must needs say, you owe a little care for my sake, who, I am sure, loves you more than you can do me; and the little care you take of your dear person I take to be a sign of it: but I must still love you more than life.

Queen Mary to king William.—State of her own mind.—Opposition to lord Marlborough's expedition to Kingsale.—Her dislike of lady Marlborough.

Whitehall, $\frac{\text{Sept. 5,}}{\text{Aug. 26,}}$ 1690.

YESTERDAY I was very much disappointed when lord Nott brought me a letter from you, to find it was only the duplicate to a former which brought your orders to lord Marl. So that I have now received three of yours of one date; you may be sure they are all extremely welcome, but I confess that which came yesterday would have been more so, had it been of a fresher date. I have been just now writing to your aunt, the princess of Nassau, in answer to one which she wrote, to let me know of her daughter being to marry the prince of Saxen-schnach. I believe you will be glad for your cousin's sake, that she will be disposed of before her mother dies; and I ever heard it at the Hague that this young man was good-natured, which will make him use her well, though she is so much older; and for his good fortune, she has enough I believe, to govern him more gently than another cousin of yours does her spouse. I can't help laughing at this wedding, though my poor heart is ready to break every time I think in what perpetual danger you are; I am in greater fears than can be imagined by any who loves less than myself. I count the hours and the moments, and have only reason enough left to think, as long as I have no letters all is well. I believe, by what you write, that you got your cannon Friday at farthest, and then Saturday I suppose you began to make use of them; judge then what cruel thoughts they are to me to think what you may be exposed to all this while. I never do any thing without thinking now, it may be, you are in the greatest dangers, and yet I must see company upon my sett days: I must play twice a week; nay, I must laugh and talk, tho' never so much against my will: I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me, at least 'tis a great constraint to myself, yet I must endure

it: all my motions are so watch'd, and all I do so observed, that if I eat less, or speak less, or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery added to that of your absence and my fears for your dear person, that I must grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppress'd I can scarce breathe. In this I don't know what I should do, were it not for the grace of God which supports me: I am sure I have great reason to praise the Lord while I live for this great mercy, that I don't sink under this affliction; nay, that I keep my health; for I can neither sleep nor eat. I go to Kensington as often as I can for air, but then I can never be quite alone; neither can I complain, that would be some ease; but I have nobody whose humour and circumstances agrees with mine enough to speak my mind freely to: besides, I must hear of business, which being a thing I am so new in, and so unfit for, does but break my brains the more, and not ease my heart. I see I have insensibly made my letter too long upon my own self, but I am confident you love enough to bear with it for once: I don't remember that I have been guilty of the like fault before, since you went; and that is now three months, for which time of almost perpetual fear and trouble, this is but a short account, and so I hope may pass: 'tis some ease to me to write my pain, and 'tis a great satisfaction to believe you will pity me, it will be yet more when I hear it from yourself in a letter, as I am sure you must if it were but out of common good nature; how much more then out of kindness, if you love me as well as you make me believe, and as I endeavour to deserve a little by that sincere and lasting kindness I have for you: but by making excuses I do but take up more of your time, and therefore must tell you that this morning lord Marl. went away; as little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days; and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight. There has been a great debate this morning in the cabinet council, whether the commissioners of the admiralty should be trusted with the secret. Mr. Russel thought it was no matter if the whole town knew it; lord president thought the whole success depends upon it being a secret, and would not have the commissioners of the admiralty told it by no means: most were of his opinion, especially lord Monmouth; but 'tis too tedious to write more of this: you will have an exact account from lord Nott. of

all that has been done besides to-day. If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except lord Nott. being very much against it: lord president only complying because it is your order; but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard. There would be no end should I tell you all I hear upon this subject, but I thank God I am not afraid, nor do I doubt of the thing, since 'tis by your order. I pray God the weather does not change with you as it does here; it has rained all last night and this day, and looks as if it were set in for it. Every thing frights me now, but were I once more so happy as to see you here, I fancy I should fear nothing. I have always forgot to tell you that in the Utrecht courier they have printed a letter of yours to the States, in which you promise to be soon with them; I can't tell you how many ill hours I have had about that in the midst of all my joy; when I thought you were coming home, it troubled me to think you would go over and fight again there. And now I am upon this, I must tell you, that Mr. Johnson writes that Mr. Danckleman has writ the Elector word, that you received the news very coldly that he was come to the army, which they say vexed him: I have writ to him, 'tis already some time ago, in answer to a letter I had from him, which I wish you had seen; it was full of so many extraordinary things, but so like him. I have had a present from him of an amber cabinet, which I think is not necessary to write. Now my letter is already so long, but 'tis as if I were bewitched to-night, I can't end for my life; but will force myself now, beseeching God to bless you and keep you from all dangers whatsoever; and send us a happy meeting again here upon earth, and at last a joyfull and blessed one in heaven in his good time. Farewell; do but continue to love me, and forgive the taking up so much of your time to your poor wife, who deserves more pity than ever any creature did, and who loves you a great deal too much for her own ease, though it can't be more than you deserve.

Queen Mary to King William, upon his returning from Ireland — Her dislike of the queen dowager.

Whitehall, Sept. the 1stth, 1690.

LORD Wincheſter is deſirous to go meet you, which you may believe I will never hinder any one. Whether I ought to ſend him out of form ſake I can't tell, but it may paſs for what it ought to the world, and to your dear ſelf at leaſt I ſuppoſe it is indifferent. Nothing can expreſs the impatience I have to ſee you, nor my joy to think it is ſo near; I have not ſlept all this night for it, though I had but five hours ſleep the night before, for a reaſon I ſhall tell you. I am now going to Kenſington to put things in order there, and intend to dine there to-morrow, and expect to hear when I ſhall ſett out to meet you. I had a compliment laſt night from Q. Dowager, who came to town a friday; ſhe ſent it I believe with the better heart becauſe Limmericke is not taken: for my part I don't think of that or any thing elſe but you; God ſend you a good journey home, and make me thankfull as I ought for all his mercies.

One of lord Darmouth's memorandums on biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, Vol. II.

P. 134.—*Anecdotes of Queen Mary.*

THE duke of Leeds told me, that King William, before he went abroad, told him, that he muſt be very cautious of ſaying any thing before the queen, that looked like a diſreſpect to her father, which ſhe never forgave any body: and the marquis of Halifax in particular had loſt all manner of credit with her for ſome unſeaſonable jeſts he had made upon this ſubject. That he, the duke, might depend upon what ſhe ſaid to him to be ſtrictly true, though ſhe would not always tell the whole truth; and that he muſt not take it for granted that ſhe was of his opinion every time ſhe did not think fit to contradict him. The earl of Nottingham, who was much in her confidence, told me, he was very ſure if ſhe had outlived her huſband, ſhe would have done her utmoſt to have reſtored her father; but under ſuch reſtrictions, as ſhould have prevented his ever making any attempts upon the religion or libertys of his country.

In lord Hardwicke's manuscript of the memoirs of Bing lord Torrington, there is the following account of lord Torrington's motions before the battle off Beachy head.

“**M.** De Tourville was joined at Brest, by the count of Chateau Renaud, who, in coming through the streights, had missed Killigrew's squadron, that was looking out for him, with a great fleet consisting of the largest and best of the French ships. M. de Tourville sailed from Brest, and coming into the channel, hovered on the English coast, expecting the effects of the designed conspiracy which was to break out about this time. The English and Dutch had not been long rendezvoused at St. Helen's, when the lord Torrington received advice of the French fleet appearing on the back of the Isle of Wight, which surprized him, as not believing them forward enough to be out so soon; and therefore had sent no scouts to the westward to observe their motions. Upon this he immediately got under sail, and was joined the next day by admiral Evertsen, and several Dutch ships with him. When he made the French fleet, they were to leeward of him, and drawing into a line of battle, bore down upon them; but a thick fog coming on, the English and Dutch anchored, till it cleared up, when he saw the French fleet again, consisting in all of 100 sail. The lord Torrington then made the signal for the blue squadron to lead the van towards them, but when he was come within 4 leagues of them, it growing night, he brought to, and both fleets anchored.

IN a council of war lord Torrington held upon this occasion, it was the general opinion they were too weak to engage the enemy, the sentiments of which he sent up by express to the queen. In the mean time both fleets, in sight of one another, weighed and drew into a line, but it proving little wind, they anchored again; but in the evening lord Torrington stood up the channel, and the French fleet was not in sight all the next day; and the day after, he came off of Beachy Head, where he kept sometimes under sail, and sometimes at anchor.

WHILE the two fleets kept thus in sight of each other, the court was very uneasy that the enemy should be on the coast while such a considerable fleet was at sea, therefore positive orders were sent to lord Torrington, not to let the French fleet go away unfought, which order he received

the evening of the 29th of June, and immediately communicated them to the council of war, who were of opinion, that since he had such positive orders to fight the enemy, it should not be delayed while they had the wind of them; and that it would be best, when they attacked them, to go close up to them; the admiral of the Dutch joining with them in the same opinion. So that lord Torrington got under sail the same evening being three leagues off of Beachy Head."

In the same manuscript there is the following account of the French motions after the battle.

"**T**HE French continued their pursuit for four days, which had they not done in formal line of battle, but every best sailor left to act, at least all the disabled ships of the fleet had been taken by them; but through this failure, and by not observing, or not being well acquainted with our tides, which the English fleet made such advantages of, that when they got off of Dover, the French, though in sight, were so far behind, that they desisted following it any further, as not thinking it advisable to go after them, on the back of the Goodwin, and in amongst the sands towards the Thames, where the English fleet was retireing, and came to an anchor at the Nore in great confusion, and expecting that the French might attack them. All the buoys were taken up, and other necessary dispositions made, as soon as they got there."

In the same manuscript there is the following account of lord Torrington's trial.

"**I**T was by a court martial held at Sheerness, on the 10th of December, in which he was unanimously acquitted, though it was thought by some it should have been the house of lords, as being a peer. It is supposed this was chiefly done as some satisfaction to the Dutch, who had much suffered in the battle. The only blame to be laid on lord Torrington, " was his standing to the southward at the beginning of the engagement, and by not going nigher to the French with the rest of the fleet, " as he had admonished all the other commanders to do, at the council " of war held before the battle; yet though his squadron, which was the

“strongest, had behaved as the rest did, it is unreasonable to think he
 “could have obtained any victory over the French, whose strength was
 “so much superior both in the number and quality of their ships, the
 “enemy being 70 odd sail, and the English and Dutch only 50.” The
 Dutch admiral, who went very nigh the enemy, and behaved himself
 very bravely, committed likewise a mistake, by not going to the headmost
 ships of the enemys line, which had prevented their stretching ahead and
 tacking on him, which gave occasion to the ill consequences that followed.
 As these were the mistakes of the confederates during the battle, so was
 not the French without theirs after it; for had they anchored at first, as
 the English did, they had not been so much to the westward of them, or
 had they weighed so early as them, it is thought the whole fleet might
 have been endangered, they being near twice as strong, after that of the
 Dutch was disabled. But the English gained so much on them, that
 they thought it in vain to pursue them further, and thereby lost the advan-
 tage of a victory they might have obtained.

THE loss of this battle, and the apprehensions of a descent, and several
 risings in the country, occasioned a great consternation in the people.
 But from the queen’s wise administration, and application to business
 during the king’s absence, joined to her constancy of mind, prevented all
 their fears of danger: and the victory gained by the king at the battle
 of the Boyne, which happened on the very next day after that of Beachy,
 put a sudden and effectual stop to all the designs of the discontented
 party.”

In King Wil-
 liam’s box.

*Lord Shrewsbury to lord Caermathen.—Offers to take the command of the
 fleet upon the defeat off Beachy Head.*

My Lord,

Southborrow, July the 12th, 90.

THIS place, as much as I can see yet of it, has as much the air of
 real solitude, as the most romantic grove you ever read of; whether
 it be my lord Torrington or Mr. Tourville’s fault is not yet decided, but
 yesterday we met so many Dutch seamen upon the road, that that subject
 fills me with compassion, but at the same time leads me to what I sat
 down with intention to write upon, which I desire you will keep to your-
 self, unless you see a fit opportunity, and withal that you think my pro-
 posal neither too vain nor too foolish.

If I do not very much mistake Mr. Russel's inclinations, I think he is not very fond nor ambitious of undertaking this expedition at sea, not being, I believe, confident enough of his own experience to desire the command alone, nor yet willing to undergo so much trouble and danger as such a business requires, when he is only to share the honour with other commissioners. If he does not go, I conclude no other single man will be trusted with the fleet, there being objections against every body can be named, either for want of skill, or security of their inclinations to the government. If the fleet be commanded by commissioners, I imagine there will be appointed one man of quality and two seamen. If my lord Pembroke desires it, nobody can dispute what is so much his due; but by several people I have spoken with, there appears too great a backwardness in every body to undertake the regaining this lost game, that I doubt whether any will offer themselves who are fit to be accepted: it is only in this case, and no other, that I think myself obliged to let you know, that if there should any such great want be, as that I could be serviceable (which is hardly credible) I would venture myself with all the readiness imaginable, and promise you, that as I should be able to do little good, I would do as little hurt, which is all can be expected from the best you can send, if joined with two able mettled seamen, which I am sure are the only people can recover this disgrace.

I CANNOT help being so ridiculous as to be mightily piqued at the affront the nation has suffered, and think it so much concerns the interest as well as reputation of every man that calls himself an Englishman, not to suffer this domineering fleet to go home without a revenge, and call themselves ever after sovereigns of the sea, that I am very solicitous to hear good men are named for this command, that it might be somebody's business who is sufficiently concerned in the success, to see this fleet equipped with diligence and care. This long letter is writ contrary to all orders of a regular water-drinker, and in great haste. If what I have offered be very wrong, I hope you will have the charity to conceal the follies of

Your lordship's

Most faithful, humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

In King
William's
box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to king William.—Suspensions of lord Monmouth.

SIR,

London, 16th June, 1690.

MY former of the 13th did not go as I expected, because I understood it would have no other conveyance than by the ordinary post, by which not only myself dare not write, but my lord Marlborow and others (who know less than I do of that matter) have declared publicly that they will not write but by expresses, having reason to believe that major Wildman has exact impressions of most people's seals, and that he makes use of his art.

He does now produce letters which he pretends to intercept every post, which are interlined with white ink, with the best intelligence which can be given of Your Majesty's councils and affairs: they are always directed to Mons. Coutenay, at Amsterdam; and I remember my lord Monmouth told me of such a direction above two months ago; but we never saw any of these till one about four days before Your Majesty's departure, and they are so much of one strain, that I cannot hinder myself from suspecting them to be sham letters, either to bring some of your council under suspicion of betraying secrets, or to put a value upon Mr. Wildman's great diligence in your service at this time.

I CANNOT but also acquaint Your Majesty with a private discourse of my lord Monmouth's to me on the 14th, which did much surprize me; but although I now believe there is no such danger, yet it is fit for Your Majesty's knowledge. It was that he did then believe we should in a few hours from that time hear that 5000 French foot were landed in Scotland, to which a great number of Scotch were joined by that time. I told him if he knew it to be true, he ought to acquaint the queen with it; which he said he would have done, if he had been very sure of the truth of it; but he was confident it would be found true in a few hours longer: but hearing nothing of it the next day, I asked him, why he had said so before? he answered, that the news had been brought by a man who came post out of Scotland in forty-eight hours, and had rid himself almost dead; but said he did not know the man, nor how to enquire after him: and upon further discourse he said, he had told Your Majesty that he would endeavour to get what intelligence he could out of Scotland for your service, and that he would endeavour to prevent all things there which

might tend to your disservice, but that he would be torn to pieces before he would name any persons, and that you were contented to give him that liberty. In short—although I hope he wishes well to Your Majesty, I believe him to be abused by Wildman; and he was in as much disorder as I ever saw, when Ferguson's papers were searched, and went about a dozen times to his lodging, where Wildman was all the time.

I say not this with any reflection upon my lord, (who I do in my conscience believe means well to your interest) but I believe he has been privy to more of the Scotch designs than he now wishes he had known.

Lord Caermarthen to King William, upon the defeat at Beachy Head.—Presses In King
William's
box.
him to return from Ireland.

SIR,

London, 7th July, 1690.

I WRIT so at large to Your Majesty yesterday, that I ought not to trouble you so soon again, were it not to congratulate Your Majesty's victory over your enemies at Drogheda, which I hope I need not go about to persuade Your Majesty of my rejoycing in as truly as any of your subjects. It is pity that so much bravery and greatness as Your Majesty shews in all kinds, should meet with any such repulse as you have done at sea; but I hope that may be repaired if those will do their dutys to whom it belongs.

HOWEVER, as the present case is, without Your Majesty's speedy returne (besides many inconveniences here which would be prevented by it) I do to the utmost degree apprehend its being made impracticable, in some little time hence, for you to returne this summer, if you would, especially with any force, of which I think there is appearance enough that there will be need here, and yet how great soever that need bee, it seems unreasonable to desire troops from you whilst your person is there. Your great councill do generally hope, that having lessened your enemies army, you will send back some troops, the fears here being very great, especially whilst the French fleet are about the Downs, where it is expected they will anchor this night. I will presume to trouble Your Majesty no further, but to beseech you to consider the importance of your return, whilst it is in your power. I am, with all duty and esteem,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most faithful

and most obedient subject and servant,

I

CAERMARTHEN, P.

SINCE I had writt this letter, the cabinet council being met to consider about the fleet, and that debate giving occasion to speak of the general state of our affairs, it was thought of absolute necessity by them, to desire that some troops might be sent back out of Ireland immediately; and, upon the whole, it was agreed unanimously, that as far as it could be done with good manners, Your Majesty should be preſt to returne with all imaginable speed; all agreeing that it would otherwise be impracticable in a little time longer, and very unsafe both to Your Majesty's person and the nation, if you did not comply with our desires. Your Majesty will accordingly receive our humble requests by my lord Nottingham, with the state of our condition and motives for our requests, which I hope will prevail with you. Your Majesty will also find, that in hopes of Your Majesty's being of our opinion in this matter, we have ordered the squadron under Shovell to a station where he should not bee, but that we take it to be of the first importance to secure Your Majesty's passage to us. We have sworn one another to secrecy in this matter, and the admiralty thinks we have ordered Shovell's squadron only to prevent the design of the 28 Brest ships burning our transport vessels. Your Majesty will be pleased to send us the most speedy answer to this that is possible, and to keep it private as long as may be."

In King
William's
box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William, on his returning to the army in Ireland.—Complaints of the admiralty.

SIR,

London, 19th Aug. 1690.

I THANK God, all things are so quiet here, that I have nothing to trouble Your Majesty withall, but to congratulate your happy progress, which the letters of the 10th bring us an account of this day.

I AM glad Your Majesty has been pleased to delay your return to this time, of which I hope you will find the good effects here, as well as in Ireland, unless we can be brazen-faced in our ingratitude, which I hope the very Mobile will not suffer us to be, what even our natural inclinations might otherwise dispose us to.

WE have ordered an additional provision to be made, and sent both from Chester and Bristol a few days provisions for the army, from each place, for fear of any want, which is the only thing I can now apprehend in Ireland; for we dare not depend upon the Plymouth provisions

coming in time, being liable to so many accidents to prevent it; and amongst the many other miscarriages of the board of admiralty, one hath been, the not sending those provision ships from Plymouth to Ireland, with sir Cloudesly Shovell, we having given them orders for it in due time, and was omitted thro' perfect neglect.

It is pity to take up any of Your Majesty's time impertinently, and therefore, with my prayers for your prosperity, I beg to be esteemed, as I most truly am, SIR,

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and.

entirely devoted subject and servant,

CARMARTHEN, P.

B O O K VI.

In King Wil-
liam's box.

Marquis of Caermarthen to King William.—Sad state of Ireland.—Offers to go lord lieutenant-general.—Discontents of people with government.

SIR, London, Feb. 20th, 1697.

I CAN say nothing of matters here, but what Your Majesty is informed of at large, by my lord Sidney; but your affairs in Ireland seem to me to be in so ill a posture, and so likely to be worse rather than better (unless some other course be taken than is now) and it is so certain, that your business in the next parliament will go better or worse, according to your success the next summer there; that I presume to give Your Majesty my opinion of the necessity of your sending somebody thither, as lord lieutenant, with the accustomed powers of that place, whose quality, as well as authority, may give a countenance to his actings, and may make him be more willingly obeyed than these lords justices are or will be.

I CONFESS the cure is difficult, because Your Majesty has no English subject who is fitly qualified for the employment, (and yet you can employ no other) but I do truly believe your affairs would do better in an indifferent hand of such quality, assisted with good counsellors, and some good military assistants (although those were foreigners) than they can do by any commission of justices, as the present state of things are in that kingdom.

Now as I am of this opinion, so I think my lord Shrewsbury, my lord Chesterfield, my lord Pembroke, my lord Moulgrave, or my lord Godolphin, are capable of doing Your Majesty this service, if Your Majesty should approve any of them, and that they would undertake it. Nay, so absolutely necessary I think it is that something of this kind should be done, that rather than it should not, I do offer myself to Your Majesty for that service, altho' I am less fit than any of those I have named.—Your Majesty will easily believe that, my circumstances considered, I should not have named myself, but that I would rather perish in endeavouring to save this government, than live to perish with it, which (as infirm as I

am) I may probably do, if Ireland should cost another year's war. Another reason why I offer myself is, because I think it yet to be prevented by an industrious care, and such provision made for it as is within Your Majesty's power.—What would certainly prevent this danger is Your Majesty's going thither in person: but I fear your other affairs (being wanted every where) will not permit you to do it this year; and no more time must be lost (the year being so far advanced) in fixing your resolutions about this matter; but if Your Majesty should approve of this method, your orders must be immediately sent to whoever you shall employ in that service.

I BESEECH Your Majesty to take this affair of Ireland thoroughly into your consideration, being what the whole prosperity of your government depends upon in these kingdoms; and forgive me for telling Your Majesty so bold a truth as it is, that men's affections to the government do apparently decrease amongst all parties; and nothing but a more vigorous conduct of affairs can retrieve it, the effects of which must appear this next summer, either at sea, or in Ireland, or both; and a miscarriage in either will be probably fatal to the chief commanders (how innocent soever they be) and deeply prejudicial to Your Majesty.

ALTHOUGH I have writ all this to Your Majesty as my own opinion, I find it to be also the opinion of all the thinking men that I converse with, and it is such a daily discourse (even amongst us who are of the committee for Irish affairs,) how impossible it is for things to succeed in Ireland under the present conduct of them, that I believe it to be the reason why we can so seldom get a number sufficient to make a committee, of which my lord Sydney and I are always two, and commonly sir Hen. Goodrick the third; (but which is yet worse) if any others do chance to come, they seem to act like pyoneers, for pay, rather than by inclination. If Your Majesty shall think all this impertinent, I hope you will take no notice it was ever writ, but forgive,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

CARMARTHEN, P.

In King Wil-
liam's box.

Lord Caermarthen to King William.—Complains of Mr. Hampden.

SIR,

27th Feb. 169^o.

I AM glad I have but little to trouble Your Majesty withall from hence, all things going on very well as to the fleet, which is our principal concern. The city loane also, of 200,000*l*. (which we were sent to borrow) is in a good forwardness, notwithstanding the discouragement given them by Mr. Hampden in parliament, who there said, that those had lent Your Majesty least who had lent you most upon former loanes; but the common council did only take notice of it, with a declaration that it should not hinder this loane, and that they would not for the future be obliged to pay their money to the chamberlaine of the city, but that every one would lend in what manner they pleased, and did desire to have a list out of the chamberlaine's books, who had been the former lenders upon each fund, and what sums every man had lent; to which my lord Maior gave them no answer.

As to the affairs of Ireland, your Majesty will have received a large pacquett by the last post, from the lords justices and lieutenant generals. Ginkle and we are doing all we can to send over oats and other provisions; but all credit being lost, and nothing to be bought but with ready money, the want of that delays things very much; and I find that Your Majesty's clothing of the army yourself will turn but to an ill account to Your Majesty, as well as to the soldiers, both being much abused as it is now done.

In King
William's
box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.—Account of council.

Feb. 27, 169^o.

THE displacing major Wildman is all the discourse of the town, and generally people are very well satisfied with it, and so they are with the choice the Queen hath made to succeed him. It would have been for your service if it had been kept secret till these gentlemen were ready to take possession of the office, but somebody among us could not keep counsell, and so it was all over the town before sir Rob. Cotton came to it. Mr. Frankland is a great way off, and cannot be expected in several days: I do not much know him, but he hath so good a character, that I do not doubt his deserving the favour that is show'd him. I find my lord

doing it. Not to trouble you, sir, too long, my great ambition is to serve President does not approve of the choice, and his chief objection is, because one is a Whig and the other a Tory, which he saith is the most destructive method Your Majesty can take. I confesse I cannot agree with him in this opinion; but besides, this is not the case, for they are both very moderate men. He hath been of late very peevish, and continually complaining; I am now his confident, and he hath almost told me that he would retire in a very little time. My lord Marlborough behaves himself much better than he did at first after Your Majesty's going away; he is now pretty diligent, and seldom fails the committees. My lord Godolphin comes not often, but he hath a good excuse for it, which is the treasury.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—Lord Godolphin's bad opinion of the In King
William's
box.
marquis of Caermarthen.

March 20, 1697.

SIR Rob. Howard was last week very like to die of the gout in his stomach; the reversion of his place is granted by patent to the present earl of Danby. This patent I have often been told is not good in law, and I believe it; besides, sir Rob. Howard has two offices in the exchequer, whereof one only is grantable by the King, and the other is in the gift of the treasury. I take it for granted that Your Majesty, unless you were obliged to do it by law, would never chuse out the earl of Danby, of all England, to fill that officer's place, thro' whose hands all your own revenue, all the public money of the kingdom, and all the accompts of both the one and the other are to pass; and for these reasons, if the case does happen, I shall think it my duty to refuse to admit him (as far as it depends of me) till the right of the patent be determined, unless Your Majesty should be pleased to signify your pleasure, that you would give the place to him, tho' there were no patent in the case, which, I confess, I think you would no more do than you would make him a bishop.

In King
William's
box.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Carmarthen to K. William.—Complains of the opposing party.

22d May, 1691.

WHILST Your Majesty is contriving schemes how to save us, and exposing your person for us, some are no less busy here in drawing their schemes to put all things in disorder when a parliament shall meet, and their principal designs are to lessen your power and increase their own; insomuch that without such a success as will be valued here, it is already apparent that our condition will be very deplorable: but I hope the same providence which hath conducted Your Majesty through so many great actions, will help you to surmount all difficulties, and make you as happy and great as is most truly wished by, Sir, &c.

In King
William's
box.

Lord Brandon to King William.—Complains of having been neglected.

S I R,

WHEN I consider how true an affection I have ever had for Your Majesty's person, and how early my zeal was shown to settle and support your government, I cannot but think myself very unhappy never to have received the least mark of Your Majesty's favour. I am the more uneasy under this neglect and discountenance of Your Majesty, since it has been the occasion of my losing my rank in the army, where I think I should be most capable to serve you. I know not how I was misrepresented to Your Majesty at your first coming into England, but sure Your Majesty could not think the worse of me for being faithful to a king to whom I owed my life, and whose commission I therefore believed I ought not to refuse when 'twas offered me; but this I thought myself obliged in honour to be true to my trust: both my principles and my inclinations were always on Your Majesty's side; and when King James was gone away, I am sure no man came to you with a more sincere intention to serve you than myself; what discouragements I have met with since, I desire not to remember, as I hope Your Majesty will please to forget any mistake I may have made in the way I have taken to carry on your service and promote your interest, which has been at all times my design, how much soever I may have misapprehended the manner of

Your Majesty in the army, because I think I can there do you most service; and if Your Majesty would not have me believe I am quite lost in your thoughts, I humbly desire Your Majesty will please to place me there in such a post as is fuitable to what I may justly pretend, of which I shall desire to make Your Majesty, who is the best able to be so, the sole judge. I suppose, sir, Your Majesty knows I have served abroad under the prince of Condé; that after that I was first a lieutenant-colonel, then a colonel 13 years ago; that no man except my lord of Oxford, and sir John Lanier were colonels before me. I do but just mention my pretensions to lay them at your feet, and to submit them wholly to you; and as I cannot but expect all kind of right from Your Majesty's justice, so I do assure Your Majesty, when I am once by Your Majesty's favour placed in the army in such a rank as is proper for me, I will never ask Your Majesty to raise me higher till Your Majesty shall yourself judge it for your service to do so. I am with the utmost respect and duty,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, and
most obedient humble subject
and servant, to command,
BRANDON.

Lord Sidney to King William, about the second conspiracy.—Pen's confession. In King William's box.

S I R,

Feb. the 27th, 1697.

A BOUT ten day ago, Mr. Pen sent his brother-in-law, Mr. Lowther, to me, to let me know that he would be very glad to see me, if I would give him leave, and promise him to let him return without being molested; I sent him word I would, if the queen would permitt it: he then desired me not to mention it to any body but the queen; I said I would not: a Monday he sent to me to know what time I would appoint; I named Wednesday in the evening, and accordingly I went to the place at the time, where I found him just as he used to be, not at all disguised, but in the same cloaths, and the same humour I formerly have seen him in: it would be too long for Your Majesty to read a full account of all our discourse, but in short it was this, that he was a true and a faithfull servant to King William and Queen Mary, and if he knew any thing that

was prejudicial to them or their government, he would readily discover it; he protested in the presence of God that he knew of no plot, nor did he believe there was any one in Europe, but what King Lewis hath laid, and he was of opinion that King James knew the bottom of this plot as little as other people: he saith, he knows Your Majesty hath a great many enemies, and some that came over with you, and some that joyned you soon after your arrival, he was sure, were more inveterate against you, and more dangerous than the jacobites, for he saith there is not one man amongst them that hath common understanding. To the letters that were found with my lord Preston, and the paper of the conference, he would not give any positive answer, but said if he could have the honour to see the king, and that he would be pleased to believe the sincerity of what he saith, and pardon the ingenuity of what he confessed, he would freely tell every thing he knew of himself, and other things that would be much for his Majesty's service and interest to know, but if he cannot obtain this favour he must be obliged to quit the kingdom; which he is very unwilling to do. He saith he might have gone away twenty times if he had pleased, but he is so confident of giving Your Majesty satisfaction if you would hear him, that he was resolved to expect your return before he took any sort of measures. What he intends to do, is all he can do for your service, for he can't be a witness if he would, it being, as he saith, against his conscience and his principles to take an oath. This is the sum of our conference, and I am sure Your Majesty will judge as you ought to do of it, without any of my reflections.

THE displacing major Wildman is all the discourse of the town, and generally people are very well satisfied with it, and so they are with the choice the queen hath made to succeed him.

In king
William's
box.

Part of the marquis of Caermarthen's letter to King William, on the same subject.—Lord Preston's confession.—Political use to be made of it.

3 Feb. 1697,

MY lord Preston hath, since his last paper, made some addition to his confession, though not very considerable; viz. that sir Edward Seymour told him that king James was betrayed by James Porter, and that lord Nottingham had said a peace would be made with France ex-

clusive of king James. That lord Weymouth was with him, together with sir Edward Seymour, and that both of them knew of his going into France. That lord Annendale and sir James Montgomery had been at his house in their way to Scotland, where they spoke very discontentedly against your government. That he met Neale Paine in his way to Scotland, who told him he had commissions for divers persons in that kingdom from king James. The said Paine told him that Ferguson had his pardon, and managed things for them at London; and that Wildman was a well-wisher to their cause. That duke Hamilton had his pardon, and lord Argyle was their friend; and I think said he had his pardon, but I am not certain, having not yet seen his last confession in writing. This being what my lord has said already, and that perhaps he may yet recollect more, I submit to Your Majesty whether it may not be more for the service to continue him (as he now is) till further order, without any reprieve, till the meeting of parliament; where his declaration of these matters will break the teeth not only of sir Edward Seymour, but of that whole party, from doing your business any harm in parliament. It will also be an ingredient to put a parliament into an humour for your service. It will also shew the designs intended in Scotland, and Paine's negotiations there; and you may reserve what part of that matter you shall think fit.

He is also the only witness both against my lord Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, and Pen, whereas by his execution you disappoint all these ends; and in my opinion it will not be to Your Majesty's disadvantage, if you should think fit to shew your clemency, rather than draw any more blood on this occasion.

Lord Nottingham to king William.—Crone and lord Preston's confession.— In king William's box.
Opinion of judges taken.—Political use to be made of the confessions.

SIR,

MR. Crone has made oath of the truth of all that is contained in the papers of which I lately sent copies to my lord Sydney: and Mr. Attorney has made his report of what persons are accused by my lord Preston or Crone, and of the nature of their several crimes, which is high treason in all, except my lord Halifax, whose offence is only misprision.

PART II.

A a

AGAINST the earl of Clarendon, Mr. Grahme, and Mr. Pen, there are two witnesses which are sufficient in law to convict them; but against the lady Dorchester, the lord Dartmouth, Layton, Lawton, and the bishop of Ely, there is but one witness, which is not sufficient to convict them of treason, no more than my lord Halifax of misprision; but Mr. Attorney added, that they might nevertheless be prosecuted for misdemeanor, which last is a point of so great importance, being never known before the case of Mr. Hampden, in the late reign, that the queen thought fit, by the advice of the committee, to require the opinion of all the judges upon it; and this morning my lord chief justice acquainted her majesty, that four judges (of which himself was one) were positive in their opinion, that a person accused by one witness only of high treason, could not be indicted for it as a misdemeanor; two judges more, though doubtful, inclined to the same opinion; one was altogether doubtful; and the other three declared themselves in the affirmative: hereupon her majesty does not think it adviseable to revive a method of prosecution which in the late reign was look'd upon as odious, though the then judges called it legal. Since therefore they cannot be proceeded against for treason for want of another witness, nor for misdemeanor because their crime is treason or misprision: the next consideration was whether they should be seized and committed: this is not a question of law, for 'tis clear they may, but of prudence: and the committee inclines, for the present at least, 'tis better not to do it; because 'tis certain they cannot be brought to a trial; and after some time, and an ineffectual attempt to bring them to it, they will be discharged; and none of the considerable persons, except the bishop of Ely, are running away, or like to do so, and therefore may at any time be arrested, and so will be, if any such misfortune should happen to Your Majesty's armies or fleet as might encourage an insurrection: but if Your Majesty thinks it more useful to the service to have all or any of them seized, your orders shall be immediately obeyed: but I beg leave to offer one thing to Your Majesty's consideration, which I have mentioned to the queen only, and it is, that probably some of these may design to obstruct and disturb your affairs in parliament; but this they will not dare to do while they are under apprehensions of being prosecuted themselves, which they will no longer be after they have been confined, and find there is no

matter or no proof against them; and since people do expect to see great fruits of my lord Preston's discovery, they will be very much disappointed to see it reduced to so narrow a compass, and that so little can be done upon it; and for this reason it may perhaps be better to keep it secret a little longer, and this may also keep others in awe who know themselves, though we do not know them, to be guilty.

As for Grahme and Pen, against whom there are two witnesses, Mr. Attorney has orders to prosecute them to an outlawry, by which they will be attainted, and though the late bishop of Ely be accused by one only, yet there being some material circumstances against him, and it being likely that he will not dare to appear, he will undergo the like process too.

BUT the committee thinks it will be best to delay the trial of my lord Clarendon, not only for what I humbly offered to Your Majesty in my last, but because there past a vote in the House of Lords, that a peer cannot be tried out of parliament, which though it be illegal, and can never be supported in the matter or form of making it, yet may probably influence many lords, who were zealous for this vote, to decline attendance at his trial, which would be very prejudicial to your service: and this may prove an occasion of reversing this vote, which will be more useful than the present prosecution of the earl of Clarendon.

I HUMBLY wait Your Majesty's commands in these matters, and am, with great duty and submission,

Whitehall,
June 26, 91.

Your Majesty's most obedient, and
most faithful subject, and servant,
NOTTINGHAM.

Part of a letter from the marquis of Caermarthen to king William. In king William's box.
—*More of the conspiracy.*

11th Sept. 1691.

I SUPPOSE my lord Nottingham gives Your Majesty an account of some intercepted letters, which shew what tampering there is betwixt some Scotchmen and some English for promoting the late King's interest, by which it is to be seen that some men are not to be made honest by obligations.

In King William's box.

Sir Robert Howard to King William.—A sudden attack to be made in parliament upon his prerogative.

May it please Your Majesty,

IT has been a great affliction to mee, that by soe long a fitt of the gout I have been hinder'd from waitinge on Your Majesty ; but while I live, the affection and duty I have to your person and government, shall never faill of their attendance, whenever any occasion requires it.

THAT which now happens to be the cause of givinge Your Majesty this trouble I have communicated to my lord Godolphin, with whose approbation and opinion I humbly present it, and to whom I have committed this, to be safely convey'd to Your Majesty.

THE businesse (which I have received from very good intelligence by particular friends of mine) is a design carry'd on by a very great party, that the war both by sea and land should be managed by a committee of parliament, and this intelligence seems to be made good by the manner of the proceedings of the commissioners for accounts, who act soe unlimited, and in many things exceedinge there pow'r, that it seems plainly to be a method in order to such a designe ; and as formerly an abjuration of any other pow'r has been refused, this seems an abjuration of Your Majestys.

I AM likewise informed, that the same partys will make all the strength they can to oppose the givinge of excises, and this present parliament has appeared very refractory in that matter, without which 'twill be very difficult to carry on the war, or to discharge the debts in peace.

I HUMBLY submit it to Your Majesty's consideration, whether a new parliament may not be a prevention of such designs, and probably proceed sooner to the businesse of mony than this, where the contrivance is already lay'd for many things to preceed the giving of it.

I hope I need not beg Your Majesty's pardon for this presumption, since you have been ever pleas'd soe graciously to receive the testimonys of the sincere duty and servise of

July the last, 1691.

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and
most obedient subject,

RO. HOWARD.

Among lord Nottingham's memorandums, in Doctor Percy's hands, there is the following:

FROM Paris 'tis said there is an account that the king of Fr. told the late queen, she must excuse him if he no longer gave any account of King James his affairs, only of his health she should be informed; but that advice was sent to England, and that he could lay his finger on some had done it, tho' he would not name them; however, 'tis said such hints were given that my lady Sophia Buckley is under an arrest, and some say put in the Bastile, for holding correspondence with my lord Godolphin. There are others who give other reasons, and say, la. Sophia was very curious in prying into all that past at St. Germain's, and sending accounts of all to Ireland.

Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards secretary Stair, to the duke of Hamilton.— In the duke
Beginning of differences between the duke of Hamilton and lord Stair. of Hamilton's
 possession.

May it please your Grace,

London, May 18, 1689.

I HAD the honour to receive your grace's, though I came here on the Wednesday, yet my brethren went without me to Hampton-court, where they delivered the letter and what else was committed to us; and now I understand, by what was moved in the convention, that this was premeditated, though not approved in the house.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—Respectful to the duke; yet In the duke
insinuating the suspicions entertained of him. of Hamilton's
 possession.

May it please your Grace,

London, May 30, 1689.

I humbly acknowledge the honour of your second; the letter from the committee gives no satisfaction here. It is understood that your grace did moderate the forwardness of some in the convention; but the very proposals insinuate diffidence in the king's management. The consequences of mistakes at this time, when our deliverance is not perfected, may be fatal. These sent here, seeing the king is determined, have looked about for a balance in our government, and to take their own shares. I do not believe it in the power of your grace's enemies, or malice itself, to prevail with the king to neglect the services you have done, and are capable to render him. I confess it's hard to receive instructions at second

hand, but I should be heartily sorry, both upon the account of the publick, and your grace's interest; if any thing should induce you to mar so fair a work; it might justify the surmises your grace points at, and gratify those who insinuate, your grace had more regard to yourself than the publick, should you stop upon the resentment that you have not been advised in the disposal of the publick offices or trusts. This session cannot be long; the king and the world must be sensible, that none besides your grace, can bring this session to a happy and peaceable conclusion, upon which very much depends: for my father he lives in the country very abstract, and yet I see some still retain their humour against him. For myself I have taken occasion to signify very little. But I am sure, I did not fail to avouch the sense I had of the great service your grace hath done to the crown, and your country, in the convention, and how well you did acquit yourself there. I cannot doubt when your grace attends the king, all your concerns will be adjusted to your satisfaction, which shall be welcome to none more, than to,

May it please your grace, &c.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—The king's sentiments of toleration in Scotland.

May it please your grace,

Hague, Feb 13, O. S. 169^o.

I HAVE sent the doubles of two letters from his Majesty for your grace's use. We were at first surpris'd here, when the notice came, that the commission of the general assembly did sit during his Majesty's absence, and that they had deposed five ministers at the first down-sitting. Now we do understand that the king's pleasure anent their adjournment, was not intimated to them, so they cannot be blamed for their disobedience; but I wish they may consider for the future, what they must see to be the king's sentiments, that they do unite with such of those who formerly served under episcopacy, and are worthy to be retained in the ministry.

Part of the marquis of Carmarthen's letter to King William.—Lord Carmarthen's sentiments on the same subject.

In King William's box.

27 Feb. 1691.

I HOPE Your Majesty has true informations of things from Scotland, and if you have, I doubt not but you will give speedy directions to put a stop to the giddy proceedings of the commissioners of the assembly against all the episcopal clergy of Scotland at one blow; who are to be turned out of doors with their families, unless they will renounce prelacy, to which they are sworn, so that they are not to keep their livings unless they will preserve them by perjury.

I HAVE given my lord Sidney a memorial, which I have received from two Scots ministers who were sent to Your Majesty by a great number of the episcopal clergy, but they came here after your departure, by which Your Majesty will see, that the commissioners were to begin their progress the first of March, guarded with two troops of horse; but they cannot be gone so far in their work, before Your Majesty's orders may reach them, but if you please they may be ordered not to proceed further in that matter till Your Majesty's pleasure be known; and truly I believe that the speedy doing of this may be of no less consequence than the preventing a rebellion, and at a time when nothing but the folly of clergymen would have put it to a venture.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—Apology for his behaviour to the duke in the convention parliament.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

May it please your grace,

London, Jan. 13, 1691.

MEN are oftentimes carried by their circumstances beyond their intentions or interest. It's undeniable I have both received and given your grace cause of resentment and complaint. As I frankly forgive whatever I got of that nature, so I humbly ask your grace's pardon for what injurys I have offered you, which never went beyond words. I do believe it on your grace's part, and I dare say for myself, these were not the effect of malice or design, but sudden emotions arising from the different apprehensions of the ends or methods we did then pursue; and the office of king's advocate did oblige me to challenge every body without distinction, that had not our word.

*In King Wil- Lord Drumlanrig to King William.—The state of Scotland.—Great heats.
liam's box.*

—Complains of the King's ministers.

S I R,

TO have written sooner to Your Majesty, had been with less certainty, and therefore I delayed it till now. I have taken pains to discover the condition of Your Majesty's affairs here, whereof in so far as I can learn I shall now give a just account. I find this country mightily divided, not so much for or against Your Majesty's interest and government, as about the methods of serving you, and the persons employed therein: for the first, the too precipitant and hard procedure against the clergy has disoblged very many, and the misery those men so turned out are under, increases their compassion for them, and thereby their dislike at those who they look upon as the authors of it: besides this, the government is not in very good hands, they being generally men who never before were in business, and the weakness both for interest and parts of most of them, lessens their authority, so that, it's thought, what trouble Your Majesty meets with from this kingdom, is in a great measure to be ascribed to their mismanagement; when I have the honour to wait upon Your Majesty, I shall be more particular about this and other things, if you think fit to command me. The club, as it's called here, are extreamly diligent, and seem very confident to carry the plurality in this parliament; Your Majesty's commissioner and those with him, seem not to be out of hopes to carry what their instructions bear, only I can assure Your Majesty if they do, it will be with struggling. I have spoke fully to my father in Your Majesty's concerns, and to be impartial and free with Your Majesty, whose interest I prefer to all things in the world, I must tell you, that I find him much disoblged, thinking himself under the feet of those in the government; he uses greater reserve with me now than formerly, the reason of which I will make hold to acquaint Your Majesty with, when I have the honour to kiss your hand: by what I can understand, he is not yet determined whether to go to the parliament or not; but if he goes, I am afraid he will differ with your commissioner and his party, about the model they have put your affairs in here; he protests to me that it's out of respect to Your Majesty, and concern for your service, makes him do so; however I will appeal to Your Majesty's commissioner

to bear witness for me how much I have laboured to beget a good understanding between him and those you are pleased to entrust at this time, that your affairs at present suffer not by their differences, but all is like to prove ineffectual, which makes me wish to be gone from this place. I have not seen any of Your Majesty's forces here, except those in this town; they are not well cloathed, and do promise very little; I am told the rest are all of a piece. The Danish troops which I saw in their way to Ireland, are well mounted and in good order. Forgive, sir, this trouble; I presume rather upon your pardon for it, than be wanting in my duty to contribute all in my power for your information at this distance. I am, with all duty and respect, SIR,

Your Majesty's

Ed'. March 29, 1690.

most faithfull, most humble, and
most obedient subject, and servant,

DRUMLANRIG.

*Lord Melville to King William.—On the same subject.—Great heats.—Com-
plaints of the opposers of the ministers.*

In King
William's
box.

May it please Your Majestie,

20 March, 1690.

IN obedience to Your Majesty's commands in your letters wherewith you honoured me, I called a council yesterday, where Your Majesty's letter for adjournment of the parl. was read, and a proclamation ordered for adjournment until the 15th of April, there were but few contrary votes, Yester was not in council, nor the earls of Annandale, Dundonald, lord Ross, sir James Montgomery and one or two more, the council was very full: this adjournment hath occasioned a great consternation, and such who are not desirous of a settlement, endeavour to make a very bad improvement of it, and to abuse the people; at first they represented me as the author of the adjournment, and that it was concerted before I came from London. When they see that would not take with rational men, they now would lay it at my lord Stair's door, at whom the great speat runs, not so much from reason, as out of pike and humour; but I wish he were so wise, as willingly to lay himself aside, though this would not satisfy some; but there seems an infatuation upon people, for we are neither thankfull for mercies, nor sensible of our danger as we ought.

PART II.

B b

I question not but Your Majesty has had very weighty and good reasons that moved you to this adjournment, and I partly see them. But I was very hopeful, and on very probable grounds, I had carried your affairs in parliament if it had fit, to Your Majesty's satisfaction, notwithstanding all the endeavours and big talk to the contrary: what effects this prorogation may have, I cannot yet give Your Majesty any account; but shall be laying myself out to the uttermost, to prevent the inconveniencies like to follow upon this emergent, for some ill-minded men have been at great pains to inflame the country, and those most affectionate to your service, and to misrepresent Your Majesty to them, under the worst characters, and to persuade them that all the favours pretended and offered to them was but a sham; that there was never a design the parl. should fit, &c. and now they make use of this adjournment as a confirmation of what they formerly asserted or suggested: this poor country is at present in the most confused and distracted condition that a nation can be in, not actually to be all in war. The Jacobites, as they call them, are very numerous and barefaced; the presbyterians, as they are termed, (at least the common people of that sort, who are not fit judges to distinguish betwixt realities and fair and specious pretences) are alarmed, and abused by false reports and running insinuations, by men who love to fish in troubled waters, and are but making tools of them to serve their own designs: there is an army without pay, the country poor, and grumbling, and yet in the opinion of all who wish well to Your Majesty's service, there is an inevitable danger of disbanding it at this time and without pay, even though they be not so well appointed as were to be wished: lieut. gen. Douglass professes to be fully of this opinion, and not to be satisfied with his brother the duke Q. so does his son, and often said they can say nothing for him, so I shall say nothing concerning him. He is desirous now to confer with my eldest son. What passes, or shall be the result, I shall acquaint Your Majesty with. I see well enough the designs of both the dukes and of some of the ring-leaders of the club, who are in some concert, as also of their being so likewise with some of the jacobites who have heretofore shown themselves dissatisfied to Your Majesty's government; and severals of them who stood out formerly, were come to attend the parl. and resolved to swallow the oaths, as I am informed, out of no

good design. It's in Your Majesty's power, not so much in mine, to frustrate their designs, but in my humble opinion, it were fit you should make both the dukes know you are not satisfied with their carriage as to your service, nor that you will not be forced to make use of men against your will. I shall forbear to insist on this head, least I should be thought partial. I have sent some additional instructions to be superscribed and subsigned by Your Majesty, as also a letter for the parliament at it's opening; and if you think fit, two letters to the two dukes: but this I leave altogether to yourself. If Your Majesty thinks it any ways convenient, you may cause my son transcribe them; the others would be hastened against the down-sitting of the parliament. Though I dare not propose it, yet I think it were very useful to Your Majesty's service to let this regiment of Danes horse stay in this country, and take more of ours in lieu of them to Ireland, for it's scarce to be imagined the bad condition this poor kingdom is in at present, for many seems to be infatuate. I humbly beg Your Majesty's excuse for this confused and bad writing, having but little time; and wish you all health and prosperity. I am,

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most humble, faithfull, and

Edinburgh, 20 March,

obedient subject, and servant,

at 3 in the morning.

MELVILL.

Lord Melville to King William.—Great heats.—Presses the King for presbytery.

May it please Your Majesty,

27 April, 1691.

In King
William's
box.

I HAVE received yours, wherewith Your Majesty hath honoured me with additional instructions, which be carefully and faithfully observed, in so far as in my power, and consistent with Your Majesty's service. Affairs here have altered much of late, but it's only what was covered over before, now more openly appears; there is nothing of it new to me, though it be to others: sir William Lockhart, or my son, will give Your Majesty an account of the proceedings in parliament yesterday, and how affairs stand here. There was never a nation, or people I believe, more infatuate than we seem to be at present; the jacobites being joined with

the club, have brought in all their strength to the parl. except a very few; some three or four noblemen yet scruple the oaths. If they had done this last year in the convention, the throne might have been yet to declare vacant, as to K. Ja. Whether they will be able to out vote us or not, I know not, but hopes not; but they gained ground by the adjournments, which I know Your Majesty did on weighty considerations, though it had bad effects here. There was but one vote past in the house yesterday, and your friends carried by a great many; it's true three or four of the club went along when they see it going. I touch't the act 1689, rescinding the act 1669, concerning the supremacy; by this time, however it may be misrepresented, (which I lay my account with) Your Majesty loses nothing which I am confident you would desire: the reasons which forced me to give the royal assent to those two votes past a day or two sooner than Your Majesty mentioned was, because, if it had been delayed, it had given the opposite party great advantage, and we had lost many of our own, and would have increased the jealousies of the people to that height, that it might have been difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve: All the wit and malice of men, I may say of hell, seems to be set at work to do mischief, and with letting things go on too long, by reason of Your Majesty's affairs in England, and my being restrained for a time, the combination is become strong, that I do not think it safe at present to follow these methods which otherwise might have been fit and convenient; not so much that I fear their strength in itself, though the party be numerous, but because, by lies and forgeries, they had much abused the people. Duke Hamilton was the first proposer and presser, that this act concerning the supremacy, should be touched; he also was the first proposer, that an act might be brought in for liberty of speech. I shall make no inferences on this, but I like not the smell of it; and yet to stop it, will make a great noise in England.

I AM persuaded of a correspondence betwixt some here of different parties, and some in England; and it's not only expectation from Ireland and France, but that intelligence which helps to keep up people in opposition to Your Majesty's interest, and settling of the country.

I AM sorry for the limitation Your Majesty gives, on your own account, and not out of bigotry; but I shall endeavour to observe what Your

Majesty commands. I am straitened how to find a way to make a breach upon another head rather than this, for this would do Your Majesty an irreparable prejudice, and give your enemies an extraordinary advantage; so I leave it to Your Majesty's serious consideration what to do in it: for my part, I see no remedy, if Your Majesty do not speedily satisfy your people, but all must go in confusion. Sir, I know I am in hazard to be extremely misrepresented in giving this advice, and that if I did not serve the best master in the world, I might ruin myself by doing it, especially if any thing displeasing should follow it; but I speak my true sentiments as to what I think Your Majesty's interest, abstracting from all parties and persuasions as in the sight of God Almighty. You know I use not to be so; but I am very positive in this, if all the statesmen in Britain should be of another sentiment, that it is truly Your Majesty's interest at this time not to displease the people on this head as to their church government; for nothing else can satisfy. I am displeased enough with many of that profession, and they are prejudging themselves; but Your Majesty need not apprehend, what I find, by Mr. Carstairs, you do. You have enough in your hand to restrain all exorbitancies; the affair is mightily misrepresented in the world, and but by few understood. I am, notwithstanding of all this, as little for the pragmaticalness of churchmen as any man in Britain. I think they often need a bridle: I look upon their work as relating to the souls of their people; that they are to use persuasion and no coercion: it's in the magistrate's power, notwithstanding their general assemblies be granted them, to keep them within their bounds; and it is the better for themselves they be so. I might say enough to clear further this, and take off what Tarbat, sir George Mackenzie, and several others often say in this affair, but it's most prejudice and bias moves them. But I weary Your Majesty, and I am not to justify churchmen's miscarriages. You brought two from Holland, one of one persuasion, and one of another, has done more mischief than thousands: but I say this only, though there were greater ground to apprehend prejudice than there is, it seems altogether necessary to give way to it at this time if the people press it, even though Your Majesty were inclined to alter all. If the country were once come to a settlement, men will change in many things. I beg ten thousand pardons for this presumption, but the weightiness of

the affair presses me; for to lose the people whom you can only confide in, when you have none to trust beside, were of very dangerous consequence.

Remark.] The two clergymen here meant were Burnet and Ferguson. Carstairs was the friend of lord Melville.

In King
William's
box.

Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to king William.—Presses him to settle moderate presbytery.

SIR,

I HAVE written fully to the E. of Portland how things passed in parliament since the 1st of May: now that the act concerning committees is past, and that committees are resolved to be chosen upon severall motions, as the settling of the church, the supply to be raised for the army, and the freedom of the members of parl. the strength of our side appears so considerable, as puts it out of doubt, that Your Ma. and these who cordially serve your interest and the nation's, have matters in their hands, to dispose of them to the best advantage: The happy victory got over Your Ma. enemies in the north upon the 1st of May last, and the advantages we had this day in the house, have so animated friends, and so damped enemies and violent or irritated spirits, that the first are almost freed from fears, confiding in God and in the comfort and support which they expect from Your Ma. yet our opposits are so pertinacious in their mischievous pains, that now they busie themselves in spreading reports, upon pretended accounts from England, that Your Ma. will not settle the church government here, being apprehensive of the power of generall assemblies, but will put a long adjournment upon the parl. There is no way in the world so apt to make the multitude best affected to Your Ma. to startle, as this is; therefor whatever may be suggested to Your Ma. about that matter, I shall here lay before you both what is intended, and what I doubt not shall be got accomplished, if Your Ma. allow this parl. which is now so well fixed to your interest, to continue sitting and acting: 1^o, The design in the church settlement is, that no generall assembly have any power legislative over the liedges, this being solely in the hands of the King and parl. but that their power shall only extend in the way of judicature to judging and sentencing those of their own com-

munion, in reference to doctrine and discipline, and their sentences to take no civil effect either against one's person or goods; only to debar, or at most cut off from their church communion: 2°, That the King have power to call generall assemblies upon emergent occasions, if he think fitt; and that in generall assemblies, whether called by the King, or convened by authority of the church, the King, if he so please, may have his commissioner to sitt with them, to see to their diligent and orderly deportment and procedure: 3°, That all sort of persecution upon church differences be prevented and secured against: If these things be provided for in the church settlement, it is hardly possible that the government in the church keeping within these bounds, can ever clash or interfere with the civill policy and government of the nation; I am perswaded Your Ma. needs not, upon any such jealousie, delay to finish the establishing that forme so much desired by your good people, and which will so unite their hearts to your service: Indeed, if Your Ma. affaires there necessarily require a delay of those things here, it is a misfortune for which I am heartily sory; but if it be unevitable, I beseech Your Ma. to let your commissioner know it timeously, and I wish my selfe also to know it, that according as may be possible, the best may be made of it, which I am affraid may be bad enough; but the utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to fitt and accommodate all the requisites of Your Ma. affairs there or here: as to the supply of money, I hope it shall be brought to a considerable pass, yet more as a fond of credit, than a present sum in cash; for it will take some time to raise that, therefore, as I wrote last to my lord Portland, if some money could be furnished, for the present need, from thence, it would be of great use: and I am confident, in a short space, we shall have this kingdom in a condition, that Your Ma. may well reckon upon it as a considerable stay to rest upon, in reference to all your affairs both at home and abroad; but I shall trouble Your Ma. no farder at this time, only praying for Your Ma. long life, happines, and prosperity. I remain,

Please Your Ma.

Edinbourg,
8 May, 1690.

Your Ma. most obedient subject,
and most faithfull servant,

PAT. HUME.

In King Wil- *Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards earl of Marchmont, to King William's box. — State of parties in Scotland.*

SIR,

I HAVE hitherto delayed writing to Your Ma. (save one petition which I sent) since our parlement mett, knowing that accounts were given by the commissioner. Now I conceive it necessary to lay before Your Ma. what I do evidently discern in your affairs here, and of the pretenders to your service. The house of parlement divides in two parties; the one is made up of about 52 of these called addressers, and 43 others that joined not in that address, in all about 95, who go one way with Your Ma. commissioner in what concerns your service and the publick good: the other party is made up of about 20 of the addressers and 46 others, who are esteemed the favorers of the late king, in all about 66. In reality all these, to the exception of a few, not exceeding 20 at most, are such as either have too great kindness for the late king, or too little for Your Ma. and the country. There are among these some men able and crafty, who leave no means untryed to run this kingdom in confusion, which has given good men much labour to counterworke: they have prevailed with almost all the Jacobites to come in to the parliament, and to swallow down the oath of allegiance, that they may be capable to mar what is designed for Your Ma. interest. The whole pack, whatever is in their hearts, pretend to be the patrons of the kingdom's liberties, and beyond others zealous for the presbyterial government in this church; they would have Your Ma. commissioner, and these who go along with him, believed to be reconciled to prelacy and to arbitrary government also, provided it be put in Your Ma. hands: While we labour for a true and moderate presbytery, consistent with the civil government, they call that a minceing, and cry up that which, by the acknowledgment of all moderate men, had deborded unto great excesses, as the government in the purest times, as the best curb to the exorbitancies of monarchy that can be: while we plead for maintaining and paying the army, they say grievances must be first redressed. In the mean time, Your Ma. may guess by whose means rumors are spread, that there is no intention of settling the church, of redressing any grievances, but when money is got to dissolve this parliament. These things have

put us in great difficulties. Indeed Your Ma. commissioner and many others have been at much pains, and by the jealousies raised by that party, in much difficulty till now, that the giving the royal assent to the act rescinding the ecclesiastic supremacy, and to that restoring the outed ministers, which the Jacobite party pressed earnestly, thinking it would not be granted, has much satisfied the people, and removed the jealousy as to the church government. I cannot think but all Your Ma. affairs will carry strongly here, if you are pleased to trust your commissioner, who is as cordially concerned as I think any man can be for Your Ma. interest, with instructions and trust ample enough for occasions that may fall in. I must say he takes my opinion much in all things; I hope Your Ma. service shall not fare the worse; he can tell Your Ma. what part I have acted; I will say nothing of that, but shall study to be as good as my word to Your Ma. This is what I have to say in the general, and I shall very soon give a more full and particular account. Now I presume to kiss Your Ma. hands, as,

Please Your Ma.

Edinburgh,
25 April, 1690.

Your Ma. most obedient subject,
and most faithful servant,
PAT. HUME.

Lord Tarbat, afterwards earl of Cromarty, to King William—on the state of parties in Scotland. In King William's box.

May it please Your Majesty,

I HAVE not heard from col. Hill, since he went North, nor could he so soone have any returne from any of these cheefs, and untill I heare from him (for by him I did writt to them) I can say nothing of importance as to that matter.

I NEED not tell how unexpected successe Your Majestie's commissioner hath had hitherto in this parl. it hath astonished those who were opposite to Your Maj. service, and yett I cannot say that they have given over there designs, for he hath as great difficulty to retaine those he gained, as in the gaining of them at first; for these presbiterians are so bigotted and hott in there humor, as that no midle thing will please them: his first stepp was of necessity to touch the act rescinding the act of supremacy;

PART II.

C c

1669, or to losse a great number, who had weell neare joined the clubb; on his demurring on it for a day. That of rescinding the articles, was the next condition of there adherence. And by these hitherto he hath not only caried the plurality by many, contrare to a confidence in his opponents, but also he hath discouradged, divided, and brought over severalls of the other side. But, Sir, untill he establisth presbitry to a great hight, he cannot affirm them as sure to Your Majestie's service; for his adversares are incessantly raising jealousies in them, as if this were not designed; and if it be not, it's like they will cary over him what is yett to be done for Your Maj. service; and I am apprehensive they will likewise have the patronages of churches taken away.

It's true, Sir, these are great concessiones; but as matters are now stated, there may be exceeding danger in disobliging them; for what course so violent a people may take is not easily foreseen; and some who in that case will lead and influence them, are, I fear, of no principle, sufficient to regulat ether there ambition or malice; and if once these hott people be stirred, they are with ease driven to excesses and extravagances, tho' to there owne ruine.

AND at the samne time the Jacobines are not only numerous, but very much increased; and will not misse to make use of these dissatisfactions in the presbiterian party, to hurt Your Maj. interest. So Your Maj. may be pleased to weigh the inconvenience of haveing the major part of the parl. as yett to goe off from your commiss. and the evils that will follow on that, whilst yow have no other party assured to yow, wherby yow will gett none or litle money to pay your army; the course that the discontented will take is uncertaine; and Your Maj. enemies will be encouradged and strengthened; with the evils on the other side, by quitting perhaps necessary prerogatives of the crowne, and giveing too loose reins to a clergy, both which may be retrived, when Your Maj. great affaires are in better circumstances, and when yow get a considerable part of the powerfull nobility and gentry of this nation to joine cordially in your interests; and it is not to be doubted, but that the commiss. will grant as litle as is possible, without losseing them; and he is now indeavouring to bring over such noblmen and gentlmen as will give any probable assurance of fidelity to Your Maj. tho' hitherto they have shewed too indiscreet dissatisfaction,

tho' they deny it to be from any attachment to K. James, which a litle tyme will more discover. In this I am imploying my self, for except to be in parliam'. when alleadgance was given to Your Maj. I have not been in it, both because the lesse I appeare with the comm. the more it pleases severals of the hotter heads; and also because I nether could concurr in the rescinding of the supremacy or articles, nor will I concurr in establishing the designd presbitry, nor takeing away of patronages, as I told Your Maj. when I had the honor to wait on yow, and as yow then allowed me, tho' I heare some of my good friends wold even in this misrepresent me. But I feare no malice, since I rest confident in Your Majestie's favour to me and my fidelity to Your Majesty and your royall interest.

SIR, I doubt if the commiff. can tell definitely what he could have your warrand for, the humors he hath to doe with, is so uncertaine; so that a latitude is necessaire for him, if you doe not resolve to have the parl. rise in dissatisfaction, which at this tyme, and when Your Maj. hath so little assurance of the other side, were ane advice that no faithfull man dare give.

I FIND the D. of Queensberry, E. Lithgow, E. Balcares, E. Broadalbin, and severall others, much changed to the better; and some of them have this day employed me to indeavour an understanding betwixt the comm. and them: he is cautious, and on good grounds, for there are many of the weaker people who now joine, and make his number in parliam'. who would desert him, if they thought he would associat with wicked us: but he hath allowed me to try it quietly; and as their ingenuity appears, so he will move: but if on the one hand he cary the parliam'. and on the other he bring off severall considerable persones, both from the Jacobines and clubb, I will adventure to say, he hath served Your Maj. above what was possible for any other to doe (that I know) in our present state. His sonne the lo. Raith hath resolved to lett his comission of treasurer deput ly for some tyme, least it give umbrage to any in this criticall tyme, unless he find it usefull for Your Majestie's service, to publish it presently; for if people be constant, the comm. hath enough of plurality; and this generosity in Raith is the more, that he could not be perswaded to declare it now, least it should losse one vote to Your Maj. albeit all of us thought he might owne it.

A P P E N D I X.

Your majesty's command for giving this kind of trouble raised a boldness for dooing it, in,

May it please your majesty,

Edinb.

Your majesty's most humble, most faithfull, and
most obedient subject and servant,

13 May, 1690.

TARBAT.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to his father.—The duke has taken offence because not made chancellor.—Warns him against differing with secretary Stair.

London, 12 Dec. 1691.

I Doubt not but you have heard of great changes that were made in the Scotch affairs, and particularly that there was to be a chancellor. I took occasion to speak to the king upon it, and told him that I heard he was going to make such alterations in his affairs in Scotland, which would put your grace out of all condition of serving him any longer in the government, if it was true that I heard, of his going to make a chancellor. He told me he had taken no such resolution, nor was resolved yet upon any thing; and upon some things that I was saying to him of ill offices that some people did your grace, he thought I meant the secretary Staires, and told me he had always found him very much your friend. I answered that I was sure that the difference betwixt you did his Majesty's interest no good; and for my part, I would always do what lay in my power towards it. I cannot believe but you wrong that man extremely. I shall not pretend to know much of Scotch affairs, but I cannot see by all I can perceive here, that there is any body in the government you would have had better quarter with than him. I believe his credit here, as yet, is as great as any body's, though I hear that Tarbat gains ground every day. To tell your grace the truth of all the parties that are here, I find very few that do not their endeavours to make a government without your grace. You know the proverb, Out of sight out of mind. I shall strive to give your grace an account by the next post of what is the king's thoughts as to your particular. In the mean time I wish your grace would not exclaim at present, nor be so violent against Staires and his son.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton—on the same subject.

London, 19th Dec. 1691.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

THE Master of Stairs complains extremely that your grace should be so much, upon all occasions, doing of him all the ill offices lies in your power. I know not if I be imposed on by him, but I am sure he has convinced me, that he has done your grace no ill offices to deserve your anger; and that Tweedle's being chancellor is none of his making, if it should be so.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father.—The duke affronted by the appointment of a chancellor.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

London, 5th January, 1692.

I AM sorry I cannot give your grace so full an answer to your long letter of the 29th of December, as I intended, for I could have no time with the secretary, he is so busy; but I hope by the next post to give your grace a fuller account of all our Scotch affairs, though, I am afraid, not to either of our satisfaction; for the E. of Tweedle is certainly chancellor, and his patent signed to-day. I asked the king to have spoken to him, but he shunned it; for he doubted what I had to say, and I believe had not an answer ready. I shall not say much at this time; but my opinion is, that whatever the king does, you should not yet show any resentment, nor write of your demitting, till you hear more of it; and really I think the best you can do, would be to go to the country at this conjuncture, and not be in town. I hope your grace will pardon me, if I put you in mind of patience at this conjuncture, for I am sure there is need of it; and whatever happens, I am sure it will be to your advantage to take it rather so than otherwise. I have spoke to lord Carmichell, and asked him about his being of the opinion of the necessity of there being a chancellor, and against your being it: he protested he never either said, or thought any such thing; and indeed, I must confess, I have always found him very friendly, and I believe he has been very just to your grace since his coming hither. He told me he never heard you mentioned as to that place; and that he had obeyed your commands in telling the Master of Staires, that if there

was a chancellor put over your head, you would not continue in the government any longer.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father.—Entreats him not to shew his sense of injuries.

London, 12th January, 1692.

I HAVE had your grace's of the 5th of this month. I shall not deny but I am very little acquainted with what passes; but if I have no greater reason to complain of the Master of Staires than the not knowing of the adjournment of the parliament till the 5th of April, we shall agree very well. I saw my lord Carmachell to-day, who told me he hoped my lord Lothian will have convinced your grace how much both of them were wronged by those that told your grace they were against your being chancellor. I cannot write your grace any further account of things than I did by my last; for I do not hear there is any thing more resolved as to our affairs: and I having already told the king of my going to Scotland, and that I waited for nothing but to know from him what I should say to your grace upon this conjuncture, I know it is needless to be pressing: for I am persuaded, that till they are at more certainty how things will go, I shall get no answer; they say they are at such uncertainties, that they change every day, and know not where to fix. I know nothing I can say to your grace more upon this head, only that most people are of the opinion, that you should not be rash of what you resolve; and though things be come to that length, that you are at present not satisfied with, yet it is thought you ought rather to absent yourself than to declare yet; and I hope you will do so, till I have the honour of seeing you.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father, to the same purpose.

Loo, 10th April, 1692.

SINCE my last I have spoke to E. Portland, who told me, that it was true that your grace had the admiral's place given you. I told him that I had seen it in the Gazette, but that I had heard nothing of it from your grace; so I did not know whether you would accept of it or not. He answered, that you would be very much in the wrong to refuse

it, for he believed it was only a place of honour, and had nothing to do with the affairs of state; so that, whatever you do as for the rest, you ought not to refuse this; for this brought you under nobody; so that having no correspondence with the other difficulties, he hoped your grace would not refuse it. He spoke more favourably this time concerning you, than I have found him.

In my last I wrote to your grace, that Mr. Carstairs was not here, but that evening I found I was mistaken, for I saw him at night; but, not seeing him before, made me believe he was not here. I told him what your grace had wrote to me, and desired he would represent things to my lord Portland. He told me he had not had an opportunity of speaking to my lord yet, but he would endeavour to do it before the post goes, and give me an account what passes, which if he does, I shall write it to your grace. I find he is much for your grace's not quitting the government for all that is done, and he says he is very sure that things will come to your hand; but he having spoke to you himself, I need not say any thing more of it, nor do I know really how to say any thing to your grace about it, for I am as sensible as is possible of the hard measures you meet with; but I am sure that all that your enemies desire is, that you should retire—that they may say, you do it to countenance the discontented party of the country, and that you have always been an opposer to all kings, and will ever be so. I do not say this, that it has been said from any body to me, nor have I heard any thing of that nature; only I am afraid that, if you do retire, it will be the construction your enemies will put upon it.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke.—The duke refuses the place of lord admiral of Scotland.

In the duke of Hamilton's possession.

Hague, 7th of May, 1692.

THE talk of King James coming over, with all the Irish and some French, makes a great noise. But I do not hear yet, that the king will change those measures he has already taken. I see a letter of your grace's to-day, to the secretary here, with the absolute refusal of the being admiral of Scotland; the secretary has not seen the king yet, so I know not how it is taken here: but so soon as I do, I shall write to your grace.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke his father.—Has defended the duke against suspicions.

SINCE my last from Breda, I have seen Mr. Carstairs, who told me he would write to your grace; he says that your enemies begin already to say, that the reason why you are so abstract from business, was that you would not meddle till you see the effect of this campaign. I told him, that could but show malice, and not do you hurt with any reasonable body, for you had dipped your fingers too deep in the pye, to begin to juggle now; besides, it is not your humour.

Brussels, 19 May, 1692.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Mr. Fletcher of Salton's spirited letter to the duke of Hamilton.—Presses him to forget his own injuries, and defend his country.

May it please your grace, Edinburgh, 29th of April, 1692.

I KNOW you will be surpris'd to receive a letter from me; but my writing to you in such an exigence, shows the high esteem I must have of you; and of the true love you bear your religion and country. If, laying aside all other considerations, you do not come in presently, and assist in council, all things will go into confusion, and your presence there will easily retrieve all. The castle has been very near surpris'd, and an advertisement which secretary Johnston had from France, and wrote hither, has saved it. When things are any ways compos'd, you may return to your former measures, for I do approve of them. I do advise your grace to the most honourable thing you can do, and without which your country must perish.

Your grace's most humble servant,

(Signed)

A. FLETCHER.

In the duke
of Hamil-
ton's posses-
sion.

Secretary Stair to the duke of Hamilton.—Their animosities.—Vindication of the treaty with the Highlanders.

May it please your grace, St. Gerard, Aug. 27, 1691.

I HAD the honour to receive a letter from your grace last post. It's needless to fall again into a subject which is out of the field; but I must say, where there is little confidence, mistakes easily arise; and really I believe I had been as little hasty as your grace, though I cannot but

observe, what hints were at me. But they have not hit, and I am not haunted with resentment.

I HAVE sent your grace a copy of the concessions to the Highlanders ; the application of the money is by buying in from my lord Argyll, and from Mackintosh, those lands and superiorities which have been the occasion of trouble in the Highlands these many years. When your grace does consider, that the expence comes not from us, that the apprehensions of danger were great when it was begun, and that the king could not refuse, with the ease we may have of two or three regiments which we cannot pay, and that the French may be the more earnest to get a footing in Britain, that they are likely to lose Ireland, I hope your grace will find the settlement not so ill, nor so ill turned, as to be either dishonourable to the king, or useless to the country, at this juncture. I wish the affairs of our kirk were as well settled, and then I shall hope for some quiet to our poor country.

In King William's box there are letters from lord Tarbet to the king, concerning the execution intended against the Highlanders if they should not take the oaths. In one of them to the king, without a date, but appearing to be written in the year 1691, Lord Tarbet tells him that the last Highland campaign had cost 150,000 l.; that it would not be the work of two or three years to force the Highlanders to peace ; and gives an account of the measures taken to treat with them. In another, also without date, but written about the same time, he gives a farther account of negotiations with the Highlanders, and adds, " Colonel Hill informed my lord commissioner and me frequently of these proceedings ; but the major general was then near, to be in readiness for a Highland expedition, and he was not for capitulation, since he doubted not to reduce them by force ; and the earl of Argyll was against such condescensions as would prejudice or lessen his expectations ; and several of Your Majesty's counsellors did think it dishonour to treat with them ; and all these concurred to think it better to root them out by war, than to give them any favour."

In the possession of the earl of Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Trusts in his conduct of the treaty with the Highlanders.

My lord,

From the camp at Approbiach, June $\frac{28}{13}$, 1691.

I CAN say nothing to you, all things are as you wish, but I do long to hear from you. Do not trouble yourself with any discouragements you may see designed against you. By the king's letter to the council you will see he hath stopt all hostilities against the Highlanders, till he may hear from you, and that your time be elapsed without coming to some issue, which I do not apprehend; for there will come nothing to them. D. Berwick is here, and if it will not do, I am sure you will return quickly to give the account of the negotiation, to testify you have done your part, both for their Majesties interest, and for your friends: but if they will be mad, before Lammas they will repent it; for the army will be allowed to go into the Highlands, which some thirst so much for, and the frigates will attack them: but I have so much confidence of your conduct and capacity, to let them see the ground they stand on, that I think these suppositions are vain. I have sent you your instructions. My dear lord, Adieu.

In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to the earl of Breadalbane.—Presses him to conclude the treaty.—Suspensions of lord Argyll's loyalty.

My lord,

Nancour, Aug. 24, O. S. 1691.

I HOPE this comes to your hands well at London, where I doubt not my lady will soon dispatch you, that your journey in return do not fall in the winter. I came that same night I saw you last, to this place, and here understood you had passed this way. I did regret I had not so much more of your company. The more I do consider our affairs, I think it is the more necessary that your lordship do with all diligence post from thence, and that you write to the clans to meet you at Edinburgh, to save your trouble of going further: they have been for some time excluded from that place, so they are feir, and will be fond to come there. The sooner the king shall know of their anticipating the time for taking the indemnity, and oath of allegiance, it's the better for his resolutions, both in relation to the settling the civil government, and the ordering of the army. I join my entreaties with my lady's to you,

to haſt back as ſoon as you can, by the firſt of October. If you can ſee and fix Argyll, it would magnify you, though that cannot be required at your hands. I am ſure you are able to make him ſenſible, conſidering what the king knows, that his part of the terms are very kind and advantageous; and it muſt make clear to the world his engagements elſewhere, if he does obſtruct his own conveniency, and the king's ſervice, in this ſettlement. I know it will need no more to ſatisfy all your people, but to ſee them; therefore, my dear lord, let it be ſoon, and ſhort, that we may have you again. Farewell.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane, on his being accused of double-dealing in the treaty.

In lord
Breadal-
bane's poſſeſ-
ſion.

My lord,

Loo, Sept. $\frac{11}{11}$, 1691.

I HAVE been vaguing theſe three laſt poſts. I got yours from London, as ſoon as the charge given in againſt you, which is ſtill with the ſecretary of England's baggage. So the king hath not ſeen the principal letter, but we have, and know the contents. No body believes your lordſhip capable of doing either a thing ſo baſe, or that you could believe there could be any ſecrets in your treaties, where there were ſo many ill eyes upon your proceedings; but the truth will always hold faſt. The king is not ſoon ſhaken, and this attempt againſt you is ſo plain, that it will recommend and faſten you more in his favour, when the iſſue clears the ſincerity of your part. And I hope it's not in any body's power to deprive you of the ſucceſs to conclude that affair in the terms the king hath approven. But it will require more pains and diſpatch. To return, the king will be over the beginning of October, and I hope to ſee you before it end; and I have heard there are endeavours uſing to make the Highlanders either own theſe baſe terms, as promiſed by your lordſhip; or elſe to declare their peaceableneſs did not proceed on your account, or for your negotiation, but becauſe of the endeavours of others. I am not ready to believe theſe projects will have great effect. Let not any thing diſcourage you, but believe all theſe devices will tend to magnify your ſervice, when you finiſh your undertaking. It's repreſented that the Highlanders do not intend to take the allegiance, but that they come down to the low-lands to debauch people, and make parties, during the interval till the 1ſt of January, which is too long. I ſee what advantage

will be made of this. But these who are not ready, or presently willing to take the oath, should keep at home in their own country, till they be going to take the oath: for it were not fair, nor proper, that any man who hath been in rebellion, should go to Edinburgh, and appear there, and do what he pleases, till the first of January; and then to be uncertain whether he will take the oath or not. The best cure of all these matters is, that the chieftains do take it as quickly as can be, which will take off the tricks, or suspicions against the rest. I doubt not it will be minded that my lord Argyll should not meddle with the garrisons of Mull, or that men should be desired to render upon the prospect of being prisoners, in case they take not the oaths: They should once be free, and have the time allowed to deliberate; but that space should not be used to insult the government, or to act against it in the mean time. I think you have brought this matter so good a length, that I doubt not the rest, and then I believe the king will forgive bygone arrears of cess to these, so soon as he hears they are coming in frankly.

My dear lord, adieu.

I wrote to my lord Atholl as I said.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Difficulty in the treaty.

In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

My lord,

Deeren, Sept. $\frac{3}{4}$, 1691.

I HAD your's from London, signifying that you had not been then dispatched, for which I am very uneasy. I spoke immediately to the king, that without the money the Highlanders would never do; and there have been so many difficulties in the matter, that a resolution to do, especially in money-matters, would not satisfy. The king said they were not presently to receive it, which is true, but that he had ordered it to be delivered out of his treasury, so as they need not fear, in the least, performance; besides, the paper being signed by his majesty's hand, for such sums so to be employed, or the equivalent. There never was any body that could say the king had failed in his positive promises, and therefore I hope these people will not suffer themselves to be abused; nor will your lordship consider the retardments put in your way to hinder you to effectuate so good service both to your sovereign and country: they see all the rest that they fear depends very much upon the success of this, and I know I need not prompt your lordship to finish

what upon many considerations is so necessary. There wants no endeavours to render you suspicious to the king, but he asked what proof there was for the information? and bid me tell you to go on in your business; the best evidence of sincerity, was the bringing that matter quickly to a conclusion. We now would fain fancy the time is too long, and that it will be abused in the interim by these who intend not to take the allegiance, but to come down to debauch the low countries, and insult the government. I wrote to you in my last, that they should keep at home till they are clear to take the benefit of the indemnity, in the terms proposed. I did expect the king's answer to the council might have determined that matter so, but there is yet no answer, nor will be this post; in which time I hope your lordship shall not only keep them from giving any offence, but bring them to take the allegiance, which they ought to do very chearfully; for their lives and fortunes they have from their majesties. It will be about the tenth of October before the king be at London. By that time some will be wearied, and I hope others will be there about that time. I need not tell you how much it concerns you, both in your honour and interest, to get evidence you both have dealt sincerely, and are able, in despite of opposition, to conclude the Highland affair.

My dear lord, adieu.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Treaty breaking off.

In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

My lord,

London, Nov. 24, 1691.

NOT hearing from you so long after your conference the 10th past, I conclude things have not answered your expectation. Now I do believe our public matters shall be settled before we hear any thing from you of the success of your negotiation; perhaps they will be pretty right. I fancy more endeavours are tried to retard you, as if all did depend on your success. No, my lord, you serve a prince not so hard as to consider nothing but success, nor not so little penetrating as not to observe it was not your want of faithfulness, but of others who did serve him, that hath delayed the conclusion of that affair. I must say your cousin Lochiel hath not been so wise as I thought him, not to mention gratitude; for truly, to gratify your relation, I did comply to

let his share be more than was reasonable; there was no pleas betwixt him and Argyle to be bought in, and I well know he, nor Keppoch, nor Appin cannot lie one night safe in winter, for the garrison of Fort William. I doubt not Glengarry's house will be a better mid-garrison betwixt Inverness and Inverlochy, than ever he will a good subject to this government. I am glad it hath not failed on the king's side, for all his success; but I shall advise your lordship to keep up the remissions, and let them stand as fast as they please (though in this I have no peremptory command from the king). But I am satisfied that clan deserves no favour, and that having used you so, and slighted the grace offered, they are an easy and a proper object of his majesty's severity and justice. This is only to advise you, that neither your own thanks, nor the public settlement, depends on them, and that you do not too far press or engage yourself; for I apprehend my next will be a command to sound the retreat, and leave these honest wise people to their own politics; for though nothing you have done will be retracted, conform to your orders, yet not one inch deserves to be added to these who could import no more, but their unwillingness, by their lingering. The fairest way to let this matter fall will be your returning to Edinburgh, or hither, except you do find your lordship fixed in a post in the government there. You will allow me to change with those circumstances, though never to you who I doubt not have done your part; but I wish you had written oftner. Since the ninth I had nothing from you.

My dear lord, farewell.

THOUGH Lochiel were as he should have been, yet he must to the bargain dispoise that moss that lies nearest to Fort William, for a place constantly to provide fuel to that garrison.

In the possession of lord Breadalbane.

Secretary Stair to Lord Breadalbane.—Preparations for execution.

My lord,

London, Dec. 2, 1691.

YOUR's of the 16th past was very uneasy; it's a little qualified by that of the 19th.—I know not by what I was moved to write to you eight days ago, as if I had known what these letters brought me; and though what I wrote then was only to hasten matters, the lingering being of ill consequence, yet I never thought there was danger in the

miscarrying of it. I confess I was desirous of your return, upon the finishing of your negociation; but without that, or the having prevailed with one man, is what I never wish to see. I am convinced it is neither your fault, nor can any prejudice arise to their majesties service by the change of measures, but only ruin to the Highlanders; but yet at the present settlement it would do yourself and your friends no advantage. That person you suspect to have blown up the M'Leans, hath great access, and wants nothing but such an occasion to introduce him, and to make him in a manner necessary to do what you cannot. I doubt not all will come right; but though it is necessary you do seem to come hither, that they may rue, yet you had not best, in my opinion, leave it; and here you cannot be before our settlement, as I apprehend, is in readiness. I shall not repeat my thoughts of your doited cousin; I perceive half sense will play a double game, but it requires solidity to embrace an opportunity, which to him will be lost for ever; and the garrison of Inverlochy is little worth, if he can either sleep in his own bounds, or if he ever be master there. I repent nothing of the plan; but what account can be given why Argyle should be forced to part with Ardnarmurchan, to which Lochiel hath no more pretence than I? You cannot believe with what indifferency the king heard this matter, which did alarm and surprise us all, and confirmed the bold assertions of others against you. I hope you will be able to document sir Ewen's and Mr. John M'Lean's commissions, which are necessary for your vindication. Lieut. col. Hamilton, deputy governor of Inverlochy, is a discreet man, you may make use of him. I should be glad to find, before you get any positive order, that your business is done, for shortly we will conclude a resolution for the winter campaign. I do not fail to take notice of the frankness of your offer to assist. I think the clan Donell must be rooted out, and Lochiel. Leave the M'Leans to Argyll. But before this, Leven and Argyll's regiment, with two more, would have been gone to Flanders. Now all stops, and no more money from England to entertain them. God knows whether the 12,000 *l.* sterling had been better employed to settle the Highlands, or to ravage them; but since we will make them desperate, I think we should root them out before they can get that help they depend upon. Their doing, after they get

K. J. allowance, is worse than their obstinacy; for these who lay down arms at his command, will take them up by his warrant. Be assured no papist will be exempted from this oath of allegiance; and in Ireland they must take it, by act of parliament now made, since the supremacy is out of it. You may assure yourself, in our settlement of government, you are not forgot by your friends, though I must tell you some are again emboldened, who had given over to object against your being assumed.

My dear lord, adieu.

Secretary Stair to lord Breadalbane.—Desires his mauling scheme.

My lord,

London, Dec. 3, 1691.

THE last post brought Tarbat letters from Glengarry, or from his lady, and Rorry upon a message. Glengarry had sent to him to Edinburgh. This hath furnished him with opportunity to discourse the king on all these matters. He tells me he hath vindicated you; only the share that the M'Donalds get is too little, and unequal to your good cousins, (really that's true) and he would have the money given to Glengarry, and leave Argyll and him to deal for the plea. He thought his share had only been 1000 *l.* sterling. I have satisfied the king in these points, that his share is 1500 *l.* sterling, and that he nor none of them can get the money, if Argyll consent not; for that destroys all that is good in the settlement, which is, to take away grounds of hereditary feuds: to be brief, I'll assure you that I shall never consent any body's meddling shall be so much regarded, as to get any of your terms altered. By the next I expect to hear either these people are come to your hand, or else your scheme for mauling them; for it will not delay. On the next week the officers will be dispatched from this, with instructions to garrison Invergarry, and Buchan's regiment will join Leven's, which will be force enough; they will have petards and some cannon. I am not changed as to the expediency of doing things by the easiest means, and at leisure, but the madness of these people, and their ungratefulness to you, makes me plainly see there is no reckoning on them; but *delenda est Carthago*. Yet who have accepted, and do take the oaths, will be safe, but deserve no kindness; and even in that case,

there must be hostages of their nearest relations, for there is no regarding men's words whom their interest cannot oblige. Menzies, Glengarry, and all of them, have written letters, and taken pains to make it believed, that all you did was for the interest of K. James. Therefore look on, and you shall be satisfied of your revenge. Adieu.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke.—Execution is to proceed.

London, 9th Jan. 1692.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

I KNOW not if the news of the Highlanders taking the oaths will put a stop to the marching of the troops that were designed for that purpose, but I believe it will not; but that the orders for their campaign will still go on.

Proposals concerning the Highlanders, by lord Breadalbane.

THE last opinion given to Your Majesty, concerning the settling of the Highlanders, having had good success, by their submitting to your government, laying down arms, and taking the oath of allegiance; it remains now to propose to Your Majesty, how to make them useful and serviceable to you, and to take up arms for Your Majesty in case of any insurrection at home, or invasion from abroad, or that Your Majesty think it fit to use some of them in foreign parts.

In lord
Breadal-
bane's posses-
sion.

1st, THE law obliges the nation to rise in arms when required, and to continue in arms forty days.

2d, THAT Your Majesty, by virtue of this law, ordain all the Highland landlords and chieftains to have such a proportion of men ready, as their estates and interest may easily raise and provide, without making the levy too heavy for them, which levy may be, according to the calculation made thereof, four thousand good and effective men.

3d, THAT these men, both officers and soldiers, be enrolled, and thereby ready to be called for when required. And to that end,

4th, THAT Your Majesty give commission to some principal man in the Highlands, to have the charge of raising, enrolling, and bringing them to the field, and placing of fit inferior officers over them, according to the number that every tribe sends out.

PART II.

E c

5th, THAT this principal person have the pay of a general officer, but that only when he is employed, to defray his expence; who is to receive his orders from Your Majesty, or your government, or from the commander in chief of your standing forces in that kingdom.

6th, THAT Lochzeal, in respect of his experience and skill, and his interest in the other clans besides his own, may have the next command over this militia, and have the pay of a colonel while he is employed, in regard he is ambitious to serve Your Majesty, and is a protestant.

7th, THAT there be forty captains set over the four thousand, of such as every tribe may have one of their own to command them, and these to have a gratuity at their return home, after they are dismissed, as they behave themselves, and do keep their men in good discipline; and this gratuity to be bestowed by the advice of Your Majesty's government, the commander in chief of your forces, and of the person who has the principal command of the Highlanders. That as soon as Your Majesty settles your government of that kingdom these two commissions be given, that they may immediately thereafter go about the enrolling of the men, according to the proportions to be charged by proclamation on every landlord and chieftain, to be ready when called for.

8th, As this establishment will encourage the Highlanders to be faithful, and serve Your Majesty, being commanded by persons of themselves, and in whom Your Majesty may confide; so it will extremely discourage such as design to give disturbance to the peace of that kingdom, and to embarrass your government there, when they find that Your Majesty has engaged a formidable force of Highlanders ready to fall on them, contrary to their expectation, and endeavours of keeping them from coming in.

9th, YOUR Majesty has these forces without any charge, except for a few officers, and that only when employed, and that but for a short time, which will discuss any commotion can be in that nation; and it may be asserted, that there cannot be better militia men than they are.

10th, YOUR Majesty has not a fund in that kingdom, nor can have, to maintain above three thousand standing forces, which are so few, that it is a great encouragement for all ill designs, especially in Your Majesty's

absence. But this addition of four thousand Highlanders will alter the case exceedingly, will strengthen your government, encourage your standing forces, and disappoint your enemies: for they may be so ordered as to be ready to march on few days advertisement.

11th, It will be fit there be a major or two in constant pay, for attending and looking after these forces, and to serve as adjutants for raising, bringing them to the field, and to keep them from prejudicing the countries.

12th, THAT in pursuance of this diligence, and that the discontented disaffected parties in that kingdom may see that Your Majesty will trust and employ the Highlanders, (if these force you to it) Your Majesty will be pleased to dispatch Lochziel home, contented, and obliged to Your Majesty's royal bounty: it is but a small sum he pretends, and Your Majesty will find it very well bestowed.

13th, In case Your Majesty, at any time, think it fit to employ a regiment of Highlanders abroad, they may be detached out of this body of men; and in that case, it is humbly offered to Your Majesty, that they be allowed to use their own apparel, and their own arms, and to be disciplined in their own fashion, and to be commanded by persons having their language, and who have interest with them.

List of chieftains to which the proposals relate.

				Men.	In lord Breadalbane's possession.
The earl of Seaforth,	-	-	-	200	
The viscount of Tarbat,	-	-	-	50	
The lord Lovitt,	-	-	-	150	
The earl of Sutherland,	-	-	-	100	
The lord Rhea,	-	-	-	50	
The laird of Ballingoun,	-	-	-	100	
The laird of Foulis,	-	-	-	50	
The laird of Straglassie,	-	-	-	20	
The laird of Glenmoriston,	-	-	-	30	
The laird of M'Intosh,	-	-	-	100	
M'Pherson of Clunie,	-	-	-		
The laird of Kilravock,	-	-	-	150	
The laird of Grant,	-	-	-	200	

A P P E N D I X.

	Mem.
The laird of Balmdaloch,	20
The duke of Gordon,	300
The earl of Mar,	200
The marquis of Atholl,	300
The laird of Ashintullie,	30
The laird of Weem,	50
The laird of Garntully,	50
The laird of Strowan,	20
The earl of Perth,	150
The earl of Murray,	100
The earl of Monteat, h,	100
The marquis of Montrose,	150
The laird of Lufs,	50
The laird of Macfarlane,	30
The earl of Argyle,	500
The earl of Breadalbane,	250
The laird of Calder,	100
The laird of M'Lane,	100
The laird of Locheal,	150
The captane of Clanronald,	100
Sir Donald M'Donald, of Fleat,	100
The laird of M'Leod,	100
The laird of Glengary,	100
The laird of M'Finzone,	30
M'Donald of Keppoch,	50
The laird of Appine,	50
The tutor of Appine,	30
The laird of Lochbouy,	30

One of the Higbland chieftains commissions to treat.

In lord
Breadal-
bane's posses-
sion.

I Col. MacDonell of Keppoch doth hereby, in my own name, and in name of Ranald M'Donell of Insh Ronald, M'Donell of Froets, Donald M'Donald Coldonarge, Æneas M'Donell of Bohurtmy, Æneas M'Donell of Killbrihonatt, Æneas M'Donell of Tulloch, Alex. M'Donell of Inveroy, Neil Kennedy of Kearu: than, Alex. M'Donell of Tir-

noderish, and the rest of my kinsmen and friends, earnestly desire and request, impower and commission, at the Right Hon. John earl of Breadalbane, to treat and conclude with the present government, for procuring to me and my foresaid friends such lending and concessions as he may obtain from them; hereby promising, upon my oath, in my own name, and for them, that I and they shall stand and adhere to such terms as his lordship will procure for me and them. In witness whereof I have written and sealt thir presents, the twenty-fourth of June, 1691.

COLL. MACDONALD.

One of the Highland chieftains obligations to keep peace.

I Coll. MackDonell of Keppoch doth for myself, and on behalf of Ronald Mackdonald of Insh, Ronald M'donald of Fensett, Alex. M'Donell of Inveroy, Donald M'Donell of Cleonaige, Æneas M'Donell of Bohuntine, Æneas M'Donell of Killiehonat, Æneas Mac Donell of Tulloch, Neil Kennedie of Leonurhane-more, Alex. Kennedie of Leoruthan-beig, Alex. Mac Donell of Firrnadross, Æneas Mac Donell of Auchnacoichine, and all the rest of my kinsmen, friends, and followers, engage, on my faith and word, that I and they shall submit to the present government, live peaceably, and commit no acts of hostility nor depredations, nor join with any forces from abroad, or within the country, to commit any such acts until the first day of September next, providing that such proposals and terms as shall be made by the earl of Breadalbine to the present government be granted to me and those abovementioned, against the foresaid day: providing also, that no act of hostility or depredations be committed against me, or any of my said friends or kinsmen, before the abovesaid first day of September next. To these conditions I do hereby oblige myself to stand and adhere: In witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents, the twenty-fourth of June javry, and ninety-one years.

COLL. MACKDONALD.

[THERE is a tradition, whether true or not I know not, that when lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to lord Breadalbane to account for the 12,000 £. which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he answered the letter in these words: *My lord, the Highlands are quiet: the money is spent: and this is the best way of accounting between friends.*]

B O O K VII.

In King
William's
box.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—Unhappy about an accusation made against him by sir John Guise.

SIR,

THIS evening an officer is come to let me know, that the five regiments from Flanders are in the river, so that as soon as the treasury will give money for the regiment of guards, I shall take care to send them according to Your Majesty's order. You will pardon me, Sir, that I take the liberty in saying that I have been extremely fretted at a thing that has been told me since you went, which is, that sir John Guise should tell you, that he knew by merchants, when I came out of Holland, that I left 30,000 *l.* there, and that Your Majesty should answer him, that when you came back you would inquire into it: I do assure you, that there is not any thing true of what sir John Guise has told you, and if Your Majesty find that I had one shilling there before the 6500 guineas that I sent over by my lord Portland, and afterwards 4700 *l.* to Shulenberg, I then beg you to believe me the last of men: but I have troubled Your Majesty too much on this subject, but beg leave to assure you, that I shall ever endeavour to serve you faithfully, so that I no ways doubt of deserving Your Majesty's favour and protection. I am,

SIR,

June 17th, 1690.

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

In King
William's
box.

Lord Marlborough to King William—Complains of lord Caermarthen.

SIR,

I Here send Your Majesty a copy of what we have done concerning the recruits; I must, at the same time, take leave to tell Your Majesty, that I am tired out of my life with the unreasonable way of proceeding of lord president, for he is very ignorant what is fit for an officer, both as to recruits, and every thing else as to a soldier; so that, when I have given such as I think necessary orders, he does what he thinks fit, and enters

into the business of tents, arms, and the office reckonings, which were all settled before Your Majesty left England, so that at this rate business is never done; but I think all this proceeds from, I hope, the unreasonable prejudice he has taken against me, which makes me incapable of doing you that service which I do with all my heart, and should wish to do, for I do with much truth wish both your person and government to prosper; I hope it will not be long before Your Majesty will be here, after which I shall beg never to be in England when you are not. The wind is now westerly, which will carry the men out of Ireland into Flanders, where I should be glad you would now permit me to send my equipage, being desirous to be there myself a month or six weeks before the campaign begins. I am, with all imaginable respect,

SIR,

Whitehall,
Feb. 17th, 1691.

Your Majesty's dutiful subject, and servant,
MARLBOROUGH.

Part of a letter from lord Sydney to King William.—Suspensions of lord Godolphin. In King William's box.

March 6, 1691.

I MUST now go to another business, and tell Your Majesty that my lord Godolphin's quitting your service is now no secret, for my lord Halifax told it me the other day, therefore Your Majesty must think of a new model for that office; I have prepared one for you, which you may receive or reject, as you think good; what my lord Godolphin does in the treasury, I cannot tell, but I see his proceedings in other places are not with that zeal for your service, as might be expected from him; he scarce ever comes to counsel, and never to the committees upon the taking of several ill-affected persons, and at the examination of them he never was present; what the reason of it is I cannot tell.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—About lord Godolphin's resignation. In King William's box.

Jan. 27th, 1691.

I do let no day pass without speaking to lord Godolphin about what you commanded; nor will I be rebuted in it, although I do not find that I prevail much on him, any otherways than that I find it makes him

melancholy: That which I urge most to him is your personal kindness to him, and I find that has weight with him, so that I beg you will take all opportunities of writing kindly to him, and that before your return you will in a kind letter tell him, that you have so much personal kindness for him, that you deserve better, than that he should abandon you, at this time, when you have most need of his service. I am with respect,

SIR,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject, and servant,

MARLEBOROUGH.

In king
William's
box.

Part of lord Sydney's letter to King William.—On the same subject.—Lord Godolphin is to resign on his wife's account.

Feb. 3, 1697.

THE cabinet counsell I believe the queen tells Your Majesty is very thin, and at the committee for Irish affairs there is no body but my lord President, lord Pembroke, and myself; sometimes sir Harry Goodricke: what the reason of it is, I will not go about to determine. Since I had the honour to write to Your Majesty, I have had some discourse with my lord Godolphin, and particularly about his own affairs. I find him much resolved to do, what he said he would to Your Majesty; he lays it most upon his wife, and saith it will not be convenient for a man of business that is not very young, to bring a wife near the court: upon the whole matter I see plainly he will not stay long in your service, and Your Majesty must take your measures accordingly, and consider who is fittest to serve you in that station.

In King
William's
box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—On the same subject.

Feb. 13, 1697.

I AM humbly to acknowledge the honour of Your Majesty's letter of the 6th, and the great goodness you are pleased to express in it as to my particular; as it is no surprize to me who have already received so many proofs of Your Majesty's kindness to me, so I hope you will be pleased favourably to consider the impossibility I am under, with regard to my present circumstance, at this time, to depart from the humble request which I presumed to make to Your Majesty before you went

away, and that you will have so well considered into what hands to put the care of your business in the treasury, that my absence from that place, shall rather prove an advantage to Your Majesty's service there, than bring any farther difficulties upon it. How long my natural temper and inclination will suffer me to remain in the retirement I propose to myself, I cannot be answerable for, till I have tried it; but this I know, that in all places and in all conditions, I shall still retain the same duty and gratitude for Your Majesty, and the same sense of your favours to me, as if I were every moment under your own observation, and had the honour to continue always near Your Majesty.

Lord Marlborough to King William.—On the same subject.

Feb. 13, 1691.

In king
William's
box.

MY lord Godolphin showed me Your Majesty's letter to him, which was so full of kindness that I hope the more he thinks of it, the better it will be, although I must own to your Majesty that he has not as yet altered his resolution; but he writes to you at large on this subject, so that I shall give you no farther trouble, but assuring you that I will lose no occasion of letting him see the obligation he has, in return to Your Majesty's kindness, to spend his life in your service, which I do with all my heart wish for, being, with all imaginable duty,

S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

Lord Marlborough to king William.—On the same subject.

Feb. 24, 1691.

In King
William's
box.

I AM sorry to tell Your Majesty that lord Godolphin continues very obstinate, so that I have no hopes but your own prevailing when you speak with him. I am with respect, S I R,

Your Majesty's dutiful subject and servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

In King William's box.

Lord Godolphin to King William.—Is desirous to resign.—Complains of getting orders that he does not like.

March 13, 1690.

THE queen has been pleased to lay her commands upon us at the treasury, in two particulars, to neither of which I could ever have given my consent at this time, nor have set my hand to them, were it not for the consideration of my own particular circumstances, which do not leave me at liberty to be stubborn in any thing, though never so reasonable, for fear Your Majesty might think I would take a pretext, from any occasion of that kind, to procure a freedom to myself, which I am much more desirous to owe to Your Majesty's grace and favour only.

THE two particulars are, 1st, My lord president's pension for twenty-one years upon the post-office, which certainly, to say no more, is very unseasonable at this time, and perhaps more unseasonable for him than for any body else; but for that, there is a French proverb, *chacun scait ses affaires, ou les doit scavoir*.

THE other particular is the finding of 16,000 *l.* towards my lord Bathe's arrears, which perhaps might also have been as well forborn, till the reign of the commissioners of accounts had been expired; the powers of their commission are very large by the act of parliament, and I do not find but that they are willing to carry them to the utmost extent.

In King William's box.

Part of a letter from lord Godolphin to king William.—On the same subject.

Tunbridge, Aug. 10, 1691.

YOUR Majesty will forgive me, if upon this occasion I humbly observe to you, that you may see the business in the treasury can be as readily, and as carefully, dispatched in my absence, as when I am there; and therefore I hope Your Majesty will be the less surprized at your return, if you find me persist in my humble request, that you would then be pleased to dispense with my further service there, especially since I can never hope by these waters, or by any thing else, to be so freed from the distemper that troubles me, as that the attendance

upon business must not always increase it, and consequently be extremely uneasy to me.

Part of a letter from lord Sidney to king William.—Suspensions of lord Godolphin. In King William's box.
July 12, 1692.

I HAVE been with the lords of the treasury, and told them the necessity of having some money for Ireland; they received me very civilly, but as soon as I was gone, they never thought more of it, and I see plainly some of the treasury don't care how any thing goes. My lord Godolphin is angry upon my lord Marlborough's account, Mr. Hampden upon his nephew's, sir Edward Seymore is out of town, sir St. Fox yields to my lord Godolphin in every thing, and Mr. Mountague saith nothing: I have troubled Your Majesty enough in money matters, and have little to add of any importance. Every body here is taking their pleasure as much as they can, but I must needs say that I believe the club (Your Majesty knows who I mean) are framing some designs that are not for your service; whether my lord Godolphin be in it or no, I cannot tell, but he hath put off his journey to Tunbridge, which he was fond of a month ago, and that gives me some suspicion. I hope their designs will come to nothing, and that your undertaking may be as prosperous as the humblest of your servants does passionately wish them.

Admiral Russel to king William.—Complains of ill usage, and reproaches the king with his services. In King William's box.

SIR,

SINCE the accidents of war may possibly put it out of my power of having the honour to see Your Majesty again, I beg, with all imaginable submission and respect, you will give me leave to lay some things before you, which truly my bashfulness would not permit me to do by word of mouth, when Your Majesty was in England. I am sensible, Sir, with how little justice I can pretend to any share in Your Majesty's favour, having never in any kind deserved the favours and honours you have pleased to show me, nor am I conscious to myself that I have ever been troublesome, or importunate with Your Majesty, for any thing that might better my own condition, unless it was for the

grant of Rigate, which I as soon desisted in, as I found Your Majesty backward in granting, concluding from that time Your Majesty did not think me deserving of a small favour, when at the same time you was pleased to bestow, on several others, great gifts. But that which afflicts me, sir, is, that I should have a brother who appeared one of the first in your interest and service, who chose rather to lose all his appointments in the late king James's service, which was very considerable, than not show a zeal for his country's service. It was not two years before that he gave a considerable sum of money, by the then king's command, to be in the bed-chamber, with assurances he would speedily make that up again to him. I durst not have said thus much in his behalf, had not Your Majesty been pleased to tell me he had done his duty in Ireland, like a good officer and a brave man; but, sir, a lieutenant colonel of horse will not keep him; his expences in Ireland, to appear as he ought, have made him in his own fortune so much a worse man, that he has been forced to quit the service, and seek a subsistence by marrying an old widow, rather than spend all he has, and run the hazard of wanting afterwards. And really the several voyages at sea Your Majesty has commanded my services in, have been so very expensive to me, that notwithstanding the place of three thousand pounds a year I hold through your favour, and my own little fortune, have not been able to hinder me from contracting a considerable debt, which makes me incapable of giving him that assistance my inclination leads me to. I have, sir, a sister who, during king James's reign, never failed of being paid her pension, though I think not any of our family was ever very serviceable to him; but since Your Majesty came to the crown, she has never received any thing of it, though she is informed several others have received from Your Majesty that grace and favour, when they were only gifts of grace; her's, I am sure, was for a valuable consideration, a debt, to provide for her younger children, without which they can have no portion, this being the provision Mr. Cook their father made for them in his will. These things have given me great mortification, that you are pleased to show the world my family is less deserving of your favours than others. It was my luck to be so favourably thought on, when the design was laid of Your Majesty's coming over, by most people that

were able to do service or to obstruct, I mean the military men both by sea and land, that they believed me in what I said, and depended on the credit I had with Your Majesty to render them service when God was pleased to settle you here; but such has been my ill fortune, that I have not been able to recommend them to your favour, and most of them are in a worse condition in point of income than in the late reign: it has convinced them how little regard Your Majesty has for what I say in their behalf; and they see great places and rewards given to men, who gave you what opposition was in their power, while themselves, who were the chief instruments of your meeting no stop while you marched in England, reduced, if not to want, to much a greater necessity than they ever knew before. These things I thought a duty incumbent upon me to lay before Your Majesty, as also a justice to myself. I pray God bless Your Majesty, and send you both by sea and land good success. Now I have troubled you with my afflictions, I shall be at ease, and whatever your pleasure is, and whatever condition mine or my family is, Your Majesty shall always find me, with all faith and duty,

Your Majesty's most obedient

On board the Britannia,

subject, and servant,

May 10, 1691.

RUSSELL.

Prince George of Denmark to king William, asking a garter for lord Marlborough. In King William's box.

S I R,

I BEG leave once more to put you in mind of the promise you made me of a garter, which I hope you will now remember, there being two vacancies by the death of the duke of Newcastle; and I flatter myself that Your Majesty will be so kind to bestow it upon lord Marlborough, for my sake, it being the only thing I have ever pressed you for. I have nothing more to trouble you with but my wishes for your good success in all your undertakings, and to assure you I shall ever be, with all the respect I ought, S I R,

Your Majesty's

Tunbridge,

Very affectionate brother, and servant,

August 2, 1691.

GEORGE.

In king
William's
box.

The princess Ann to king William.—On the same subject.

SIR,

Tunbridge, Aug. 2.

I HOPE you will pardon me for giving you this trouble, but I cannot help seconding the request the prince has now made to you, to remember your promise of a garter for my lord Marlborough; you cannot certainly bestow it upon any one that has been more serviceable to you in the late revolution, nor that has ventured their lives for you, as he has done ever since your coming to the crown: but if people will not think these merits enough, I cannot believe any body will be so unreasonable to be dissatisfied, when it is known you are pleased to give it him on the prince's account and mine. I am sure I shall ever look upon it as a mark of your favour to us; I will not trouble you with any ceremony, because I know you do not care for it.

ANNE.

In the duke
of Hamilton's
possession.

Lord Basil Hamilton to the duke of Hamilton.—Account of lord Marlborough's disgrace.

London, Jan. 21, 1692.

—I BELIEVE your grace will be surpris'd to hear that my lord Marlborough is out of all his employment, and the manner was very disagreeable to him; for in his waiting week, which is this, after having put on the king's shirt in the morning, before twelve o'clock my lord Nottingham was sent to him, to tell him that the king had no further need of his service, and that he was to dispose of all his employments, besides forbidding him the court. Every body make their guesses what are his crimes. Some say that he was endeavouring to breed division in the army, and to make himself the more necessary, besides his endeavouring to make an ill correspondence betwixt the princess and the court, but every body have their different thoughts; but this being late yesterday, all the matter is not well known, but I believe a few days will bring all to light; so I shall not guess any more, but by my next give your grace the best account I can, and trouble your grace no more at present.

Part of lord Devonshire's letter to king William, inclosing sir John Fenwick's confession. In king William's box.

Aug. 14, 1696.

THE inclosed is the paper given me by sir John Fenwick on the 10th instant, written in his own hand, which he made me pass my word should be communicated to Your Majesty only; and I believe Your Majesty, when you read it, will not wonder he exacted that promise from me. I may truly say I should have been very glad not to have been trusted with this secret, being very unwilling to believe what is there suggested of persons, for whom I have a great respect, and which, as Your Majesty may please to observe, is for the most part hearsay. All that I can say is, that whether Your Majesty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and in consideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, some of them being in places of the highest trust, and in all appearance very firm to your interest now, I humbly beg leave to assure Your Majesty, that whatever part of this paper you would have kept secret shall remain so inviolably for me.

Sir John Fenwick's confession.

AFTER king James returned to France from Ireland, there was a select number of his friends intrusted by him to manage his affairs here, who held a constant correspondence with him, and his then secretary of state, by his command, who used all methods possible to advance his interest, by engaging men in places of trust in the government, fleet, and army, to his party, and by the accounts they gave from hence to move the French king to attempt his restoration, but with little success; for till the year before the business of La Hogue, we knew only of my lord Godolphin (concerned in this government) who held a correspondence with him from the time he went over, in whom king James, as he had often expressed in his letters, had an entire confidence. This winter my lord Middleton came to town, who had often been desired to go over, believing it would be great service to king James to have him there in his business; he alleged he could do little service by going, unless he could engage and settle a correspondence here before he went

In king William's box.

(which he was endeavouring and hoped to effect in a little time) with some men in this government, who had power in their hands, and were the only men capable to serve him; for his friends, being out of all employments, could make him little help: that he had entered into this affair with my lord Shrewsbury, and my lord Godolphin already, and there were some others who he believed he should gain, and then he would go. Soon after captain Floyd, a groom of the bed-chamber to king James, was sent over to him from my lord Marlborough and admiral Ruffel, with an assurance from them of their interest in the fleet and army, which they did not doubt but to secure to him, if he would grant them his pardon for what was passed. At his return, which was within a month, he acquainted me with some things king James had ordered him, and told me he had no difficulty in Mr. Ruffel's affair, but the answer to my lord Marlborough was, that he was the greatest of criminals, where he had the greatest obligations; but if he did him extraordinary service, he might hope for pardon: and a little after he did a considerable piece of service, of which we had an account by one sent on purpose by king James. Captain Floyd went again for France, and came to king James at La Hogue, with an account of the fleet, that we could not put out thirty sail before the latter end of May, which he carried from Mr. Ruffel. My lord Middleton, having settled this correspondence, went over in March following. After he arrived, king James writ that, upon the assurance he had brought of this man being engaged in his service, the French ministers had espoused his interest, and he hoped now the French king would lend him such an assistance, as he should see us in a short time. My lord Middleton then pressed king James to put out the declaration which they had drawn, and sent over before he went, but was not approved of, it being a general pardon for all should be done, till his landing, which exposed his friends in the mean time to all severities: he had sent to us before to send him the heads for one we thought would be most acceptable to the people, in which there were some exceptions; but my lord Middleton prevailed for the other, pretending it was absolutely necessary to make it a general pardon, for the security to the great men for their lives and fortunes; that it would draw many people to his party, and strengthen their

interest so much as they did not doubt but with a little help from France, to restore him soon. This declaration being published, and finding no performance of the great promises made for it, and that these men were engaged with a commonwealth's party, we advised to take care of trusting them too much, and that we doubted they had procured that declaration more for their own security, whenever he should be restored, than any service intended to him. Soon after this, my lord Shrewsbury, who had laid down his employment, at the time he first treated with my lord Middleton, came into his place again, which gave great apprehensions that what had passed during this time would be betrayed to this government: we expressed our fears to K. James of it, but was answered, not to be dissatisfied, for it was with his consent he came in, that he was more capable of doing him service, and took off all suspicion of the correspondence he held. A little after he came in, capt. Floyd was sent hither to know what proposals K. James might make to the French king, upon the assistance he might expect from them: the answer he had was, that they could do nothing till the king here was removed, which we understood to be his next going into Flanders, and thought it too slight a ground to move the French King to take any measures upon, for an attempt here: upon this, it was thought fit a considerable man should go over, to lay the danger before him, of depending too much upon these men, whose party were enemies to all kings, lest they might engage him in some undertaking which might prove his ruin. At his coming there, he desired he might not see my lord Middleton, his business being of that nature as was not fit for him to hear, because of his correspondence with this party. King James told him he must see him, but he would give him an opportunity to discourse his business in private. When he returned he acquainted us with this; and that he had fully discoursed him in all he was entrusted with; that he found he reposed an entire confidence in them, said they were the men could do him the best service; that they were grown weary of this government; and the promises he had made them of honours and employments would bind them to him; that he would try what they would do, whenever the French king had an opportunity to attempt his restoration; but desired we would still continue to advance in interest; and whenever he returned, he should know how to value

those who had been always firm to him. From this time, great endeavours were used by this party to remove my lord Melfort, and we supposed this man's going was one great occasion my lord Middleton not being acquainted with his business. After he was out, we were ordered to write to Mr. Carrill, who gave us little encouragement any thing would be soon done from thence, the French king's fleet being gone to the Streights, a famine in his country, and a false calculation made of his money, which had forced him to reduce his army; and ordered us to keep ourselves quiet, for he must take his measures from this party for the time of his coming, on whom he must now depend. In spring, last year, one Crosby, a secretary under my lord Middleton, came over, who had been several times sent to this party before, and had engaged some men in the assassination, who he asked at his coming, if they had received the commission for levying war, and seizing the King, which commission they had desired as a security for themselves, against King James, for this undertaking: they told him it was not come; he affirmed he saw it signed by King James before he came away; the thing all that time was prevented, nor did that commission he mentioned ever come. These men believing they were imposed upon by Crosby, one of them resolved to go over to know the truth; before he went he acquainted some of King James's friends with it, who detesting so base an action, told him it would be a great service to inform him what an infamy Crosby had thrown upon him, and that he ought to be severely punished, to prevent any such thing for the future; he affirmed to King James, before Crosby, what he had said; he reprov'd him, and told him he should be no more employed in his service. We had few letters after this, and those ordered us, as before, to keep ourselves quiet, and not meddle in any thing, for measures were taken from other people. The last letter we had from King James himself, dated the 4th of February last, their stile, said the Toulon fleet would sail the 22d; but what they would do next he could not tell, which was all material in it: and the only hopes we had, something would be done when it arrived. This attempt of the assassination then broke out, with which we were all surprized, and found ourselves exposed, without having the least notice given us, so much as to take care of ourselves, and which we believed was the measures taken to restore King James.

ALL this time endeavours were used by our friends to make an interest in the fleet, but found it to little purpose to engage private captains, for unless all their men were of their mind, which was impossible, they could do no service. Captain Bottome and capt. Carter had both promised to go in that year as I remember my lord Torrington commanded; the first was killed in the attempt, and the officer who commanded the landmen on board him mutinied, seeing his design; the other broke his word, and fought that day, and was killed; the officers commanding in chief were therefore applied to, and that year the fleet was commanded by commission. Sir Ralph De la Val and Killigrew were both engaged to serve King James: their opinion was asked of Shovel; they said he was not a man to be spoke to: the service they promised was, to sail the fleet out of the way, and let K. James pass by, and declare for him when he was landed. I saw the account was sent to King James of it, and his answer, wherein he returned his thanks, with promise of rewards and employments when he was restored.

As for the army, K. James depends upon my lord Marlborough's interest, who can do what he pleases with most of those who served in King James's time. At their going into Ireland, major-general Kirk and Maine, and some other inferior officers, had promised to go in, but none performed: since that time there was no opportunity of making any application to them; those left here, lying in the country, and being changed every year; and the main army always abroad, where the only service they could do was to desert to the French, who would not receive them: it was therefore thought the best service to secure some of the garrisons here, of which there was four; Plymouth by my lord Bath; Berwick by Billingsly, the deputy-governor, who was generally upon the place; Sheerness by Crawford; and Langerfort by the governor, if it be the same that was two years ago, whose name I have forgot. King James had an assurance of their service, that they would declare for him whenever he landed."

In King William's box there is the following further confession of fir John Fenwick.

“**I**N the year 1695, the beginning of that week the parliament was prorogued, I was walking in the Court of Requests, and there came to me fir Wm. Perkins, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Charnock, and asked me, If I did not know of an order come from King James, directed to those who had been general officers under him? I answered them I knew nothing of any order from him, and asked for what purpose it should be. They told me they had for some time expected a commission from King James to seize King William, and that Mr. Crosby was newly come over, and enquired of them if they had not received such a commission: they told him they had not: he said he wondered at it, for he saw it signed before he came away from St. Germans, and also an order to the general officers to be aiding and assisting to them.

I TOLD them, I believed what Crosby said was false; that it was a scandal upon King James, and I was sure he would never give any such commission or order for so base an action; that they could intend no less by seizing of the King than to murder him: upon which fir Will. Perkins said, the parliament would be prorogued on Friday next, and then the King would be gone for Flanders; that Saturday was the only day they had left to do it, and though the commission was not come, they would not lose that opportunity of attempting it, as he returned from Richmond that night, and swore he should never go out of England alive.

MR. PORTER and Charnock said they were resolved of it, and though the commission was not yet come, Crosby assured them it must be upon the road, for it was come away before him.

I USED all arguments against it, and told them what injury they would do King James, and bring a certain ruin upon all his friends here; that if it was upon the road, as Crosby said, it might be here by Saturday; and with much persuasion prevailed with them to dine with me that day at 12 of the clock, at the Fountain tavern, by the Temple gate, and got them to promise they would do nothing in it till they met me there that day.

WE met accordingly, and I kept them there, discoursing upon the business, and showing them the baseness of the action and the impossibility

of their succeeding, for none of King James his friends would back them in it, till it was too late for them to make any such attempt. The King went for Flanders next morning early. This I attest for truth; for this reason I suppose they did not acquaint me with their last design.

J. FENWICKE."

Extract of the examinations and confessions of Peter Cook, son to sir Miles Cook. He was condemned for the assassination-plot, but afterwards pardoned. In King Wil-
liam's box.

"**H**E gives an account of his having been in France several years ago; that he went on my lady Philips her business, but being there, was introduced to King James, and carried over the compliments of several persons to the King; particularly from archbishop Sandcroft, lord Ailesbury, lord Montgomery, sir John Fenwick, lord Clarendon, lord Litchfield, lord Huntingdon, lord Weymouth, sir Edward Seymour, and others; he brought back messages to some of them, and was bid to see the marquis of Halifax, as being a man of honour, who received him very civilly; he brought over instructions from K. James for the borrowing 6000*l.* they were directed to lord Ailesbury, lord Litchfield, and lord Brudenell, but they all excused it.

Mrs. IRON sent him advice of the la Hogue business, which he communicated to lord Halifax, whereupon he found him uneasy at his staying longer with him, and told him he knew what he had to do.

HE says at that time, there was a meeting at a tavern in Holbourn, where were the lord Brudenell, sir Theophilus Ogelthorpe, sir Francis Windham, major George Mathews, Mr. Bruce, colonel Fountaine, one Holmes, and several others: they advised with one another what they should do upon that invasion; it was resolved those who had horses should rendezvous towards Cane-wood, and those who had none should get near the Tower, to join with sir John Friend's party. There was a regiment lined with yellow, which they were told they might depend upon."

n King
William's
box.

*Lord Shrewsbury to King William.—Denies sir John Fenwick's charge.—
Owns intercourse with lord Middleton.*

S I R,

Whitehall, 8 Sept. 1696.

I WANT words to express my surprize at the impudent and unaccountable accusation of sir Jo. Fenwick; I will, with all the sincerity imaginable, give Your Majesty an account of the only thing I can recollect, that should give the least pretence to such an invention, and I am confident you will judge there are few men in the kingdom that have not so far transgressed the law.

AFTER Your Majesty was pleased to allow me to lay down my employment, it was more than a year before I once saw my lord Middleton, then he came and staid in town a while, and returned to the country; but a little before the la Hogue business, he came up again, and upon that alarm being put in the Tower, when people were permitted to see him, I visited him as often as I thought decent for the nearness of our alliance. Upon his enlargement, one night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and ask'd if I would command him no service; I then told him by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself, or his friends service, and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven, and therefore he should never find me asking it: in the condition he was then, he seemed shocked at my answer, and it being some months after, before he went, he never mentioned his own going, or any thing else to me, but left a message with my aunt, that he thought it better to say nothing to me, but that I might depend upon his good offices upon any occasion, and in the same manner he relied upon mine here, and had left me trustee for the small concerns he had in England; I only bowed, and told her, I should always be ready to serve her, or him, or their children.

YOUR Majesty now knows the extent of my crime, and if I do not flatter myself, it is no more than a king may forgive.

I AM sure when I consider with what reason, justice and generosity Your Majesty has weighed this man's information, I have little cause to apprehend your ill opinion upon his malice. I wish it were as easy to answer for the reasonableness of the generality of the world: When such a

base invention shall be made public, they may perhaps make me incapable of serving you, but if till now I had had neither interest nor inclination, the noble and frank manner with which Your Majesty has used me upon this occasion, shall ever be owned with all the gratitude in my power.

My lord Steward being at the bath, nothing was resolved as to sir Jo. Fenwick's tryal till his answer returns. I am with all imaginable submission,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, dutifull,
and obedient subject, and servant,
SHREWSBURY.

Lord Shrewsbury to King William.—Desires leave to resign the seals on account of the suspicion he is under. In King William's box.

S I R,

Eyford, 18 Oct. 1696.

I HAVE endeavoured to come to London to receive your Majesty's commands and directions, but by what happened yesterday, I find at present it is impossible for me, and in all appearance will be so for a long time: I am very sensible Your Majesty's affairs must necessarily receive great prejudice by the absence of one in my post; and since it is very doubtful whether I shall ever so well recover this accident, as to be capable of serving in the station I have the honour to be in at present, and most certain it cannot be of a long time, I humbly and earnestly beg Your Majesty will allow me to return the seals into your hands: besides my incapacity upon this illness, I am sure, sir, you must think it impossible for any man to serve in so nice an employment as your secretary, that has the misfortune to lye under the suspicion though but of a few. I do not doubt but in my private capacity, I shall have occasions to demonstrate my fidelity and loyalty to Your Majesty. In the mean time I repeat my request, and beg leave to put you in mind of your promise at my receiving the seals, that I should be at liberty to return them without Your Majesty's displeasure, whenever I found the place uneasy: now, sir, that it happens to be impossible for me to execute it, and for your disservice that I should, I hope you will accept this tender as designed with all duty to yourself, and affection to your government; for inclina-

tion, interest, gratitude, self-preservation, every thing that is valuable to an honest or a reasonable man, oblige me to what I sincerely am,

Your Majesty's most dutiful servant,
and faithful and obedient subject,
SHREWSBURY.

Remark.] Lord Shrewsbury was prevailed upon to take back the seals. If the story of his being obliged to do so by force be at all true, it may have been upon this occasion.

IN King William's box there is the following scheme by lord Rochester upon the conduct of parliament, and of the war, after the battle of la Hogue, with notes upon the margin in lord Caermarthen's hand writing: as follows.

So far all I have
spoke to, agree with
him.

• Sir J. Lowther says, no body can know one day what a house of Commons would do the next, in which all agreed with him, and that makes him think it unnecessary to deliver any opinion now.

IT is with all humility represented to the king, that if his Majesty should not return into England earlier this year than he did the last, there may the like inconveniencies happen, which did then, by not having taken sufficient measures for the carrying on his business in the parliament; which as it did very much delay all the preparations for the last year, so it might perhaps to a great degree disappoint those that would be necessary for the next; if it be true what is generally apprehended, that the gentlemen are not like to meet in too good a humour; for the remedying of which it might be expedient, that though there be yet more than two months before it's probable the king would have the parliament sit, there should be no time lost in taking all the consideration that is possible, and making all suitable preparations for such measures as are likeliest to succeed when it does meet; for if it should prove necessary to make any alterations, it would take a good deal of time both abroad and at home to adjust every thing upon new schemes*. It were perhaps too confident a thing for any one body, and possibly for a great many, to pretend to say the parliament will or will not do any thing whatsoever that may be proposed to them; but without doubt the being distrustful that they will not meet with too great satisfaction in the transactions

of this summer, is an undertaking they would not be displeased with any body that should presume to make it for them: the having given so very considerable sums of money without receiving more eminent advantages by it, will probably pass for such a sort of miscarriage, as will abate at least their zeal in giving on as they have done, especially since it may be feared very little can be said that hath not been already urged to give them hopes of better success for the future: Besides, if every body were in the best disposition imaginable, it must be allowed there would be almost insuperable difficulties to struggle with †, and if three millions and a half were so hard to be compassed last year, (which by the way was even too narrow a provision for the services then designed,) it must needs be harder this next year to find that summe, and the seven hundred thousand pounds that are fallen short of the poll bill, which possibly the parliament may think fit to make their first care, because they have obliged themselves to make that summe good, and which though it be for the expence of the expiring year, must be had out of the product of that which is beginning, and will be a dead weight upon any new tax that might be thought on, after the additional excise upon beer and ale and the land shall have their new load for the service of the next year; it is plain by experience that by no methods hitherto practised such sums can be raised in one year for the service of that year, and the methods of new excises ‡, if people were as willing to fall into them, as they are generally averse from them, could not possibly, in the first year at least, turn to an account proportionable to so great an expence: this then seems to be the prospect of that matter relating to money from the opinion of those that think the calmest upon this subject, that so great sums are not to be had again this year, if every body were disposed to do what they could, which it's to be doubted is not the case neither: if this be the true state of this point, it must be submitted to his Majesty's great judgment, whether it be not more adviseable for him to fall upon some new measures that may be less expensive to the nation, then to sett his whole strefs, and employ all his credit to pursue those were taken last year, when there is so little appearance of success; for then may they who probably wish ill to the government, find great advantages if they shall be able to defeat what is found to be his Majesty's chief design to bring to

PART II.

H h

Lord Cornwallis sayr, had the parliament met when summoned this summer upon the victory at sea, they would have given any thing, English people being puff'd up by success, which when forgot, as it soon is, their zeal will cool; so that consequently by this time it will be forgot quite, which will prove of ill consequence he thinks to your affairs.

† Lord Privy Seal Lord Nott. Lord Com. Trevor, Lord Cornwall, and Sir J. Lowther, think it can be given if they are willing; Sir Edw. Seym speaks doubtfully, so does Lord Stuard.

‡ Lord Com. Trevor thinks even a general excise would turn to account the first year.

* Lord Privy Seal says, if the allies did suspect we were setting up only for our own defence, they would shift for themselves, and then we were all undone. That he thinks if the allies could make a defensive war only, and you make a great descent into France, the parliament would give any thing, or if that could not be done, that then you should let them know that you would take care the money should circulate as much as may be here, by buying bread, cloth; and all that was possible to be bought here at home.

† This proposal of the increasing the fleet in the manner, lord privy seal Nott, and Cornwallis say, is the most pernicious thing in the world—by laying the blame on you, as though you did it to favour the Dutch, besides the impossibility of it, as having not ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft trade; but I hear the first has a little changed his mind, which he is apt to do, and lord com. Trevor laughs at it.

‡ I can't help saying it seems to me like sitting still, and letting the French King take what he will; but I hope it won't be in the power of the parliament to make lord Rochester in the right in this, as he proved by Mr. Russell doing nothing, for he would at first have had those designs laid aside which have been frustrated by those who should have excused them.

§ As lord Roch, means very well I dare say in what he writes, so I hope to be excused for this scribbling on it, but

pass *. It is not forgot here, that the falling off from any preparations less than those made the last year, may dishearten the confederates, and make them who are possibly enough disposed to it, the more ready to think of providing separately for themselves; on which account all due care should be had to give them satisfaction, but if it should appear there is an impossibility to prevail for the like supplies as were granted the last year, sure the next best were for his Majesty to prepare the allies by degrees, and dispose his own affairs in good time, to fall upon things that it is more probable for him to succeed in: It would in all probability be for his Majesty's service here at home, and a great disappointment to the designs of his enemies, that it might be understood here in the parliament, that his Majesty is very sensible of the great burthens his people lie under; that he is not so much concerned for this or that particular way of carrying on the war, provided it be done in such a manner as may encourage and support his allies, and particularly if an army of so many thousand men (the pay of which to be in so great a proportion carryed over and spent in a foreign country, is one of the greatest and most sensible grievances) be not suitable to the interest of England†, nor to be supported but by too great a wasting of their substance, they would in that case provide for encreasing the fleet, and let the expence the states were at on that head, be turned to pay a proportion of the king's land forces; in a word, without entering into more particulars, if it might be understood in general, that his Majesty is willing and desirous to enter into any measures that are suitable to the humour and temper of the nation that can possibly support the true interest and greatness of it, that his Majesty's chief care and design is to bring it out of this very expensive war, into an honourable and safe peace by all the means he or they can think of, and by the hazard of his own royal person, without prescribing to them at this time the particular measures and expences they must be at in obtaining it‡; this seems at present to be the best, if not the only way to disappoint a great many ill contrivances to discompose his Majesty's affairs, and to carry on the service for one year more, which is enough to be aimed at for the present §, all which being offered with great sincerity and duty, it is hoped will need no other apology for a very well meant presumption: there is one word

more to be added, which would not be done but that there is need of it from an opinion some men have taken care to publish, that the king does not take the people of England to feel what they pay, and that they could pay a great deal more, if they were well pressed to it: to which may be answered, that they never did yet in any time pay so much in so few years, and therefore it may be apprehended that a further pressing upon them might end in a general ill-will to the government, and an inclination to change it for any other they could meet with; WHICH GOD FORBID."

I could not help it having in my mind as I read this over; what others had said to me, and I took this to be the shortest way of telling it.

Whitehall, Aug. 16, 1692.

I PUBLISH this last letter in justice to the memory of King William. He has been complained of for near a century past for having confined the war to the confines of Holland, and neglected the natural strength of England by not exerting it in a sea war against France. But one of the marginal notes to this letter shows, that if there was a fault, it lay at the door of his English ministers.

It is pleasing in perusing most of the above letters to King William, to observe the degree almost of equality, with which he who was conscious that true superiority consists not in trifles, permitted his subjects to approach him in their letters,

ALTHOUGH the following letter (which I found in King William's box) from the marquiss of Normanby to him, does not lie within the period of time to which this Appendix is confined, I cannot help publishing it, because a reader will hardly know which most to wonder at, the spirit of an English nobleman who could write such a letter to his sovereign, or the generosity of the sovereign who could forgive it. Lord Mulgrave had been brought into court upon the promise of a marquiss's title, a pension of 3000 *l.* a year, a seat at the council board, and participation of the cabinet. King William kept the three first parts of the promise, but forgot the last. The marquiss upon this wrote him the following letter, and immediately got redress.

The marquiss of Normanby to King William.

London, June 19, 1694.

I BEG Your Majesty's pardon once more, for troubling you upon so trifling a subject as myself, though I must own a sacred promise from a king is of no small importance. But the occasion of my approaching Your Majesty again this way, after I held myself obliged to take my leave humbly for ever, is a discourse I had the honour to have with the queen yesterday, by which I find all my just grievance capable of being redressed in one word from Your Majesty, that I should meet with the keeper, president, privy seal, and secretaries when they are assembled. Now, sir, this very way of their meeting with myself, was my own proposal to Your Majesty, when you were pleased to advise with me about those methods, and when you were so partial as to think me so much more assiduous than the white-stafs, as to leave them out at the same time; which I neither did or do desire, but only that I should not suffer on their account by an exclusion plainly contrary to your promise, as well as to reason and the nature of business; for how is it possible to advise the queen, without being acquainted with all things and letters communicated to that meeting? I did take upon me to propose that some more probable attempt should be made immediately on the French, and not let 40 ships, and 6000 men lie idle; but when the queen asked me what; how could I answer, without being so well informed of all as others are? For though I believe very good proposals may be made, such as it were a shame to let slip; yet till I am let into the same knowledge with others, that which may seem now reasonable, may, for ought I know, be ridiculous and unpracticable. Thus, sir, you see the inconvenience of the present method, which yet I submit to, if not excluded out of it: since it is a real cabinet without the name, nay called so generally now; and there was no other in all the late King's times; out of which too the privy seal, lord Anglesea, was ever excluded; so that it does not go now according to places, since he is in it, without having a right, while I am out, to whom Your Majesty assured it most solemnly and frequently, once I remember with this expression, that we were composed better than formerly, and persons who could at least draw together in your business: whereas now instead of that, I cannot be thought one

who draws, but one who is drag'd behind every body else. Your Majesty is and ought to be the master, to use me as you please; but I beg leave to say with all due submission, that this usage, if continued, is not only below so great a king, to impose after all assurances to the contrary, by which I was brought to the council, because I depended upon them; but it is even below me the meanest of your subjects, to acquiesce in farther than patience and my duty oblige me. I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most obedient
subject and servant,

NORMANBY."

One quits the character of King William with reluctance. There was a simplicity, an elevation, and an utility in all the actions of his life. The last treaty which he signed, was the grand alliance; the last act of parliament that he passed, was one which compleated the security of the Hanover succession; and the last message which he sent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was to recommend an union between two parts of the island, which too long had been divided. To him mankind owe the singular spectacle of a monarchy, in which the monarch derives a degree of greatness and security from the freedom of his people which treasures and arms cannot bestow upon other princes; and that, at a time, when a military government is extending its strides over every other part of Europe, there is still one country left, in which it is worth the while of a man to wish to live*.

It was the hard fate of King William, that to save liberty, religion, Holland, England, and all Europe except France, he was obliged to injure the relations of nature. Could his heart have been looked into, perhaps it might have been found that he felt the cruelty of this necessity much more than those who complain of him for not resisting it. I have seen an original letter from lord Portland to King William, after the peace of Ryswick, in which he informs him, that according to his

* In the course of two years we have seen the constitutions of France, Sweden and Poland, overturned, and reduced to military governments. Perhaps the greatest strokes that were ever given to human nature in so small a space of time.

orders, he had offered a pension of 50,000*l.* a year to King James; and this was at a time when it was far from being as certain as it is now, that that prince had not employed assassins to murder him.

KING William received much bad usage from that nation he had saved. He bore it all, steady to the great general good, unfeeling only to the injuries done to himself. But it is dangerous to press too hard upon a virtuous prince, because then his very virtues become dreadful. A well vouched tradition reports, that once though only once, King William lost his temper in government. After the peace of Ryfwick, he sent a message to the house of commons, requesting as a personal favour to himself, that his regiment of Dutch guards, the companions of all his dangers and glories should not be obliged to leave him. The commons refused his desire. When the account of it was brought him, he walked for some time silent through the apartment, with his eyes fixed on the ground, then stopped, threw them around him with wildness, and said, "if I had a son, by God these guards should not quit me."



FINIS.

ERRATA et ADDENDA:

Appendix to Review.

- Page 97. Four lines from the bottom, for *grana*, read *Grave*.
- 242. Nine lines from the end, for *then*, read *thus*.
- 318. Line 17, for 77, read 67.

Part I.

Page 180. Line 19, for *his*, read *Prince's*.

Part II.

Page 80. Line 20, for *Duke*, read *Marquis*.
178. Line 2, for *General*, read *there*.

In page 15 and page 78 there is a memorandum and a letter, said to have been lord Nottingham's. These are not in his lordship's hand-writing. My ingenious and polite friend, Doctor Percy, from whom I got them, gave me the following note concerning them:

“ From Remarks on Langbaine's Lives of the Dramatic Poets, in MS. by William Oldys, late Norroy King at Arms.”

“ In a note on page 171. *Dryden's Spanish Friar*, &c.

“ Remem. The curious letter I have in MS. of my lord Nottingham's, upon Queen Mary's disordered behaviour, and observable confusion at some stinging speeches in this play, &c.”—The above letter was in Mr. Oldys's possession.

“ These remarks are preserved in the British Museum, being left, among other books, to that library, by the late Doctor Birch.”

